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EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

July, 1901.

Polyphemus . . . . . ALFRED AUSTIN,
Poet Laureate of England.

The Burden of the Twentieth Century . Sir WALTER BESANT

The Absurd Paradox of Christian Science, J. M. BUCKLEY, LL.D.

Significance of the Porto Rican Problem . . . L. S. ROWE,
U. S. Commissioner to Revise the Laws of Porto Rico.

Condition of the South . . . . . WALTER G. OAKMAN

The Betting Book at Brooks's . . . . . G. S. STREET

Anticipations: An Experiment in Prophecy.—II. . H. G. WELLS

Great Religions of the World.—XI. Catholic Christianity,
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FOREIGN TRADE AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

American Progress and British Commerce . HAROLD COX

Our Vast Excess of Exports . JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON

Theory of the Balance of Trade . . . . C. J. BULLOCK,
Professor of Economics in Williams College.

A Possible Difference in English and American Fiction,
W. D. HOWELLS

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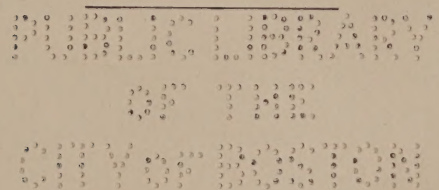

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

ALFRED AUSTIN,

who in 1896 succeeded Lord Tennyson as Poet Laureate, was educated for the profession of the law. Having graduated at London University, he was called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1857, and for three years he attended the York Assizes and West Riding Sessions. When a lad of nineteen, he gave the first fruits of his pen to the world in the shape of a tale entitled "Randolph," but his literary career cannot be said to have begun until seven years later, when, in 1861, he published his first poem, "The Season: a Satire." He was correspondent of the London "Standard" at Rome during the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican in 1870, and at the headquarters of the King of Prussia during the Franco-German war. He became editor of the "National Review" on its establishment in 1883. His poetical works include "The Golden Age," "The Human Tragedy," "Savonarola," "Fortunatus the Pessimist," "Alfred the Great," and among his prose writings are "The Garden That I Love," "In Veronica's Garden," and "Lamia's Winter Quarters."

SIR WALTER BESANT,

whose death was announced a few weeks ago, was born in 1836. After a distinguished career at Cambridge, he was appointed Senior Professor in the Royal College of Mauritius, but the climate undermined his health, and when he had held that post for six years, he was compelled to return to England. From 1871 to 1882 he wrote a number of novels and plays in collaboration with James Rice. After the death of the latter, he produced a long succession of novels which have made his name familiar to English and American readers, the best known of which are, perhaps, "The Revolt of Man," "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" (to which was due the building of the People's Palace in the East End of London), "Dorothy Foster," "Armorel of Lyonesse," "Beyond the Dreams of Avarice," "The City of Refuge," "The Pen and the Book" and "The Orange Girl." Sir Walter was also the author of several works of criticism,

such as "Studies in Early French Poetry" and "The French Humorists," and of biography, including lives of Coligny, Edward Palmer and Richard Jefferies. For seventeen years he was Secretary, and thereafter to the time of his death, Honorary Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and he was the first Chairman of the Society of Authors, in whose affairs he was greatly interested.

J. M. Buckley, LL. D.,

is widely known as one of the ablest and most accomplished of the leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. He received his secular education at Pennington (New Jersey) Seminary and at Wesleyan University, and he studied theology at Exeter, New Hampshire. He joined the New Hampshire Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1858; and having occupied ministerial charges in Detroit and Brooklyn, he was appointed, in 1881, editor of the "New York Christian Advocate," through whose columns he has exercised a marked influence upon public thought. Dr. Buckley has made a special study of the subject of which he writes in his contribution to this number and of cognate topics. Among his published works may be mentioned "Faith Healing, Christian Science and Kindred Phenomena," "Travels in Three Continents," "Oats or Wild Oats," "Supposed Miracles," "The Land of the Czar and the Nihilist" and "Two Weeks in the Yosemite Valley."

L. S. Rowe

occupies the chair of Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania. Together with Sr. Juan Hernandez-Lopez, of San Juan, and Judge Joseph F. Daly, of New York, he was appointed by President McKinley on the Commission to Revise and Compile the Laws of Porto Rico. This Commission completed its labors on the 12th of April last, about which time Governor Allen appointed Dr. Rowe on the Insular Code Commission. In the earlier work, Dr. Rowe was the author of the drafts of the Municipal and County Laws of the Island as well as of those pertaining to Sanitation. He has been a frequent and authoritative writer on political science, is widely travelled, and has spent much time in Porto Rico investigating the conditions existing there.

WALTER G. OAKMAN,

a prominent banker of New York, was educated at the University of Pennsylvania. He is director in a large number of financial, industrial and transportation concerns in various parts of the country, and through his official connection with the management of certain industries and railways in the South he has been led to devote close attention to the social and political conditions peculiar to that section.

G. S. STREET

graduated with honors at Oxford in 1890 and has since been engaged in literary work. He has been a frequent contributor of stories and critical articles to the magazines, and his published volumes include "Miniatures and Moods," "The Autobiography of a Boy," "The Wise and the Wayward," "Some Notes of a Struggling Genius," and an edition, with an introduction, of Congreve's Comedies.

H. G. WELLS.

A short note regarding Mr. Wells will be found in the number of the REVIEW for August, 1900.

CARDINAL GIBBONS

has been a contributor to the REVIEW for many years. He was born at Baltimore in 1834, and at an early age was taken by his parents to their former home in Ireland, where he received the rudiments of his education. On returning to the United States he resided for some years with his family in New Orleans. He entered St. Charles' College (Maryland) in 1855, was transferred in 1857 to St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, and was ordained to the priesthood on June 30th, 1861. He was appointed rector of the parish of St. Bridget's in Canton, a suburb of Baltimore, and later, private secretary to Archbishop Spalding and chancellor of the archdiocese. He was assistant chancellor of the Second Plenary Council of the American Roman Catholic Church, which was held at Baltimore in 1866; in 1868, he was Vicar Apostolic in North Carolina, with the rank and title of Bishop; and in 1877, he was made Coadjutor Archbishop of Baltimore. He succeeded to the see in October of that year, and presided at the Third National Council, which met at Baltimore in 1884. He was created Cardinal and invested with the princely insignia on June 30th, 1886. Cardinal Gibbons is the author of a number of works, including "The

Faith of Our Fathers," "Our Christian Heritage" and "The Ambassador of Christ."

Cardinal Gibbons's article on "Catholic Christianity" concludes the series, begun last September, on the Great Religions of the World. In the August number will be published the first article of a series, in the preparation of which the Editor has been so fortunate as to secure the services of recognized experts, on the Public Debts of the leading nations of the world—the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Spain, Turkey, Japan, etc.

HAROLD COX

was born in 1859 and educated at Jesus College, Cambridge. He was a Scholar of his College and President of the Cambridge Union Society. After taking his degree, he was for a short time a University Extension Lecturer on political economy. He was appointed to a post in India as Professor of Mathematics in a native college under the late Theodore Beck, who will long be remembered for his effective work in bringing natives and Europeans together. In 1887, he returned to England and entered the profession of journalism. In 1899, he was elected Secretary of the Cobden Club.

J. F. JOHNSON,

a professor in the University of Pennsylvania, is an acknowledged authority on economical subjects. Professor Johnson has been travelling through Europe for several months, visiting the finance ministers and the leading bankers, with a view to getting at the facts regarding the alleged European need of American capital, and examining the manufacturing centres to find out, if possible, the secret of American superiority.

C. J. BULLOCK,

a graduate of Boston University, is Professor of Economics in Williams College. He has written voluminously on finance, political economy and kindred topics, his most noted books being "An Introduction to the Study of Economics" and "The Finances of the United States, 1775-89."

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JULY, 1901.

POLYPHEMUS.

BY ALFRED AUSTIN.

The Cyclops, Polyphemus, son of Neptune and Thoösa, dwelt alone in a cavern on the slopes of Mount Etna, and passionately loved the nymph Galatea. But she loved, and was loved by, the beautiful shepherd boy, Acis, and sported with him on the mountain and in the sea. Polyphemus, in a transport of ungovernable jealousy, sought to destroy both by hurling on them a rock torn from the flanks of Etna. But the gods interposed, and changed Galatea into a mermaid, and Acis into a hillside stream, so that the twain might never be separated.

POLYPHEMUS.

"Where lurk they now? Either in some green grot,
With cool, moist mosses overhung, that drink
From slowly-welling, never-waning wave
The freshness of their sustenance; or hid
In the snug hollow of some rounded bole,
Chestnut or pine, whose heart corroding time
Hath pared away, leaving the knotted rind
For shelter against sunshine, wind or rain,
The weather's wantonness; or, haply, couched
Under the veil of newly-wedded vine,
And, like its lissome tendrils, interlaced
The one within the other, palm with palm,
And fingers feeling fondly round the throat

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And underneath the tresses, smooth-skinned pair,
Whom unforeseeing heedlessness of love
And insolicitude of youth enthral
To one vague purpose by themselves unguessed,
Still pasturing on the flowery sweets of life.
I neither see them on the hill, nor yet
Down in the vale, nor on the dimpled beach,
Nor sporting with the dolphins in the wave:
Though this one orb crafty Ulysses seared,
By Neptune's healing potency restored,
From mainland unto mainland wandereth wide,
Scanning each dip and dingle of the isle
And every ridge and roller of the sea.
Well, better thus! Did I behold them now,
In noonday heat, their ruddy lips as close
As cherry unto cherry on one stem,
Their eyes one long, unseparating gaze,
Not all the snows on Etna would allay
The fever of my longing."

GALATEA.

"Follow me, Acis, follow me, follow,
Over the hillock and down by the hollow!
Follow me, follow, where musk-rose and myrtle
Entangle my tresses and catch in my kirtle;
Onward where cistus and cyclamen mingle,
And hemlock and asphodel gleam in the dingle,
Down to the dip where the brook bends and babbles,
The water-hen nests, and her callow brood dabbles;
Under the labyrinth hazelnut cover,
Follow me, follow, my light-footed lover!
Thence to the open where sunlight is sweeter,
And there we will prove which is lither and fleeter;
Past the bruised rosemary look for and find me;
Track me and trace by the fragrance behind me.
See! I am breathless; so hither, and hold me,
And close to your tenderness fondle and fold me.
This is the oldest and sweetest of blisses,
To be followed, and caught, and pay forfeit of kisses;
So follow me, follow!"

POLYPHEMUS.

"The shadows on the silent hillside stretch
Longer and darker, and more sharp and clear
The smokeless cone of Etna cleaves the air,
And soon from snowy breast to brow will flush
Pink as the rose in Galatea's cheek.
I must go gather up my goats, and press
The stream from out the heavy-uddered ewes
Loud-bleating for relief. A bubbling bowl
Of vesper milk would cozen any maid,
Any but Galatea, to my side,
While I, myself imperious Neptune's son,
To her recounted legendary tales
Of demigod and nymph when Love was young.
Ah! Love is always young, and I am old;
And any beardless stripling casts a spell
Of fresh enchantment round the nubile heart
That I, with all my cunning, cannot weave.
To be so wise, withal so little loved!
We blossom for ourselves, we fruit for others!
Nothing avails my knowledge, nor the years
Of intercourse with those elusive powers
That underlie the semblances we see,
Whereby I somewhat to the heart have pierced
Of Nature and Necessity, and wrung
Toll of their secrets. What is left me else,
Weary of insurrection 'gainst the gods,
The far-off, calm, invulnerable gods,
Sailing supine on thunder-sheeted clouds
And canopied by the unpropped dome of Heaven?
Could I to one high purpose fix my mind,
And, when my flock were browsing 'mong the crags,
Or folded for the night, forget my youth
And those desires, the dregs of bygone joy,
That youth, no longer sparkling, leaves to age,
The stars my sole companions and the herbs
Culled in the secret places, and pursue
With passionless resolve the steadfast search,
In planet and in simple, for the key

Of the world's central government, and store
In deathless verse for famishing mankind
The harvest of my reaping, I might then
Bless silent, slow, unsympathizing Time
That on my brow accumulates the years
To crown them with tranquillity. But now,
I have all the snows of Etna on my head,
And all its panting furnace in my heart.
Where are they now? Did I but penetrate
To the recesses of their amorous bliss,
I, with one blast from this volcanic breast,
Should strew their fondlings on the blackened coils
Of lava down the hillside."

ACIS.

"Wake, Galatea, now wake from your dreaming!
On beach and on breaker the moonlight is streaming.
Down in the lucent tide mermaids are singing,
And the seaweed above them is swaying and swinging!
Melody rises and rolls through the shingle,
Where sweet wave and salt wave have meeting and mingle.
Sweetest one, fleetest one, fleetest and fairest,
Come where the black rocks are bleakest and barest,
But curve for your coming 'twixt billow and billow
The softest of couches, with foam-fringe for pillow!
Through the wave, 'neath the wave, over and over,
Dive where the coral gleams pink as the clover
I gathered and gave you from Proserpine's garden,
When Love had displeased you, and prayed you for pardon.
Wake from your dreaming and haste to the haven,
Where smoothly with gold sand the sea-floor is paven.
Loosen your girdle, and lengthen your tresses,
And glide through the water that curls and caresses.
Float we and flow we, but moved by its motion,
Till we and the moonlight are one with the ocean.
Wake, Galatea!"

POLYPHEMUS.

"Now is the hour when most I feel how lone
It is to be a bastard of the gods,
Not wholly human, yet not quite divine,

Celestially fathered, yet shut out
From the serene of Heaven! While I range
The pathless labyrinth of forest pines,
Laden with logwood for my cavern hearth;
Climb the rough crags betwixt whose smooth, green flanks
The adventurous goats browse wayward; or descend,
Driving them home before my voice; or rive
Time-toughened oaks for virgin honeycomb,
Dripping with golden sweetness; or with care
Curdle the autumn milk in shelving bowls
For winter sustenance; then I forget
The god within me, and on task intent
That needs but mortal energy I live,
Human at every pore, a man—no more.
But now my flock are folded safe within,
And in the snow-cold larder of my cave
Is store for morrow's nourishment; and lo!
Up from the wave rolleth the rounded moon,
To wend her silent, uncompanioned way
Monotonous through Heaven; and with her mounts
The Olympian ichor in my veins, to wake
Ancestral longings. Nymphs as fair as she
Whom strenuous Neptune forcibly bewitched
To be my mother, willingly to me
In adolescent days subdued their hearts
And sported with my strength, for I could bear,
Aye, and could carry still, their flimsy forms
Straight up the lava-loops, and let them gaze
Into the jaws of Etna! That sleek pair,
Who flout me with their fondlings, I could ride
One upon either shoulder, round and round
The various isle, plain, pasture, promontory,
Orchard, and sun-burnt bluff, or thuswise wade
Through torrents raging with the melted snow
From nor'ward rampart ranges. But they love
Only to toy and trifle in the vale.
Heaven is too lofty for their dwarf desires,
And I too vast for puny purposes."

ACIS.

"Are you there, Galatea?"

GALATEA.

"Yes, here in the moonlight,
Where the wave is as bright as the beach in the noonlight."

ACIS.

"You are brighter than either. I cannot descry you
From radiant ripple, until I come nigh you.
I lose you, I find you, again you grow dimmer,
Till round me seems nothing but shadow and shimmer.
'Tis your golden-rayed ringlets that baffle and blind me."

GALATEA.

"Float unto my voice, dear, and there you will find me.
Here, lock we our hands, love, and float we together,
Or cling, if you will, to my tresses for tether.
We are one upon land, be we one on the breaker!"

ACIS.

"Who found Galatea could never forsake her."

GALATEA.

"Dear Acis, my Acis! Now wed we our voices,
And sing with the surge as it roams and rejoices.
There are moonbeams below us, and moonbeams above us,
And the stars in the heavens look down on and love us."

ACIS.

"O fair Galatea!"

GALATEA.

"My fond, faithful Acis!"

POLYPHEMUS.

"Hark! 'Twas her voice, upsoaring from the sea!
The twain are riding on the moonlit foam,
As is their wont when rolls the rising moon
A radiant roadway right athwart the wave,
For fatuous fancy's forward-running feet
To journey to the goal of its desires.

See, there they float enamoured, hand in hand,
Rising and falling with the heaving tide
As it subsides or surges. Save her voice
Guided my vision, I had now not felt
The torture of their transports, nor discerned
Which is her billowy beauty, which the wave.
Now, by the mighty and majestic gods,
And that wide-weltering if lesser god,
My sea-subduing father, why should I,
Who have the thunders at my beck, and forge
In my fuliginous smithy bolts for Jove,
Live mocked to moaning by that puny pair,
When I from Etna's bulging flanks could wrench—
As, by my pangs unbearable, will I now!—
This many-rooted rock, and straightway heave
Destruction on their dallying."

ACIS.

"O, where's Galatea?"

GALATEA.

"Deep down in the wave,
Where the love-loving gods have submerged me, to save.
I am one with the mermaidens, one with the main,
Shall no more be your playmate on pasture and plain;
The flower-fields of Enna will see me no more,
I may float to the seaweed, but not to the shore.
Come there to me, Acis! I never can be
Immortal, save, dearest, immortal with *thee!*"

ACIS.

"I am here on the hillside, in hidden ravine,
Where the mosses are moist and the maidenhair green.
I am suckled by snow-bosoms warmed by the sun,
Through the reeds and the rushes I ripple and run.
I, too, am immortal, I never can fail;
If my source is the summit, my bourne is the vale.
I am coming, am coming, on hastening feet,
That the sweet wave and salt wave may mingle and meet;
To your mermaiden-music hill-music will bring

From the full founts of summer and freshets of spring.
We together shall glide, we together shall gleam,
For you are my Siren, and I am your Stream;
From your fondness my fondness no hatred can sever,
I shall lap you, and lave you, and love you for ever,
Beloved Galatea!"

ALFRED AUSTIN.

Written at Aci Reale, Sicily, December, 1898.

THE BURDEN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

BY SIR WALTER BESANT.

WHEN the nineteenth century reached its appointed end, the bells rang out in joyous peal, as for the accession of a new sovereign. They rang for the boys and the young men. For those whom the new-comer found grey-bearded and stricken with years, the bells were as the rolling of muffled drums; for them the bells proclaimed a funeral, rather than a coronation. Their youth and lustihood belong to the century that has just gone; well for them if their work does not also belong to the years that are past!

As I write this paper I find myself, naturally, speaking from an English point of view. In many ways, American readers will contrast their own institutions with ours. They will perceive that we have been steadily, yet often unconsciously, drifting more and more toward their ways and their views. I shall abstain from commenting on things distinctively American, because they are American and not English. Most of the "burden" of which I speak is our own, but the most important part of it—that which concerns the whole of humanity—is, above all, American.

The burden of the nineteenth century, so far as England is concerned, may be summed up in two clauses:

(1.) It had to get rid of its predecessor;

(2.) It had to prepare the way for its successor.

That is to say, it inherited a mass of ideas, prejudices, practices, inequalities, evils of every kind, which had, somehow, before anything new could be attempted, to be unloaded and shovelled into the dust bin. It had, next, to prepare for its successor by founding and beginning many new things: by the extension of education; by the developments of science; by the preaching and teaching of wider views as to civil rights and responsibilities; by the application to philanthropy of methods formed upon a study

of human laws and tendencies, and by many other ways of which it was itself, perhaps, unconscious.

The separation from the eighteenth century was not, with us, complete, because we retained the forms of the old aristocracy, while we swept away its powers; and we kept the name of an Established Church, while we abolished its exclusive privileges. Yet the separation has been so great as to amount to a revolution more drastic even than that of the sixteenth century. And, as for the work of preparation for the present century, it was accompanied by an intellectual activity which has done even more for science than the Renaissance did for literature.

I desire, here, to show briefly how the breaking away from the eighteenth century was necessary before the practical application of the new ideas was possible; and how, when this had been partially accomplished, the achievements, the developments, the inventions, the discoveries and the research which followed have all been contributions to, and preparations for, the heritage of work which we are now handing on to our successors of the twentieth century.

Let us consider the work of destruction and the work of preparation as they went on, side by side, in a few of the main lines.

First, in the line of religion.

What we found, when the nineteenth century succeeded to the eighteenth, as the dominant religion, whether in the Church or among the Nonconformists, was a fiery, fierce and aggressive Calvinism. There are many still living who can remember the despair, the hopeless misery, of millions, due to the continued discussions and sermons on Free Will, Election and Predestination. I can myself recall the solemn voice of the preacher who warned us, almost every Sunday—remember that he firmly believed what he said—that but very few of his congregation had the least chance of being saved; that, from eternity, and before the world was made, nearly all of us were predestined to everlasting torture. Well, we have silenced these speculations; men of learning, men of science, men of culture, refuse any longer to discuss questions as unfathomable as that of the beginning and the end of space. This abandonment of Calvinism is part of our destructive work in religion.

That of construction, or of preparation, has not been so happy. It was, perhaps, inevitable that, with the decay of the Cal-

vinistic school, and with the adoption of a more humane creed, there should be revived the old controversy of Man *versus* Priest.

The Church of England is now entering anew upon an acute form of that controversy—so acute that, if it is followed up, the Church will undoubtedly be rent in twain and the National Church will cease to exist. There are already within its divided fold two well formed camps: the one containing those who want no priest and will acknowledge no priestly pretensions; the other, those who find rest in the shelter of authority, accepting, as the price to be paid, the domination of the priest over their lives, their thoughts, their reason, their sense, and their philosophy. Before Disestablishment actually takes place, there will be mountains of literature to be read; there will be a flood of talk. But the most effective arguments will be those which show how, in the United States, not to speak of our great Colonies, religion takes no harm where there is no Established Church. Some of us will regret the loss of an institution venerable and beautiful; glorious for the saints and divines, the martyrs and confessors, the scholars and teachers who have adorned its history. But we shall let it go in full confidence that, as in America, so here, religion does not need a National Creed.

But the way for such a settlement of a quarrel, never to be adjusted while the disputants live under the same roof, had to be prepared, and it has taken us a hundred years of work, mostly unconscious work, in that direction. First, the claims of the sacerdotal party were advanced, formulated, defended, and, as far as possible, made popular. This was done with great craft and subtlety. Its advocates enlisted on their side the growing desire for art in everything: beauty in buildings; beauty in ritual; beauty in decoration; beauty in dress. The priestly pretensions were concealed behind the attraction of services which no longer offended the artistic and æsthetic sense.

On the other hand, the old intolerance, which drove the Nonconformist out of society, had to be wholly swept away. This, if you think of it, was part of the necessary preparation for the schism of the immediate future. Formerly, a Nonconformist could not enter the House of Commons; nor could he hold any municipal office; nor could he accept a commission in the Army or in the Navy; nor could he take a degree at Oxford or Cambridge; nor could he become a barrister; nor could he be married or buried,

except according to the rites of the Church of England. All this is now changed; every restriction has been removed; the former social inferiority of the Dissenter is vanishing, and things are nearly, if not quite, ready for the great measure of Disestablishment which is part of the Burden of the Twentieth Century.

Let us next turn to the Government. Here, indeed, not the pruning knife, but the axe, had to be applied. The eighteenth century bequeathed us government by an oligarchy. A small caste ruled the country. The very stronghold of liberty, the Folk Mote, the House of Commons, had been transformed into a stronghold of caste. The ruling party consisted of a few hundred families; there were hardly enough of them for the division of the spoils. They had seized and held for themselves all the power and all the places; they were Ministers and Secretaries of State; they ruled all the Departments; they commanded the army and the fleets; they commanded the regiments and the ships; all the posts of honor, all the distinctions, all the lucrative preferments were in the hands of the caste. The Ministry and the Opposition both belonged to the caste; the House of Commons was filled with younger sons of the caste; they sat on opposite sides, but they were agreed upon one point, viz.: that there should be no Reform of Parliament, and that the duty and privilege of carrying on the government belonged to themselves, by right divine.

It is, I believe, difficult to get an American, unless he is a student of history, to understand the conditions of government under which the nineteenth century began its work. It is equally difficult for him to understand the immense work of destruction and reconstruction that has been accomplished during the century. Both destruction and reconstruction have been carried through in the same direction. That is to say, every step has been a step forward toward the government of the people by the people. Thus the House of Commons now represents all people, including the caste itself, and every class, rank and degree of the people. There is, practically, universal suffrage in Great Britain; the Civil Service, the Army, and the Navy, are all thrown open to competition. We now see, not only the younger sons but also the peers themselves becoming candidates for election at County Councils, School Boards and Borough Councils; while the House of Lords, receiving every year new recruits from the middle class, has now become an assembly whose function is, practically, to take care

that important measures shall not be passed until they are clearly proved to be the will of the people.

This represents a good body of work. How far is it incomplete? And what remains for the twentieth century by way of completion in this branch?

There are two tasks, at least, before the new century, in carrying on the work of construction.

First, it is not enough to give the people the machinery of government; they must also be instructed in the use of the machinery. In other words, it is not enough to place the representation of the country in the hands of the people; the people must also be taught the duty of exercising their rights.

It would be, in fact, far better for the people even to continue in the hands of a ruling caste, who were at least patriotic and who had clean hands, than to be in the power of needy adventurers and interested demagogues who rise to power on the apathy, the ignorance, and the neglect of electors. The duty of the citizen is a lesson the teaching of which must be seriously undertaken, and, once begun, must be never again allowed to slip out of sight.

The other task is the opening up of all the intellectual careers to lads who are capable, clever, and ambitious; though their poverty has hitherto been an insuperable bar to their advancement. Everything, it is true, is nominally open. Practically, however, to the poor British lad, there are but two lines of life possible, outside the craft to which he belongs: he may become a teacher in a Board school; or a reporter and a journalist. Before the entrance gate of every profession, whether that of barrister, solicitor, physician, surgeon, officer, architect, artist, clergyman, or teacher of the higher class, there stands a turnpike, and at the gate is the turnpike man, whose name is Rhadamanthus. He comes out scowling, and holds out an inexorable hand: "Pay me a thousand pounds; if you cannot, you shall not enter here."

How can this inflexible guardian be abolished? That, you see, is part of the work of our successors. They must find out the way. Perhaps they may be induced to look across the ocean. There they will see colleges whose fees are low; where the cost of living is small, whose degrees in themselves confer the right to practice any profession, the art and mystery of which they teach. We must, on the one hand, teach our lads the dignity and the worthiness of crafts, arts, and industries, but we must throw

open the door to those lads who crave for the intellectual life and will be content with none other. We have already begun with ladders of scholarships, to lift such lads up to the level of the learned professions: but that is only a beginning.

The difficulty is one which belongs to the whole question of education. The nineteenth century inherited from its predecessor a baleful legacy in a general prejudice against education. It was thought highly dangerous to educate the people. This prejudice lingers yet in some quarters. We have so far got rid of it, however, that we enjoy at last a system of free national education, the right of every child. This is a great step; it sweeps away old ideas, as so much lumber; but it is only a step; it is a beginning. It opens a door to an empty hall: we have to furnish this hall. We have, in fact, to find out what national education should mean. For thirty years, we have been carrying on a succession of experiments, learning little or nothing from other countries, and paying small heed to their experience. I doubt if there is a single member of the London School Board who could pass an examination on the American system of national education, even though it is conceded, by all who have examined into it, to be better than our own. The history, however, of these experiments is a valuable asset in the heritage of our successors. They have still to invent, or to discover, a system of education broad enough, and elastic enough, to include not only the ambitious and clever lad, but also the children destined for crafts, industries, and arts of all kinds; one that will make them good citizens, not ignorant of their civic rights, and alive to their civic duties. At present, our School Boards, by means of classes in shorthand, classes in commercial law, classes in foreign languages, and in other things which do not belong to the crafts and arts, are doing their mischievous best to persuade the people that the life of a clerk, with its long hours, its drudgery, and its miserable pay, is better, more "respectable" and more dignified than the life of the engine-room and the workshop. No greater blunder was ever made in the history of National Education.

I come next to the important question of trades unions. Here, indeed, we have broken clean away from the eighteenth century; yet, still, we have as yet only made a beginning. It is, again, the opening of the door to empty chambers. "Covins," *i. e.*, combinations of craftsmen, were forbidden, and rigidly suppressed,

for seven hundred years in the City of London. With great difficulty, and only by persistence, we have succeeded in removing the legal prohibitions, bit by bit. The crafts can now form unions as much as they please. So far, we have prepared the way. We hand over to the twentieth century the trades unions, whose right to exist has been firmly established by ourselves. We hand over very little more than that right. It is a mass of raw material for our successors to work upon. Hitherto, the unions have had but one object, the exaction of shorter hours and higher pay. This has been the first exercise of their rights. It is, of course, a natural beginning. Just as on the simple instinct of self-preservation has been erected the whole structure of human society, with all its arts, inventions and discoveries; so, resting on the simple desire of greater ease and comfort, the trades unions were first created and have been successfully established. They are now, perhaps, ready for the higher developments. These will include jealousy for the craft itself, for its worthiness and its dignity; special education in the craft; pensions and sick funds for the craft; the maintenance of civic responsibilities and duties; an ever careful watch over the material interests of the craft, the weekly wage, the production, foreign competition, the markets, the trade interests, as protected by legislation; and the provision of arbitration when the two sides, hitherto irreconcilable—Capital and Labor—disagree. A very noble piece of work for the twentieth century!

If we turn next to the daily manners and customs, it is wonderful to consider in how many ways we have broken clean away from the eighteenth century. For instance, there are the old habits of drinking. At a certain election dinner, about the year 1790, the company, several hundreds in number, sat down at five o'clock and continued sitting over their wine and punch the whole night through. At the great City dinners it was not, formerly, unusual for men to drink three, and sometimes six, bottles of port; on Sunday morning, when the good folks were on their way to church, they would have to pass dozens of men, dead drunk, laid out on the pavement to recover in the cold air. Nay, this excessive drinking was carried on well into the middle of the century. I myself can remember, as a common sight, the bottle nose; the nose decorated with red blossoms; the pendulous nose, caused by punch and port. I have been assured by a veteran

officer that, when he joined his regiment in the thirties, he had to sit every evening for three hours after dinner, drinking port; and this at the age of sixteen! At Oxford and Cambridge, the resident Fellows used to sit over their port every evening for a couple of hours; the Colleges prided themselves on their port. A physician, who died in 1890 at the age of seventy-two, told me that, when he began to go into society, the dinners, which were simple, were finished by half past seven; that, after the dinner, the men sat over their port till eleven or so; that many of them drank their three bottles; that they then adjourned to the drawing-room, where they were offered hot brandy and water! He added that it was very rare for these topers to get past the age of fifty.

At all events, we have changed all this. At the clubs, or the restaurants, it is rare, indeed, to find any one drinking wine after dinner. In private houses, I think, no one does so; at dinner parties, the sitting after the ladies has become a mere form—a survival of the old custom: our ancestors will, no doubt, be grateful to us for introducing this moderation. It is, however, like all our work, incomplete: we have yet to teach the working man to combat his perpetual thirst, which is but a bad habit, not a disease. At present, he is ready at all times of the day for his "half pint." We have checked or destroyed drunkenness in our Navy; we have been unable, so far, to destroy it in the Army. In the lowest classes, in the city slums, drinking is still common among the women. There is a great deal to be done in this branch, even though much has already been done. Of late years, our own activity in the cause of temperance may compare favorably with the American endeavors in the same direction.

Drinking is only one of the customs we have improved. Remember that the eighteenth century gave us, as a part of our inheritance, a widespread custom of gambling. High and low, the people gambled: there were the hells for the aristocracy, where whole estates were lost in a single night; there were the smaller gaming tables, where the shopkeepers became bankrupt and the clerk played with stolen money. Every year there were lotteries, during which the whole nation went mad with the excitement of gambling. Where is that habit gone? There are now no hells, great or small. It is whispered that certain men gamble, but it is with closed doors; it is rumored that play is carried on here and

there for high stakes, but there is no mention of estates changing hands in a single night. The "Hooligan" and the lads of the gutter are gamblers, the Polish Jews are gamblers; men "back their fancy" for a horse race; but gambling, as a national vice, has been scotched, if not killed.

Again, we inherited a callous habit of brutal sports. We were encouraged by our predecessors to bait bull and bear, to draw the badger, to maintain the cockpit, to encourage the prize-ring. We have suppressed, in the interests of posterity, most of these amusements. The desire for them, even the memory of them, has vanished. The other day, I made certain inquiries as to the form and internal arrangements of the cockpit. I can hear of only two specimens surviving, and these are imperfect. Yet, a hundred years ago, there was not a village without its cockpit. Here, again, our work is good from a destructive point of view, but it is incomplete. We have swept away, with sports that were brutal, sports that were manly. It will be a part of the work of our successors to revive and to restore the latter. They will institute, in every town, physical education, under the guise of sport; the gymnasium, foot-racing, wrestling, athletics, even single-stick practice and boxing, will be restored to our lads, as part of the national training.

Again, we found our prisons hot-beds of infectious fever; in these horrible places, besides the criminals, there were languishing debtors, sometimes for a few shillings, locked up for life, doomed to semi-starvation. Every evil that one can imagine flourished in these abodes of despair. We have now cleansed our prisons; gaol fever is no more known; we have put an end to the more flagrant evils of the past. Next, we have tried our hands at prison discipline and prison reform. Our experiments in this branch of work have proved a series of horrible failures. There is no country in the world where the prison system is so hard, so cruel, so terrible, as our own; it is an ironclad system, which takes his manhood, his self-respect, his power of will, out of the wretch who serves his sentence. It leaves him pitifully submissive, slavishly docile. To watch this poor caitiff, on the day when he returns to the world, is to bring tears of pity and of shame to the eyes. We hand over this gigantic failure to our successors. "Do better," we say—"you cannot do worse—for the poor prisoners. While you make their punishment sharp and real, leave them their manhood and

the power of recovery. Not too much degradation, not too much —oh! my brothers!—for these poor backsliders!"

In the nature of communications, internal and oceanic, we may at least congratulate ourselves.

We inherited a fine system of high roads, a well appointed service of stage coaches, a good postal service, and a magnificent fleet of sailing vessels. We also inherited a population mainly rural, and practically tied to the soil. The people of one town saw nothing of any other town; foreign travel was unknown; the insular ignorance of our people, as regards foreign nations, was colossal. We have now introduced new methods of communication; we travel rapidly and cheaply; we travel all over our country, and all over the world. All classes travel. Parties of workingmen are made up for the Continent. Board-school teachers are carried to Florence for a fortnight's study of art. The suburban shopman is met in Switzerland. The clerk runs all over the country in his three weeks' holiday. We can get across the Atlantic in a week: we can get all round the world in two months. If increased rapidity of communication is an advance in civilization we have truly advanced. Well, rapidity of communication should certainly be an instrument of advance. Yet our work is, after all, one of preparation. We have discovered a new force with which we have already done great things; we talk to each other across thousands of miles by means of it, we light our cities and our houses with it, we drive engines with it; we have only, so far, begun to understand its possibilities. It is for our successors to make this force a servant of humanity far more useful, far more obedient, far more intelligent than steam.

What will our successors do with this force? If one may be allowed to prophesy, I would point to our ships. We have increased their speed from six or eight knots an hour to five and twenty, or even thirty. Is there no simpler machinery than the steam-driven screw and the paddle? Perhaps. Consider the action of a duck: she flies over the water; she does not plough through it; she presents a smooth round breast, and she beats the surface rapidly with her strong pinions. The ship of the future will be shallow and round in build, like the duck; she will be provided with a row of wing-like propellers; she will not plough the waters, but will skim them with her electric wings, and her speed will be, not thirty knots, but a hundred and fifty; and it

will take no longer to get from Liverpool to New York than it now takes to get from London to Marseilles.

As regards law and its administration, we inherited a fine old cumbrous collection of courts and procedures. It seems difficult to understand how people could ever be induced to enter upon an action at law, considering the delays, the cost, and the doubt attending any action. A case dragged on for year after year, from one decade to another; the estate, meanwhile, was bleeding at every pore; the lawyer took all. The judges, for their part, accepted the situation; they even encouraged the delays, out of sympathy with their former brethren of the bar. We have improved things in this respect, but some of the cumbrous methods remain. The suitor cannot, as in the United States, place his case directly in the hands of the barrister, nor arrange with him as to the cost of proceedings, and—a formidable obstacle in the way of justice—he is always liable to pay the costs of the other side. In other words, justice for a poor man is, practically, still most difficult, if not impossible. Moreover, everything is done by the Courts themselves to make an action terrible and an ordeal even to the strongest. The witness is raised high above the whole court in a box, a position in itself most trying to a nervous person; and though the ancient bullying of the Bar has now become mitigated, some of it still exists; the traditions of brow-beating and terrifying a witness still remain. Moreover, there is, as I said, always that terrible danger of being ordered to pay the costs of the other side.

It will be for our successors to make justice accessible to every one, to remove the terrors of an action, to allow any one to plead in person, or to have direct access to a barrister; to plead *in formâ pauperis;* to be treated by the Bar with courtesy; not to be set in pillory above all the people; and no longer to be saddled with the danger of paying the costs of the other side. If these reforms are ever carried, it will be against the whole weight and influence of Bench and Bar, unless Bench and Bar change their present mind; but it will result in multiplying cases by the hundred—in other words, in causing the Courts of Law to be regarded as the natural arbitrators of every dispute, instead of a few only: in giving work to many hundreds of lawyers; in amalgamating the two branches; and all to the great advantage of the people, and to no loss of dignity, or of income, to the profession.

After the law, medicine. Here, indeed, we hand over a mass of work incomplete, but splendid with illustrious beginnings. We have introduced sanitary reforms into our towns, our streets, and our houses; we have cleansed and purified our hospitals; we have sent women back—with honor—to their old work of nursing, but nursing trained and scientific; we have learned how to see the very inside of a living man; we have discovered how, without giving him pain, to cut open any part of him, and to operate upon him for almost any length of time. The last discovery is beyond everything admirable and worthy of praise and thanksgiving. But it is commonly spoken of as the end, whereas it is only the beginning. The operation is painless—that is true; but, after the operation, where is then our anæsthetic? When the wounds have to be dressed—that is, daily—where is our anæsthetic? In the Hospitals, it is ready to hand and it is freely used; in the houses and in Nursing Homes, it cannot be used without setting in motion a whole machinery of doctors called in for the purpose. "Give us," we say to our successors, "an anæsthetic which can be easily and readily applied in the long hours and days of pain that follow the operation, as well as in the agony intolerable of the operation itself. So will the bed of sickness lose its terrors, and the soul, if it has to leave the body, will not be torn out of it with throes of suffering, but will gently pass away in painless coma."

There is a great deal more for medical students of the next century: we put into their hands, indeed, plenty of failures. We have failed to cure gout, asthma, rheumatism, cancer, consumption, and paralysis, without speaking of other "plaguy diseases" which afflict mankind. All that we can do at present is to recommend habits and diet which shall perhaps be preventive. We can cure none of these diseases. Will our successors prove more competent than ourselves? We have, at least, prepared the way for a more scientific treatment; we have discovered bacillus, and bacteria; we have invented antiseptic treatment. Perhaps, by their aid, our children will cease to regard disease as an evil which science may alleviate but can never remove. In no branch of intellectual endeavor does the sense of incompleteness weigh upon us so strongly as in the branch of medicine; yet in no branch have the achievements of the nineteenth century been more remarkable.

I must pass over much that remains. Our care of the poor has been another egregious failure. We have not made up our minds about out-door relief: we have made the "House" a prison; we have failed to devise a working scheme of pensions, and the respectable poor regard with horror the necessity of taking refuge in the gloomy mansion where the unfortunate paupers are ordered about like criminals, and ruled like schoolboys.

Let me advance one point more, and only one out of hundreds, could one find space enough. There is a question, as old as history itself, always disputed, never settled. This question should, if the present order continues, receive an answer during the present century. The question is whether political society is to be a machinery for enabling a few to keep the many in subjection; or whether every man shall be allotted his equal share in government, and his equal opportunities of working for the community. In other words, is government by the people possible? Is it desirable? Is it better for the people than government by an aristocracy? And shall it prevail?

It is not to us, nor to any European state, that the world looks for an answer to this most momentous question. It is to America, and to America alone, that we must look. You have now had for more than a hundred years a government by the people; it is not a passing experiment, like one of the many forms tried successively in France; it is a settled form; an American, even of the second generation, has it in his blood. We have had, as you have seen, an enormous amount of destructive legislation to get through before we could get the people into their place. You started without any obstructive caste. But the answer to the question proposed above must be based on a long experience. After two hundred years, let the world turn to America for an answer. Never before has the experiment of popular government been made on so great a scale, or for so long a time; never before have the conditions been free from caste, aristocracies or oligarchies.

It is a question the importance of which, to the future of humanity, cannot be exaggerated. Would that in the year 1999 or 2000 one could come back to earth, in order to hear the answer. May it be favorable to democracy. And may it be final!

WALTER BESANT.

THE ABSURD PARADOX OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY J. M. BUCKLEY, LL. D.

AM I *I*? If I am, can I know that I am? Am I God, or part of God? Have I a soul or spirit? Or am I spirit, and is all that seems to be something else a fond or foul delusion?

Mrs. Eddy forces such questions by introducing into "Science and Health" this characterization of the Infinite Ego:

> "I, I, I, I itself, I,
> The inside and outside, the what and the why,
> The when and the where, the low and the high,
> All I, I, I, I itself, I."

Though the approver of this, she is not its author. She affirms elsewhere that:

> "God, *the* only substance and divine Principle of creation, is by no means a creative partner in the firm of error named matter, or mortal mind. He eliminates His own idea wherein Principle and idea are not one—or God and man are one—and who can say which that one was?"

Boswell, speaking of Berkeley's attempt to prove the non-existence of matter and that everything in the universe is merely ideal, said to Dr. Johnson: "Though we are satisfied his doctrine is not true, it is impossible to refute it." Instantly Johnson struck his foot with mighty force against a large stone and exclaimed: "*I* refute it *thus*."

"Common sense metaphysics" enables me to identify myself. I think or feel or know that I can distinguish my neighbor from myself, and he is as sure he can distinguish me from himself. Yet we are so much alike, and the universe seems so much the same to each of us, that I can say to him, or to all mankind, as Shylock said to Salarino:

> "Have I not eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?—fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and

cooled by the same winter and summer as you are? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?"

Whatever materialistic, or metaphysical, or mixed theory of knowledge and reality may be held, there is in every sane mind a recognition of permanent relations of one thing or idea to another. If there be matter only, or if there be no matter and spirit alone remains, or if "nothing exists where there is no mind to perceive it," the same *relations* must exist.

Berkeley understood this and said:

"I do not argue against the existence of any one thing that we can comprehend either of sensation or reflection; that the things I see with mine eyes and touch with my hands do exist, really exist, I make not the least question. The only thing whose existence I deny is that which philosophers call matter or corporeal substance.

"And in denying this there is no damage done to the rest of mankind, who, I dare say, will never miss it."

Any fantastic hypothesis of the laws of being may be the basis of metaphysical speculation; but, so long as sanity remains, the same order in relations must seem to exist, and the same general conduct with respect to the relations and their order will appear wise or foolish, right, indifferent or wrong. In most respects, Mrs. Eddy acts as if she had no peculiar theory of God, man and the universe. She has no doubt that she is the *I* who was treated by Professor Quimby, of Portland, Maine, and later claimed to make original discoveries and founded the Massachusetts Metaphysical College. She is certain that she is the *I* who charged three hundred dollars for instructing students, and that she is the *I* whose "mortal mind" is delighted with Pleasant View, near Concord, New Hampshire. The famous Souvenir Silver Spoon which she recommended to her votaries seems to blend her idealistic theory with the more material and mortal aspects of the case. The thought of the souvenir is spiritual; the spoon, and the profits derived from its sale, approximate the material and belong to the realm of "mortal mind," to which the desire for other emoluments also appertains.

With respect to Sin, Sickness and Death, she professes to act as most persons do *not*, and maintains that her conduct is the logical result of her metaphysical theory. This theory she claims to have received from God.

Mrs. Eddy claims to have discovered the "Science of Meta-

physical Healing" in 1866. This she *afterwards* named Christian Science. Ten years before that, when a student in college, the claim of semi-miraculous healing was forced upon my notice by certain anti-medicine, faith-cure Adventists in the vicinity, who tried to heal a young woman. She died, and, until the effects of chemical laws demonstrated that vital action had forever ceased, they prayed over her. After leaving college, I removed to New Hampshire, and frequently visited Mrs. Eddy's birthplace. There I heard much of her, and saw some of her early writings. When she put forth her claims, I studied them through her writings, and received instruction from two of her students. Many facts of her involution, evolution and revolution (a wise autobiographer always omits *something*) are not found in her accounts of herself and her discovery. In my possession are the early editions of "Science and Health," in which her own revisions and those of her cabinet do not appear. None of her public movements or her published writings since then have been neglected by me. If, therefore, I am without some measure of understanding of the personal equation and of the theory and practice of Christian Science, want of opportunity cannot be pleaded in my defense, should injustice be done here in the treatment of the founder and the foundations and what has been built thereon.

Within a year, referring to the origin of "Science and Health," she has written:

"What I wrote had a strange coincidence or relationship with the light of revelation and solar light. I could not write those notes *after sunset:* all thoughts in the line of Scriptural interpretation would leave me until the rising of the sun: then the influx of divine interpretation would pour in upon my spiritual sense as gloriously as the sunlight on the material senses. It was not myself, but the divine power of Truth and Love, infinitely above me, which dictated 'Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures.'"

After praising her own work inordinately, she closes the article in a style which in an ordinary mortal would be called egotism, and in an extraordinary mortal might perhaps pass for humility:

"I should blush to write of 'Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures' as I have, were it of human origin, and I, apart from God, its author. But, as I was only a scribe echoing the harmonies of heaven in Metaphysics, I cannot be super-modest in my estimate of the Christian Science text-book."

When charged with inconsistency or absurdity, she and her followers take refuge under this proclamation:

"In its literal expression, my system of Christian Metaphysics is hampered by material terms, which must be used to indicate thoughts that are to be understood metaphysically."

On this account, to be clear and just in dealing with her system, it is necessary to extract from her works language which can only be used in an ordinary sense. This passage certainly answers this description and reveals her estimate of herself and her system:

"Leibnitz, Descartes, Fichte, Hegel, Spinoza, Bishop Berkeley, were once clothed with a 'brief authority;' but Berkeley ended his literary career with a treatise on the healing properties of tar-water, and Hegel was an inveterate snuff-taker. The circumlocution and cold categories of Kant never improved the conditions of mortals, morally, spiritually or physically. Such miscalled metaphysical systems are reeds shaken with the wind. Compared with the inspired wisdom and infinite meaning of the Word of Truth ["Science and Health"], they are as moonbeams to the sun, or as Stygian night to the kindling dawn."

The following reference is valuable as an index of the personal equation, and of the essential arrogance of the claims made:

"Emerson's ethics are models of their kind; but even that good man and genial philosopher partially lost his mental faculties before his death, showing that he did not understand the science of Mind Healing as elaborated in my 'Science and Health;' nor did he pretend to do so."

This communication, sent out to the world over her signature within a few weeks, can have no signification requiring a specially spiritual mind, and could probably be understood after sunset:

"You say a boil is painful; but that is impossible, for matter without mind is not painful. The boil simply manifests your belief in pain, through inflammation and swelling; and you call this belief a boil. Now administer mentally to your patient a high attenuation of truth on this subject, and it will soon cure the boil. The fact that pain cannot exist where there is no mortal mind to feel it, is a proof that this so-called mind makes its own pain; that is, its own belief in pain.

"We weep because others weep, we yawn because they yawn, and we have smallpox because others have it; but mortal mind, *not matter*, contains and carries the infection."

Boils have come down to us from high antiquity. Pharaoh knew something of them, and they were among the trials of Job. That any one who has experienced the rise and progress and the

decline and fall of a boil can deny the existence of matter is inexplicable!

Mrs. Eddy affirms that "Science and Health" properly interprets the Bible, and that the truth of the theory of Christian Science was demonstrated by Jesus "when healing mortal minds and bodies," but was lost sight of until rediscovered by her and demonstrated with "signs following."

Her serious propositions, endlessly reiterated, are:

"I demonstrated this as the leading factor in mind-science—that mind is all and matter naught. * * * Matter seemeth to be, but is not. * * * What is termed matter is but a manifestation of mortal mind. * * * Christian Science eschews what is termed natural science. The five physical senses are avenues of mortal mind. What, then, is the material personality which we call I? It is the embodiment of sin, sickness, and death. Spirit is God, soul; and soul or spirit is not in man; else man would be identical with God. In reality, man has no other mind than God, it is only a delusion that he seems to have another mind. * * * What appears to the senses as death is but a mortal illusion, instead of being matter in the death-process. Men say the body is dead; but this death was the departure of mortal illusion, not of matter. Electricity is not a vital fluid, but an element of mortal mind—the thought essence that forms the link between what is termed matter and mortal mind. The grosser substratum is named *matter*, the more ethereal is called *human mind*, which is the nearer counterfeit of the immortal mind—and hence the more accountable and sinful belief.

"It is a moral wrong to examine the body in order to ascertain if we are in health, and what are our life prospects. To do this is to take the government of man out of the hands of God.

"Christian missionaries do not preach the gospel properly in India 'when hundreds are dying annually of the bite of serpents.'

"Erring mortal views named *mind* produce all the organic and animal action of the mortal body. * * * It is not enough to say that matter is the substratum of evil, and that its highest attenuation is mortal mind; for there is strictly speaking *no* mortal mind. Mind is immortal. * * * Death is the consequent of an antecedent false assumption of the realness of something material and mortal."

"Mortal mind" is a species of trick in her game of logomachy, or else in her theory it is something neither body nor spirit as ordinarily understood.

Whether the Bible be true or false, the claim of Mrs. Eddy that "Science and Health" *agrees with* and *interprets* the Bible is without foundation.

The Hebrews under the direction of Moses had a system of sanitation perfectly adapted to the country, the people, and the climate. The seclusion of the leper, the law forbidding marriages to near kin, the prohibition of the eating of animals that

had died of disease, the names and descriptions of diseases to which the people would be exposed, distinguished the Israelites among the nations of the earth, and numerous and minute directions show that they knew nothing of such notions as this woman has conceived.

The poisonous character of the wild gourds, which the people, in their ignorance, put into the pottage, was recognized and remedied by Elisha, whose subsequent protracted and fatal illness is portrayed. A multitude of diseases are described, among them consumption, pestilence, palsy, cutaneous disorders, sores, boils, and sunstroke. The maladies of Job, of Hezekiah, to whom Isaiah applied a plaster of figs, and of Daniel—of whom is written: "And I, Daniel, fainted, and was sick certain days; afterward I rose up and did the king's business"—are matters of record.

There are also references to medicines. "A merry heart doeth good like a *medicine.*" Ezekiel speaks figuratively of the fruit of the trees being for meat, and "the *leaves thereof for medicine.*" There are other figurative references that imply the legitimate use and effect of medicines, such as: "Is there no balm in Gilead, is there no physician there?"

The effect of improper food in producing physical disorders is referred to in Proverbs: "Hast thou found honey? eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith and vomit it." The medicinal effects of liquors, both vinous and compounded, are mentioned in the same book: "Give *strong drink* unto him that is ready to perish, and *wine* unto those that be of heavy heart. Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more."

It was Christ who said, "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." And the Samaritan bound up the wounds of the man who fell among thieves, "pouring in oil and wine." The sickness of Lazarus and the words of Christ with regard to it, are not in harmony with the methods of Mrs. Eddy. Gluttony and drunkenness in the feasts of the Corinthian church made "many weak and sickly," and caused the death of some. Paul recounts his being "in weariness and painfulness," also his "thorn in the flesh," and his prayer three times that it might depart. He prescribed to Timothy "a little wine for his *stomach's sake*" and his "often infirmities." Enthusiasts have

affirmed that this wine was unfermented. Why, then, the caution that he should confine himself to a little, and why a prescription of a little of one kind of mere food for *"often infirmities"?* Wherever illness was mentioned by Christ or any of his Apostles, it was spoken of as a reality, as a condition of disease in feeling, perception, or action consequent upon a condition or a process in the individual; and wholeness or health as a restoration of the normal condition and processes.

Numerous "treatments," to be paid for per visit, do not appear in the Christian Scriptures. Elisha refused an immense sum from Naaman, and called down the judgment of God on Gehazi, his servant, who surreptitiously sought to enrich himself by a tax upon the healed diplomat.

Christ sent out the seventy with two instructions: *"Heal the sick.* Cast out Devils. Freely ye have received: *freely give."*

There are other fundamental differences. Christ, when his disciples were affrighted, made a distinction between the spirit and the body, saying, "Handle me and see, a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." He speaks of men who can kill the body, and warns against something more terrible that may be after the death of the body which may be inflicted upon both body and soul.

Christ required faith. Mrs. Eddy disparages faith, putting it below what she calls understanding and antagonistic to it. Christ specifically commanded prayer in the sense of petitioning a person, with a promise that such prayers would avail when offered according to the will of God. Mrs. Eddy thus condemns it:

> "Petitioning a personal deity is a misapprehension of the source and means of all good and blessedness."
>
> "Prayer to a person affects the sick as a drug that has no efficacy of its own, but borrows its power from faith and belief in matter."

The New Testament has much to say of the beneficent influence of pain as a means of chastening the spirit, and gives instructions to those who "suffer according to the will of God."

If the theory of this metaphysical siren be true, the sufferings of Christ on the cross were erroneous dreams of mortal mind, and the "sweat as it were great drops of blood" forced by anguish from every pore, was avoidable by her process. Indeed, she declares that: "Had wisdom characterized all the say-

ings of Jesus, He *would not have prophesied His own death, and thereby hastened or caused it.*"

Enslaved or abnormalized by her theory, she rushes in where angels fear to tread, and indites words such as no woman or man ever uttered, either in belief or unbelief of Christ or His mission.

"Jesus, born of a Virgin mother, was more of a miracle to that age than to this. The Bethlehem babe was the nearest approximation, since the record in Genesis, to the Science of Being, in which spirit makes man. But, man born of woman being the usual advent of mortal man, this material belief entered in part Mary's spiritual conception of Jesus, which accounts for His struggles in Gethsemane, but it made Him mediator between God and mortal man. A lack of entire science in the advent of Jesus produced its own discord and met its fate in death."

Christ and His Apostles raised the dead, and turned away from no malady. Their cures were instantaneous: only one case of hesitation is recorded, through want of faith in the Disciples; but their Master's voice was effectual. They lost no patients. Those whom they healed suffered no relapses. Surgical cases were not, as is the fact with Christian Scientists, rejected. All "the maimed" were "made whole," and Christ's last miracle of healing was to replace an ear which had been smitten off by the sword of the impulsive Peter.

Whether Christianity be true or false, there is no way by which Mrs. Eddy can harmonize her theory with it, except by reading into it the dreams of her heated fancy.

Her system of spiritual therapeutics, as embodied in her prescriptions, is fantastic. Mothers, and others, are taught that diet and dirt are of no significance.

"The condition of the stomach, bowels, food and clothing, and so forth, is of no serious moment to your child. Your views regarding them will produce the only result they can have on the health of your child. The daily ablution of an infant is not more natural or necessary than to take a fresh fish out of water and cover it with dirt once a day, that it may thrive better in its natural element."

Again she affirms:

"This woman learned that food neither strengthens nor weakens the body, that mind alone does. . . . The truth is, food does not affect the life of man. . . . It would be foolish to venture beyond our present understanding; foolish to stop eating until we gain more goodness, and a clearer apprehension of the living God."

Exercise is of no value; indeed, "it cannot possibly enlarge muscles."

"Because the muscles of the blacksmith's arm are strongly developed, it does not follow that exercise did it, or that an arm less used must be less fragile. . . . The trip hammer is not increased in size by exercise; why not, since muscles are as material as wood and iron?"

Bathing and rubbing are not only useless, but deserve castigation. Here is the dictum:

"Bathing and rubbing to alter the secretions or remove unhealthy exhalations from the cuticle, receive a useful rebuke from Christian healing."

To a questioner who said, "How can I believe there is no such thing as matter when I weigh over two hundred pounds, and daily carry about this weight?" Mrs. Eddy answered:

"By learning that matter is but manifest mortal mind. You entertain an adipose belief of your sense as substance; whereas substance means more than matter, it is the glory and preeminence of spirit. Have you never been so preoccupied in thought while moving your body, that you did this without consciousness of its weight?"

Mrs. Eddy claims that her power over "the fish of the sea" was demonstrated by the cure of a case of inflammation and stoppage resulting from eating smoked herring. She bases her proposition upon this: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion over *the fish of the sea* and over the fowl of the air." These are her words:

"Had that man dominion over the fish in his stomach? His want of control over the fish of the sea must have been an illusion, or else the Scriptures misstate man's power. That the Bible is true I believe not only, but I demonstrated its truth when I exercised my power over the fish, cast out the sick man's illusion, and healed him."

I was at the scene of a railway accident at which twenty-six persons were killed and one hundred and four wounded. Mrs. Eddy accounts for their condition in this way:

"The fear of dissevered bodily members, or a belief in such a possibility, is reflected on the body in the shape of headache, fractured bones, dislocated joints, and so on, as directly as shame is seen in the blush rising to the cheek. This human error about physical wounds and colics is part and parcel of the illusion that matter can feel and see, having sensation and substance."

Mrs. Eddy thus explains the origin of insanity: "It implies belief in a diseased brain, while physical ailments so-called arise from belief that some other portions of the body are deranged." She maintains that, if one were to believe fully that the brain has nothing to do with the mind, there would be no insanity

from so-called injuries of the brain, whereas if one believed that the great toe was a cause of insanity "a bunion would produce it."

An eminent author some years since wrote upon "Aberrations of the Sexual Instinct," and how they affect the reflective processes. Those familiar with that paper will certainly be reminded of it by the following passage from Mrs. Eddy. She does not shrink from saying:

"Until time matures, human growth, marriage and progeny will continue unprohibited in Christian Science, but we look to future generations for ability to comply with absolute science when marriage shall be found to be man's oneness with God, the unity of eternal love. . . . To abolish marriage at this period and maintain morality and generation, would put ingenuity to ludicrous shifts; yet this is possible in science, although it is to-day problematic. The time cometh and now is for spiritual and eternal existence to be recognized and understood in science. All is Mind. Human procreation, birth, life, and death, are subjective states of human erring mind. They are the phenomena of mortality, nothingness, and illustrate mortal mind and body as one and neither real nor eternal."

The foregoing suggests the inquiry: How near the verge of insanity may persons wander, and still retain financial ability?

The following frank confession made by Mrs. Eddy should not be omitted:

"To quench the glowing flames of falsehood, once in about seven years, I have to repeat this—that I use no drugs whatever, not even *coffea*, coffee, *thea*, tea, *capsicum*, red pepper; though every day, and especially at dinner, I indulge in homoeopathic doses of *natrum muriaticum*, common salt."

The testimony of Christian Scientists to their cures is, to a large degree, discredited by their ignorance of and indifference to the human system. Over many of the cases they describe, as over the account given by Mrs. Eddy of her own hopeless invalidism and diversified ailments, *hysteria* and *hypochondria* might be inscribed in large characters. Their alleged and actual recoveries present no new problems either in psychology, physiology or pathology. Yet the number and diversity of diseases from which those whom they heal were suffering at one and the same time, or successively, and the positiveness with which they name these diseases, rival the accounts of the most unscrupulous quacks.

It is true that, under their incantations, or silence or "absent treatment," many recover from trifling ailments, and some from serious maladies. But only those unacquainted with the latent resources of human vitality, and the effects of imagination, faith,

expectancy, and personal influence, find this problem difficult. Without any theory, many all their lives refuse to consult doctors or take medicine; more consult physicians and recover by attention to hygiene without medicine. Millions of the poor and of those in frontier or scattered regions, in shipwrecks, in time of war and pestilence, have recovered without medical aid, the *vis medicatrix naturae* bringing them through.

Many diseases are self-limited. Under ordinary circumstances, if let alone, the patient will recover. In such cases, whatever treatment he has had receives the credit. The influence of hope is well known, and also that of emotional excitement, which often kills and more frequently cures. Many are ill chiefly because they fancy themselves so, and only need some one to make them believe they are well. All schools of medicine receive the benefit of these latent resources and natural suggestions.

To divert the attention of patients from themselves by expectation, by confidence in physician or in theory, is of great benefit. Sometimes, the concentration, under the influence of suggestion, of the patient's attention upon particular parts of the body, may have a favorable or unfavorable effect, even to the extent of producing structural alteration. All that Christian Scientists seem to achieve is done by these hidden springs of life and mental adjuncts. This is proved by the fact that they have the same limitations, dangers of relapse, and inability to exert the least influence on certain diseases which Mormons, anti-medicine faith-healers, spiritualists, and occult healers of all kinds encounter. None can give hearing or sight to those born deaf or blind, nor restore lost members to the body.

The failures of Christian Scientists are innumerable. Twenty years ago, I collected vital statistics of various communistic institutions which refuse medical aid, and compared them with the tables of life insurance companies; and on the basis of the results of the comparison, I predicted that, should Christian Science at any time begin to spread rapidly, or should anti-medicine, faith-healing institutions be largely increased, the number of deaths would attract attention, and public indignation be excited by failures to heal maladies which ordinarily yield to medical or surgical treatment.

This prediction is now being fulfilled every day. Many who have been vainly treated by Christian Scientists are dead. None

of their failures is mentioned by the healers, and few by living victims, who are usually silenced by shame. One I met in an insane asylum, muttering all day long, "God can never be sick."

The opinion that herbs and drugs have no power except as "belief or mortal mind" gives it, is puerile, and is destroyed by the fact that the medicinal effects of various herbs, minerals and waters have been discovered by *accident.*

The power of *anæsthetics* to produce insensibility so complete as to admit of painful major operations, without the sufferer being conscious of pain, was accidentally discovered. Their effects are practically instantaneous and capable of almost indefinite prolongation. They are equally manifest upon those who have never heard of them, upon idiots, maniacs, domestic animals, and the most ferocious of wild animals. In the presence of this demonstration of the falsity of their fundamental theory, sincere believers in Christian Science are objects of pity, and its merely financial exploiters should be objects of abhorrence.

The difference between Christian Science Healers and physicians worthy of the name is great. An intelligent, educated, experienced and candid physician studies both the mind and the body, relieves the sick man of the responsibility of treating himself, strengthens him by hope and encourages him by his personal presence and manner. He understands the mineral, plant and animal substances included in Materia Medica; he knows that not medicine, but inherited vital force, is the primary cause of health and healing, and of the repair of injuries. He knows also by observation and experiment that nature can be assisted, but he interferes only when it is necessary and safe. Such a physician is too learned and too honest ever to do he knows not what because he knows not what to do. He can relieve the pains of incurable diseases, smooth the pathway of sufferers to the inevitable end, and to convalescents he can give such hygienic hints as may prevent a recurrence of the malady or save them from something worse. Certain that all men must die and that all die of old age, disease, accident, or intentional violence, he claims by hygiene, medicine and surgery to assist nature to delay the inevitable, and to render the journey to it more endurable.

Under the theory of this government, any person is free to believe all the contradictions in the absurd paradox of Christian Science, and every sane person should be free to act upon his

belief so far as it affects himself *alone*. But should an adult, the victim of an acute or chronic disease, for whose relief no efforts are being made, sink into coma or become delirious, if those nearest to him refuse to call medical or surgical aid, the case is a proper subject for interference by the state. Children, also, are the wards of the state; and if they suffer from diseases which might prove fatal, and their parents and guardians refuse them medical treatment, the state is justified in requiring the attendance of health officers, and, if they believe the situation critical, in enforcing treatment. If the disease be *contagious*, the authorities should take charge of the patient, and require that he be treated by methods which the civilization of the age approves. And whoever by neglect allows a human being for whom he is responsible to die without care is liable to prosecution, and if unable to justify his conduct, to conviction and punishment.

As Christian Science denies the testimony of the senses; and as its methods are the same whether the case is one of smallpox, bubonic plague, leprosy, scarlet fever, diphtheria, or a simple cold; and as the declaration of its founder is, "I have always advised my pupils not to read works in advocacy of a materialistic treatment of disease, because they becloud the science of metaphysical healing;" and as many contagious diseases are distinguishable only by expert physicians, where there is the slightest reason to suspect their existence, the management of them should not be left to those who on principle attach no importance to a knowledge of the nature of any disease.

Like the dreams of sleep, the dream of Christian Science seems real and pleasant while health lasts; but when the believer suffers injuries so painful as to concentrate his attention upon himself, or when the sickness is in another and is unto death, the dream becomes a nightmare. Then the refrain from the lips of the foundress, "Sympathy with sin, sorrow and sickness would dethrone God as truth," has no power; unless, the testimony of the senses having been denied, the natural emotions of the heart are paralyzed—one of the worst effects of a delusion which, while in all other relations of human life it allows the use of means adapted to ends, in sickness rejects, in the name of God, all that God has endowed with healing properties. At the last, Christian Science and Pagan Stoicism become equivalent terms.

J. M. Buckley.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PORTO RICAN PROBLEM.

BY L. S. ROWE, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER TO REVISE AND COMPILE THE LAWS OF PORTO RICO.

THE problem of government in Porto Rico is unique. The analogies with the Philippine situation are remote and, in many respects, misleading. Even the experience of England and France in the West Indies is of but little value. The history of these islands seems one long series of changes of sovereignty, Spain, France and England having in turn made them the football of colonial politics. Little thought was given either to the rights of the native population or to their system of law. Although in some cases representative institutions were established, sufficient power was usually retained by the executive authority to overcome opposition; and, with every change of sovereignty, a radical change in the private as well as the public law was effected. It is true that in but few cases were local political traditions sufficiently developed to require much care or thought in adapting insular institutions to a new régime.

In Porto Rico, however, an entirely different situation confronts the United States. The Spanish civilization, with its highly organized political and administrative system, and its carefully developed and complex codes, was, in form at least, extended to the West Indian possessions. We, therefore, meet a population accustomed to a system of law quite as carefully worked out as our own, although in parts constructed on a different basis. Looked at from this point of view, the Philippine problem is simpler than the Porto Rican. The United States Philippine Commission has to deal with a people whose political traditions are as yet unformed, the great majority having still to pass through the first stages of political training. The form of con-

trol must, therefore, be more or less absolute, in order to secure the first requisite for stable government, the maintenance of order.

The problem is by no means so simple in Porto Rico. As far as the private law is concerned, the traditions have been formed and are as definite as those of Spain itself. It is out of the question, therefore, to sweep away at one fell blow the entire structure. Such a policy would throw the institutional life of the people into a state of confusion, and inevitably lead to anarchy and disintegration. We must not make an Alsace-Lorraine of Porto Rico. The population, far from being opposed to American rule and American institutions, is anxious to enjoy the benefits of these, and will aid us in every possible way to make their introduction easy. But Americanization must take place gradually, and foster rather than destroy the spirit of legality, guiding it into new channels and developing it in directions neglected by the Spanish system. While, in the strict interpretation of law, our rights in the Island are those of a conqueror, it has not occurred to any one, nor would the American people tolerate, that we should do violence to the institutions of the country. With the exception of the native Spanish element resident in the Island, the American government was welcomed by the entire population; and there is no reason why this feeling should not continue, provided we approach the problem in the proper spirit.

The first step necessary to bring the Island closer to us in political thought and feeling, is the thorough revision of the public law. This can be done all the more readily because of the policy, consistently pursued by Spain, of discouraging active participation in public affairs by the native population. Throughout the history of Spanish domination, the Porto Rican element was classed as "second class Spaniards." The highly centralized form of government which prevailed enabled the Spanish government to place its own agents in every position of importance, whether in the provinces or in the municipalities. For the American government this is at once an advantage and a drawback. It is an advantage, because it clears the way for new institutions, more distinctly American in character. It is a drawback, because of the resulting lack of political training: a fact which will prevent the immediate introduction of that form of local self-government which is usually regarded as a necessary

part of the American system. For some time to come, we must be prepared to centralize the administration in Porto Rico to a greater degree than in the States of the Union. This necessity is not one, however, from which we need shrink, as the tendency toward administrative centralization is characteristic of our State institutions at the present time. In Porto Rico, we must permit the Insular Government to prescribe to the local authorities the minimum standard of efficiency, and we must furnish it with the means of enforcing this minimum. Unless this is done, the system of local government will never reach the degree of efficiency which the situation requires.

The revision of the criminal, civil and commercial codes, and of the codes of criminal and civil procedure, presents difficulties greater, in some respects, than the revision of the public law. As stated above, the reorganization of the system of government and administration, with a view to bringing it closer to American principles, will be welcomed by the people of the Island. In the private law, however, an entirely different situation confronts us. Both the civil and the commercial codes have been worked out with great care, and represent a more advanced system of law than exists either in Mexico or South America.

The period of liberalism which prevailed in Spain during the sixties and seventies witnessed a profound transformation in the legal system. A large body of jurists, who had received their training in foreign countries—namely, in Germany and France—began the revision of the antiquated system which was based on the "*Siete Partidos.*" The series of compilations, of which the civil and commercial codes and the mortgage law are the most important, gave a new basis to the legal system of the mother country. Both Cuba and Porto Rico received the benefit of these changes, and we thus find a body of civil law which, in some respects, is superior to both the French and German systems. That they have not fulfilled every expectation has been due, in part at least, to the fact that they are intended for a civilization more complex than that of Porto Rico. The most important problem which the revision of the civil and commercial codes presents is to simplify the system in certain parts, and to eliminate those institutions which have been imported from France and Germany, but which have failed to take root.

On the other hand, the existing criminal code requires the

most thorough revision. Its more primitive character is explained by the fact that it was never subjected to the tests of the more modern penal codes, as is shown in the failure adequately to protect personal rights and in the tendency to punish offenses against property with undue severity. It fails, furthermore, to make proper use of a system of fines, confining itself almost exclusively to the penalty of imprisonment. As a result, a considerable number of offenses, such as are comprised in the articles on restraint of trade, remained unpunished, owing to the unwillingness of the courts to inflict imprisonment where the act involved is *mala prohibita* rather than *mala in se*. The grading of punishment is, furthermore, far removed from our modern standards of right and wrong, and will have to undergo thorough revision.

The codes of civil and criminal procedure will require simplification, in order to make their operation less cumbersome and more rapid. Here the simplicity of procedure which characterizes some of our Western States' codes can readily be introduced without violating any settled traditions. In fact, the adaptation of the Spanish to the American system of private law can be best begun through the codes of procedure. One important change made under the military government strikingly illustrates this fact. Previous to American occupation, civil cases were heard upon written depositions. The introduction of the public, oral trial has been most favorably received, and there is at present no thought of returning to the more primitive procedure. In short, the American system of procedure, particularly that of the code States, is capable of adaptation to the Spanish codes, and will even result in giving to the latter greater force and effect.

While, at first glance, the possibility of reconciling the American and Spanish systems seems remote, a close study of both will show that such a blending is by no means impossible. In fact, it is a combination which must be made, if we are to meet the obligations forced upon us by the administration of our new possessions. It is true that the questions presented are new to us and, in the form they have taken, find no parallel in the history of modern Europe. American rule means orderly development rather than oppression, and must, therefore, effect a gradual combination of the two systems of law rather than a violent substitu-

tion of one for the other. The latter policy would arouse a form of opposition which would thwart every effort to Americanize the Island. We must gradually accustom ourselves to the thought that the "American system" does not necessarily mean either the English common law or the extreme form of decentralized government to which we have hitherto been accustomed. In fact, the lessons which our new possessions are teaching us will broaden our view of political and legal systems, and prepare us for the larger obligations which our position in the Western Hemisphere has forced upon us. The more thorough comprehension of the strength and weakness of Spanish-American institutions, which must come in the close contact with these practical questions of law and government in Porto Rico, may prepare the way for that closer relationship with the South American republics which the logic of our present situation demands. The feeling of distrust which has existed will disappear, when it is clearly seen that there is nothing in the two civilizations to prevent the fullest co-operation. If, on the other hand, we deal harshly with Porto Rico, the feeling of distrust, of which there were symptoms during and after the recent war, will turn into fear and hatred; and the Monroe Doctrine, instead of being a permanent basis for the maintenance of friendly relations with all nations, will become a byword for aggression and misrule.

In the solution of the Porto Rican problem we are being subjected to a supreme test as an expanding nation. If we fail, our influence in the Western Hemisphere cannot long continue; if we succeed, our position of primacy will receive the sanction of every American country, and the Monroe Doctrine will acquire a new significance.

L. S. Rowe.

THE CONDITION OF THE SOUTH.

BY WALTER G. OAKMAN.

THE steady advance in prosperity and development in the Southern States, bringing strongly forward the natural resources upon which that advance is based, suggests the inquiry why such advantages have not brought about earlier and greater results, and why that section of the country has failed to attract its share of the added population which has built great cities in the West and has moved the center of population nearly to the Mississippi River.

With a climate genial and healthful over nearly all its area, a fruitful and fertile soil, possessing practically a monopoly in the production of one of the great staples of commerce, with immense and most valuable forests and almost exhaustless mineral wealth, why have immigration and foreign capital been attracted to the South for the development of these resources in a far smaller measure than to much less bountifully endowed portions of our country?

The tremendous waste and sacrifice of the Civil War undoubtedly made it difficult to set once more in motion the wheels of active effort, and to reorganize the productive energies of a region where so much had been destroyed. But a generation has passed since that period, and within a very few years only has the South begun to show her capacity for the creation of values.

In the recent campaign the political attitude of the South made manifest one of the causes which have stood in the way of her advancement, and emphasized very clearly what is, perhaps, the most positive influence that has acted to retard the progress and development of a portion of our country so rich in natural endowment.

The attitude of the South then indicated that no argument, no appeal to reason, would have weight against her traditional

political prejudices or her loyalty to the mere name of Democracy. With that name to conjure with, the politicians can be assured of Southern support for any policy or any platform, no matter how vicious or how destructive! Sweeping as it is, that statement cannot be regarded as unfair when it is remembered that the South, without a break in her column and without any serious effort to secure the result, voted for the Democratic platform, whereas, throughout the entire remainder of the country, where argument was had and policies were considered, only the four States of Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Nevada, casting thirteen Electoral votes in all, were carried by that party.

The one hundred and forty-two Electoral votes of the Southern States were cast against policies which were admittedly in the interest of the Southern people, and with which they are really in sympathy. The silver issue, involving national discredit and general disaster to all business activities, had ceased to command any intelligent following. Beyond the effort of the Democratic leaders to arouse the passions and jealousy of the vicious and least intelligent members of the community, the apparent issues were Expansion and so-called Militarism. With both these policies the Southern people should naturally be in sympathy.

The Democratic party had approved the expansion of the country by the acquisition of Florida, of Louisiana and of California, when Southern men were leaders of the party and molded the future of the American people. The material interests of the South would be peculiarly benefited by a wider market for their cotton and increasing manufactures; while their sympathies for the native Filipinos could hardly have been actively controlling, when so much opportunity exists unimproved for bettering the condition of the inferior race at home by promoting education in handicrafts and useful knowledge and a higher moral standard. Nor, upon the declaration of the war with Spain, did any section of the country respond more eagerly to the call for troops than the Southern States. Among the officers of the army, Southern generals and others of lesser rank were conspicuous for ability and achievement. In fact, the Southerners are a military people, and can hardly be expected to sympathize with fears that any proposed increase of the army could endanger the liberties of the nation—certainly so small an increase in a nation of seventy-five million people.

Under these circumstances, the conclusion seems inevitable that the vote of the South in the last Presidential election was based solely upon the traditions and prejudices engendered by the Civil War, waged nearly forty years ago, and that that vote was insincere, as it did not express the convictions of the voters in supporting the measures which they believed would bring the greatest benefit to the country and to their own section of the country. That this accusation is not unjust is indicated by the admission of leading Southern men that many more votes in the South would have been cast for the Republican ticket but for the conviction that Republican success was assured without their help.

It is, perhaps, as well that so great an object lesson should have been given in the recent campaign. Mr. Bryan and the Kansas City platform were made possible only by the foregone support of the South; and so long as political party support is based upon prejudice and not upon conviction or reason, the control of the political parties will remain in the hands of the most aggressive and unscrupulous of their leaders, instead of the broader minded and more patriotic.

The welfare and future of the nation demands the existence of two political parties to serve as wholesome checks and restraints upon each other; that purpose is not attained when the chief constituency of one of the parties is blinded by prejudice and tainted with insincerity.

It is asserted that the peculiar problems of the South, in its relations with the African race, compel its continued adherence to the Democratic party; that any break in its ranks would result in local injury. Perhaps, in the past, in the years following the enfranchisement of the negro, and of his control by so-called carpet-baggers, such a contention may have been justified. Surely, however, local conditions are now sufficiently in hand to permit of a sincere vote upon national questions of the first importance.

If, however, local conditions are so controlling that in all our national life there is no crisis sufficiently urgent to demand recognition, sufficiently acute to cause the withdrawal of even one from the steadfast column of Southern States, then measures of self-protection for the remainder of the nation are made necessary; and, whatever curtailment of the power of the South in the

Electoral College, or in Congress, may be legally possible, should be undertaken. The nation should not be subjected to the risk of sacrifice, by reason of the selfish unwillingness of any section to separately consider their local and their national policies.

The essential factor in all relations of life wherein various interests meet or combine, for mutual advancement in well-being and prosperity, is confidence in the sincerity of all concerned. Individuals may succeed through favorable circumstance or exceptional ability, even though lacking that element of character; but communities cannot afford to hold other than high standards if they would attract the best influences and command that confidence which is necessary for growth and extension of enterprise. Neither can they afford to remain content under reproach for failure to set up such standards, or they will inevitably lose the best elements of their own people, attracted elsewhere by conditions more in consonance with higher views.

Political insincerity as indicated by the action of the Southern States is so evident, and so compels attention, that it must cast suspicion upon the good faith of the Southern people; and it is earnestly to be hoped that they will soon recognize that their greatest welfare demands that they should follow convictions in the future, instead of surrendering those convictions and their own best interests to a blind adherence to the prejudice of a political creed.

WALTER G. OAKMAN.

THE BETTING BOOK AT BROOKS'S.

BY G. S. STREET.

Of all the pleasures that come of an interest in letters or history, the greatest, I think, is the inspection of "original documents"; and the greatest in that kind which I myself have had was experienced when, by an especial favor, of which I here make my most sincere acknowledgments, I was allowed to study and make extracts from the Betting Book at Brooks's Club. I propose to repeat some of these extracts—some only, for limits of space prevent my giving all, and discretion prevents my giving a particular few; to copy out bets which reflect the character of a profoundly interesting society; which show the real opinions of contemporary politicians about political chances—in particular of the chances of a certain War in America; which were made by men bearing some of the most famous names in our history—in our common history, for most of these bettors were men before the War of Independence; or which are merely curious in themselves.

I fancy that most of these bets will carry their own significance to my readers without comment of mine. Not to be a mere copyist, however, I will inflict on them a few words of introduction and general explanation. Brooks's Club, which was originally called Almack's but was quite distinct from the Assembly Rooms of that name, was formed in 1764. It was not a political club then. It first took on a political complexion in 1782, when Charles James Fox was on the eve of important office, and was sought after by place hunters and political friends and intriguers. They had to seek him in his haunts, and his favorite haunt was Brooks's, where he was (for once in his life) positively making money—by a faro bank. George Selwyn notes the circumstance in one of his letters to Lord Carlisle. "I own that

to see Charles closeted every instant at Brooks's by one or the other, that he can neither punt or deal for a quarter of an hour but he is obliged to give an audience * * * is to me a scene *la plus parfaitement comique que l'on puisse imaginer,* and to nobody it seems more risible than to Charles himself." It was, in fact, a gambling club, exclusive, and consisting almost entirely of that happy family which was English society at the time, but a gambling club still; and if most of the bets, even of the earlier bets, dealt with politics, it was because those gamblers happened to govern England.

The first bet is recorded in 1771. From then to 1800, the bets are constant. Then they slacken, and those after 1814—almost entirely political and for small sums—fill but a fifth of the book. Sir George Trevelyan has remarked on the strange epitome of two ages to be found in this club, as it is and as it was a hundred years ago. There is an old print of the large drawing room, with a crowd of punters round the big table and a few detached couples playing piquet about the room. Looking into that room now, one admires its grave and solemn dignity—perhaps one sighs. A member might go into it and read the North American Review undisturbed. The change is reflected in the betting book. A few stray political bets in the last fifty years, obviously made not in the least for the sake of the small sums staked, but as a sort of humorous memento of a discussion, one or two social bets to make some nominal continuity of an old custom—that is all. The later political bets are sometimes of great interest—I shall give some as late as 1852—but the old spirit is gone. Sir George Trevelyan, if I remember rightly, takes occasion to reflect ethically on the change. So will not I: enough to confess that the time of Charles Fox (provided that I had been in his set) would have pleased me better. One may gamble and carouse, if one has the mind, even now, but not with wits and statesmen.

The soul and spirit of that earlier time was Charles Fox, of course, that amazing genius and prodigal—scholar, wit, statesman, gambler, rake, affectionate husband, and the best loved man of his time. I imagine him dealing the cards at the large table, with his swarthy face and black eyebrows and ample waistcoat, with the unquestioned stamp of thought and command in all his aspect, and with the humorous twinkling eyes which tell of the

man innately *volage,* forever the child and victim of free-living impulse. Those of my readers who visit London should mark the fine picture of him in the National Portrait Gallery; there is none more interesting there. Next him sits his partner in the bank and lifelong intimate, Fitzpatrick, who died a general and was called "Beau Richard"; Hare, "the Hare of many friends"; Storer, famous for his good manners, their savior, perhaps; the last Duke of Queensberry, "Old Q."; General Burgoyne, the wit and man of fashion, back from his unlucky campaign against the American colonists; the second Lord Bolingbroke, "Bully," and his brother, Captain St. John, "The Baptist"; Sheridan—I might go on forever. George Selwyn, everybody's friend and counsellor, stands apart, half scandalized and half amused. But I must come to the bets.

They are all contained in one book, the size of an ordinary, thick notebook, on rough paper with gilt edges. The book, however, consists of two, bound in handsome red together. Some ten pages at the beginning of the second part are copies from the first part—why made and when, history sayeth not. But in all the rest of the book, the bets are made in the handwriting of one or the other bettor—possibly, in a few instances, by an obliging friend. It was a joy to me to observe the various handwritings—the easy, rapid writing of men who wrote a good deal; the clumsy, laborious writing of fingers more familiar with guns and bridle-reins; the hasty scrawl of the man who was in a hurry to be at play; sometimes the fantastic scrawl of the man who had plainly dined. Charles Fox's fist changes in the progress of the book from a rather round and boyish form to an elegant and running hand—an improvement no doubt produced by the lessons we know he took from a writing-master. He and Fitzpatrick used the book most constantly; after 1780, Sheridan's nimble flourish decorates a good many pages. I preserve spelling and other accidents, and refrain from impertinent and unnecessary *"sics."* The majority of the bets are not signed or initialled, nor is the settlement recorded: Sheridan (in pride, it may have been, of winning or paying) seems first to have introduced the latter custom.

It is convenient to make a few rough divisions. I propose to take first the period up to 1810 or so, to exhaust the Fox generation, and give (1.) Bets interesting on social grounds, or for the names put to them, (2.) Bets referring to the American War of

Independence, and (3.) Other political bets. And I shall add (4.) Some political bets of a later date.

I.

"1771. April 16th. Ld. Ossory betts Mr. C. Fox 100 Guineas to 10 that Doctor North is not Bishop of Durham this day two months, provided the present Bishop dies within that time."

That is the fourth bet in the book, Fox's first appearance, and an indication of his praiseworthy interest in the Church. The next bet is less edifying, though a sign of artistic interests:

"1771. June 22nd. Mr. William Hanger bets Mr. Lee Twenty Guineas to 25 that Mlle. Heinel does not dance in England at the Opera House next Month."

The next but one:

"Mr. Boothby gave Mr. Fawkener five Guineas to receive One Hundred if the Duke of Queensbury dies before half an Hour after five of the afternoon of the 27 of June 1773. June 27: 1772."

This is a very frequent sort of bet: that So-and-so will die before somebody else, that So-and-so will be alive in ten years' time—the rather gloomy subject is always coming up. So is the subject of marriage, sometimes, as in the case of the bet next given, denoting an anti-nuptial determination:

"2nd March 1774. Lord Northington betts Mr. Plumer 300 Guineas: to 50: that either the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Cholmondeley, Mr. Hanger, or Mr. Plumer is married before His Lordship."

In 1774 came Fox's great financial crash. He was twenty-five years old. His elder brother's wife had borne a son, and the Jews, perceiving that the hope of his succession to the immense fortune of his father, Lord Holland, was gone, refused to wait any longer. Lord Holland, the most generous, if not the most judicious, father in history, paid £140,000 for Charles. Odds were laid against Charles's retrieving a sound financial position.

"March 21, 1774. Almack's. Lord Clermont has given Mr. Crawford ten guineas upon the condition of receiving £500 from him, whenever Mr. Charles Fox shall be worth 100,000£ clear of debts."

(This is the "Fish Crawford" of the Selwyn Letters. He was a friend of Hume and of Madame du Deffand. I must here acknowledge, not for the first time, my obligations to the excellent edition of Selwyn's Letters edited by Mr. Roscoe and Miss Clergue). As for Charles, he said he was sorry and proposed to make a fortune at the bar. Whereupon:

"Mr. Burgoyne betts Mr. C. Fox 50 gs. that Ld. Cholmondeley, Ld.

Northington, D. of Leinster & Ld. Coleraine are all married or dead before Mr. C. Fox is called to the Barr."

We shall hear of Mr. Burgoyne in a different connection: the insertion of the afterthought "or dead" shows a caution which should have made him a more successful general. Follow bets on the number of people present at the Pantheon one night (the Opera House which was built in 1772 and burnt in 1792), on the validity of marriages performed by a person not a clergyman, on Lord Carlisle's going to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, on who would get the garter, on skill in shooting, on deaths and marriages and the average weight of sheep, and on the fate of the Perreau brothers, who were executed for forgery. A more famous forger, Dr. Dodd, who forged Lord Chesterfield's name and whose great influence nearly rescued him, is the subject of another. A curious sort of bet which often occurs is, that such and such a famous man, presumably obnoxious to the wagerer, will be hanged before somebody else—obviously a means of expressing dislike.

"Almacks, March 6. 1776.

"Mr. C. Turner betts Mr. E. Fawkener 90 gs. that Ld. North falls by the hands of Justice before Mr. Hancock president of the Continental Congress to be determined in three years from the date hereof."

"Mr. W. Hanger betts Mr. Fox fifty guineas Mr. Fox has the gout before Mr. Hanger."

That was in 1779, but it is gratifying to remember that Fox made up for the ravages of Brooks's by a few weeks' shooting every year. Sheridan was elected to Brooks's on November 2d, 1780, after prolonged opposition by the Duke of Queensberry and George Selwyn; and on March 2d, 1781, appears his first bet—about a certain murderer's confessing. Selwyn—I jump about, I know, but a minute system is impossible—appears only once in the book, and then the bet was disputed.

"Mr. Selwyn bets Mr. FitzPatrick 5 gs. that he is Surveyor of Crown Lands this day 12 months.

"Dec. 27th 1783."

"A Bubble Bett Mr. Selwyn betted that he was Surveyor only meaning Surveyor in the Mint."

As a matter of fact, Pitt gave Selwyn the sinecure in question in 1784.

"March 24 1794.

"Mr. Fox betts Mr. Thompson 60 to 50 that Mr. Sheridan is not married on or before 26th March 1795."

This bet is interesting, for the subject (Sheridan) was married to the daughter of Dean Ogle on April 27th, 1795, and for the reappearance of Fox after a considerable interval, due to his retirement abroad with Mrs. Armistead, whom he married.*

Some time in 1783—presumably February 4th—Fox took a bet of two hundred guineas to ten against his going to America "before the fourth of February, 1785." So far as I know, the intention which, more or less, he must have conceived is not otherwise recorded: one imagines that he, the consistent supporter of the American cause, would have had a great reception. A marriage bet which concerned a more highly placed, though less interesting, personage than Sheridan occurred in 1795 or 1796.

"Ld. Ossory and Ld. R. Seymour have given one guinea each to the Duke of Clarence on condition that the Duke gives each of them 100 guineas on the day following His Royal Highness's Marriage."

One wonders if he remembered the circumstance when, being heir-presumptive to the throne, he married the Princess Adelaide in 1818.

"July 4th 1796.

"Mr. J. M. Smith has given Mr. Edd. Fawkener one guinea to receive ten guineas, when Mr. Beckford of Fonthill be made an English Peer."

His eccentricities considered, these seem very short odds against the amazing author of "Vathek"; but at the time of the bet he was still in possession of his father's (Alderman Beckford, Pitt's friend) vast fortune. Another remarkable person of the Regency comes up in 1807, when a bet was made about Beau Brummell's going as secretary to Constantinople; and in 1795 appears Lord Hertford's name—Lord Hertford, the most famous profligate of his time, the original of Thackeray's Lord Steyne, and the man who began that wonderful collection which is now, with Hertford House, the property of the nation.

I have given no horse-racing or gambling bets as yet, but they are all, or nearly all, of an inevitably commonplace character. In pre-bookmaker days, there was, of course, a good deal of betting on horse-races in the clubs, but there are far fewer in this book than in that of White's, an institution which was frequented in preference by that pillar of the turf, "Old Q." Probably, too, most of the bets were made on the course. The usual form of

*See the Rev. W. Hunt's life of him in the Dictionary of National Biography.

gambling bet was for a man to wager that he would not lose above a certain sum at a sitting, a sort of additional inducement to play carefully. One of these bets defines the sitting as "from dinner to dinner," which reminds one—we must not be too proud of our virtues—of certain lengthy games of poker which have been played on trans-Atlantic voyages. Only the poker-players were not Foreign Secretaries and Leaders of the Opposition. Sometimes a man would effect a sort of inverted insurance, by wagering a large sum against his playing at all. One may mention, in this connection, an odd sort of bet in which a man would lay heavy odds against his doing something which it was absolutely in his power to do or to leave undone. Thus:

"Sir G. Webster gives Lord Derby one guinea to receive one Hundred Guineas, when Ld. Derby goes up in a Ballon one Hundred yards from the Surface of the Earth. 6th Dec. 1783."

One can understand that Lord Derby should have wished to protect himself against the temptation to go ballooning; but it is difficult to see why Sir G. Webster should have parted with his guinea, unless he was convinced that Lord Derby was a balloon-maniac or kindly wished to save his lordship from himself.

II.

But I must come now to more important themes. The first bet which bears on the American War was made on December 13th, 1774, when "Ld. Bolingbroke betts Mr. Fox 150, to 50, that the Tea Act is not repealed this Session." Four months later occurred the first engagement between the Americans and His Majesty's forces, and from then to the peace, in 1783, bets on the subject occur at intervals. They begin, of course, with confidence in the might of Great Britain; that was to be expected. What is more remarkable is the calmness with which the whole business was evidently regarded at Brooks's. America was a long way off in those days, and the war then was one of many topics of interest. Even Fox, who must have realized the issues—and who, by the way, consistently bet on the colonists' success—was not too much absorbed to turn at once to a question of cards. Thus:

"March 11th 1776.

"Mr. Sheldon betts Mr. Charles Fox fifty guineas that Peace is made with America before this day two years."

Immediately underneath is a bet obviously made at the same time:

"Mr. Fox has given a guinea to Mr. Crofts & is to receive fifty whenever Mr. Crofts forgets two by honours in Mr. Fox's presence."

It is easy to draw a contrast between this indifference and the strenuousness of the American leaders: it is easy, and I will not seek to defend those Georgian great men at Brooks's. But their point of view was natural. In license and security, they were so many kings; they governed England with one hand and threw dice with the other; authority came too easily to them to admit of a right perspective of responsibility. One should reflect on the fair side of things, and in place of condemning their faults imagine for one's pleasure the charm of this union of the great with the trivial—a charm which no English society is likely to create again. But to resume.

"Lord Stavordale bets Mr. Fox 20 guineas that Genl. Burgoyne is not in England by ye first of March 1776."

Lord Stavordale won this bet, of course. It was on October 17th, 1777, that General Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga: in 1779, we find him at Brooks's again, betting with Lord Edward Bentinck about the number of nights Lord Edward should sup at Vauxhall.

In March, 1776:

"Mr. Charles Turner betts Ld. Nottingham five & twenty guineas that Quebec is now, or will be before the 1st of January 1777 in the Hands of the Provisional Army, supposing no Peace concluded."

Here, for once in a way, the man who backed the English won.

"Aug. 19th 1776.

"Mr. Fox bets Ld. Bolingbroke Five guineas that America does not belong to the King of Great Britain this day two years."

"Mr. Boothby bets Mr. Townshend 50 gs. that the American War is over before Christmas 1779, without America's being independent of the crown of Great Britain.

"June 29th (1777)."

"26th Dec. 1779.

"Mr. Elliot bets Lord George Cavendish five guineas that before the first of January 1781 the Colonies will have given up their claim of Independence."

"Lord Clermont betts General Bourgoine one hundred guineas that a peace is made between Gr. Britain & several of the American colonies—without allowing their independency, before ye 13 day of Janry, 1785.

"Janry 13, 1780."

These bets on the general upshot need no comment. The last bet on the subject tacitly signalizes the fact that a new nation was in existence.

"Mr. Sheridan bets Mr. Fitzpatrick 10 gs. to 2 that the United States of America have six ships of the Line at sea within three years.
"Janry 24th 1783. Won by Col Fitzpatrick."

III.

In domestic politics, one finds, as one would expect, that most of the bets were on matters of personal detail—who would get such and such a place, and the like. Many, also, which illustrate the party manoeuvres of the time, the various attacks of the Opposition and various dissolutions of Parliament, have little interest except to the professed student of the period. But, every now and then, there is a bet which takes one back to larger or more striking events; and, outside domestic politics, there are bets which show something of Great Britain's vital struggle with her enemies, and of what was thought of the chances of foreign affairs. I will give these in their own order.

"March 11th 1776
"Ld. Bolingbroke gives a guinea to Mr. Ch: Fox, & is to receive a thousand from him, whenever the Debt of this country amounts to 171 millions. Mr. Fox is not to pay the 1000, till He is one of His Majesty's Cabinet."

In 1786, the National Debt was £268,000,000; it is not recorded if Lord "Bully" was paid. Fox made another very speculative bet in 1777.

"Mr. Fox has given Mr. Shirley ten guineas to receive five hundred whenever Turkey in Europe belongs to European Power or Powers."

"Ld. Derby betts Mr. Townshend fifty guineas that Ld. Chatham is dead this day fortnight.
"April 7th (1778)."

This bet was made on the same day that Chatham had his fatal fit in the House of Lords, while speaking on behalf of America. He lingered, however, till the 11th of May, so that Mr. Townshend—the "Tommy" of the lines on Burke—won.

"Lord Milford betts Ld Worthington ten guineas to fifty guineas that the French make an actual landing of one thousand men in Great Britain or Ireland before the 1st of November next.
"May 15th 1779."

That reads somewhat strangely to us now; but, by July of the same year, the odds against the French landing had fallen from

five-to-one to evens! One must allow these wagerers some credit for coolness; they would have bet on the result if the French had been marching on London.

"Mr. Fitzpatrick bets Gen^{l} Burgoyne & Mr. Crewe 20 gs. that L^{d} Rockingham is first L^{d} of the Treasury at the meeting of Parliament after Easter.

"15th March 1782."

Mr. Fitzpatrick knew. Lord North resigned on the 20th of this month and Lord Rockingham took office on the 25th, with Charles Fox (who had been sold-up less than a year before, while all the world watched his furniture being carried into St. James's Street, he laughing with the rest) for his Foreign Secretary.

"S^{r} Godfrey Webster bets S^{r} Charlton Leighton five guineas that the present Paymaster, Mr. Rigby, has not settled his accounts as Paymaster this day five years.

"March 22nd 1782."

That was the advantage of being Paymaster: you postponed settling your accounts until you had made a fortune by the use of the country's millions. Lord Holland, Fox's father, did this.

About the same time Lord Derby took a bet of five to one, in hundreds (guineas), that England would not have to give Gibraltar to Spain in a year. Gibraltar was besieged, as we know, all this time by the French and Spaniards in great force; but Lord Derby lost his hundred guineas.

"18 March 1784.

"The Duke of Queensberry bets Mr. Crewe 50 gs. that Mr. Fox is not returned member for Westminster.

"paid March 23rd 1785."

This was the celebrated election in which the Duchess of Devonshire canvassed for Fox, and is said to have bought a vote with a kiss. The lapse of time before the bet was paid was due to the scrutiny, about which there was a struggle in Parliament for two sessions.

"Mr. Sheridan betts Mr. Stepney an hundred guineas to five that the King of France is not absolute Jan. 1 1791.

"Won by Mr. Sheridan.

"pd."

The bet needs no comment; nor does one, also curious, made by Fitzpatrick, that the slave trade would be abolished "before Episcopacy;" that was in 1792, some five years after the subject was first raised. In 1794, when Horne Tooke was sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason, there were bets on his being

hanged, Fitzpatrick betting that he would be hanged "before Mr. Pitt." A curious bet was made in 1794. Col. Tarleton, carried away, it is to be supposed, by military enthusiasm, took a bet of a thousand to one against his leading "the advanced party of the combined army in the suburbs of Paris before December next." In the same year is mention of one of the most famous trials in history.

"Genl. Fitzpatrick bets Mr. Grey 10 guineas to one that Mr. Hastings is found guilty upon some part of the charges against him."

IV.

From this time the bets are scanty. The Regency men gambled as deeply as the earlier set at Brooks's, but the betting habit, or at least the habit of betting about everything, seems to have waned. But still, at intervals, the bets remind one of the progress of great events.

In January, 1811, the betting on George the Third's recovery was even. On the 9th of April, 1814, there was a bet of twenty-five to fifty "that the various Paintings Sculptures and Works of Art which have been seized and brought to Paris during the Revolution will in the course of 12 months be presented to England," a confidence in the gratitude of the other nations which was not justified. On the 22d of March, 1815, there was a bet of a hundred to ten against Louis XVIII. or any Bourbon being reinstated in the course of twelve months.

The Catholic Question produced a bet that it would be lost in the session of 1828, and the Corn Act of 1828 an elaborate bet about the amount of imported wheat, made by the statesman, Lord Althorp.

"Mr. C. Fortescue bets Lord Durham 2 ponies to one that Louis Napoleon will still be at the head of the French Government this day 3 years.

"May 28th 1852."

Two other bets in this year are interesting.

"Mr. Bulteel bets Mr. L. Agar Ellis a poney that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer dies a radical."

That was during Lord Derby's administration, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was Benjamin Disraeli. And this:

"Mr. Cadogan gives Mr. R. E. Alston 5£ on condition that Mr. R. G. Alston returns £150 to Mr. Cadogan when there is an Electric Telegraphic Communication between the Continent of America and Great Britain."

There are no bets on the Crimea, on the Mutiny, the Reform Bill or the Repeal of the Corn Laws. The Civil War in America produced a bet of two to one "that England is not at war with the Confederate States within two years after their recognition by the Federal Government." I conclude with a bet on another trial, rather less important, it is true, than that of Warren Hastings, but one which probably caused as much excitement in its time. One member bet another a guinea to a pound "that the claimant in the Tichborne case does not win the cause."

And here I end. There are other bets of interest, but they are of too recent date to give—a private matter altogether. There is no harm in disclosing the private affairs of Charles Fox, but I should be the last person in the world to tell what statesman bet another a bottle of wine in the year 1900. And, after all, it is the earlier time that attracts one in such a connection. I think of Charles Fox, between a brilliant speech on great matters in the House of Commons and a night at faro, pausing to write down a bet in this book; I rejoiced to read the actual page, and I trust it will not be time thrown away even to read the extract. I imagine a crowd standing round him as he writes—a crowd of men whom Walpole and Selwyn and Selwyn's correspondents have made as well known to me as my own acquaintance—better, it is probable, in many ways. But through them all it is Fox himself who rules one's fancy, that strange triumph of intellect over temperament and of temperament over intellect. This record of his private habits and opinions—for such is half of the book—is a priceless possession. Once more I express my thanks for having seen it.

G. S. Street.

ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—II.

BY H. G. WELLS.

IV. Certain Social Reactions.

The business of this paper is to point out and consider certain general ways in which the various factors and elements described in the preceding article will react one upon another, and to speculate what definite statements, if any, it may seem reasonable to make about the people of the year 2000 (or thereabouts), from the reaction of these classes we have attempted to define.

To begin with, it may prove convenient to speculate upon the trend of development of that class about which we have the most grounds for certainty in the coming time. The shareholding class, the rout of the Abyss, the speculator, may develop in countless ways, according to the varying development of exterior influences upon them; but of the most typical portion of the central body, the section containing the scientific engineering or scientific medical sort of people, we can postulate certain tendencies with some confidence. Certain ways of thought they must develop, certain habits of mind and life they will radiate out into the adjacent portions of the social mass. We can even, I think, deduce some conception of the home in which a fairly typical example of this body will be living within a reasonable term of years.

The mere fact that a man is an engineer or a doctor, for example, should imply now, and it certainly will imply in the future, that he has received an education of a certain definite type; he will have a general acquaintance with the scientific interpretation of the universe, and he will have acquired certain positive and practical habits of mind. If the methods of thought of any individual in this central body are not practical and positive,

he will tend to drift out of it to some more congenial employment. He will, almost necessarily, have a strong imperative to duty, quite apart from whatever theological opinions he may entertain, because, if he has not such an inherent imperative, life, as I shall point out, will have very many more alluring prospects than this. His religious conclusions, whatever they may be, will be based upon some orderly, theological system that must have honestly admitted and reconciled his scientific beliefs; the emotional and mystical elements in his religion will be subordinate or absent. Essentially, he will be a moral man—certainly so far as to exercise self-restraint and live in an ordered way. Unless this is so, he will be unable to give his principal energies to thought and work—that is, he will not be a good typical engineer. If sensuality appear at all largely in this central body, therefore—a point we must leave open here—it will appear, without any trappings of sentiment or mysticism, frankly on Pauline lines—wine for the stomach's sake, and it is better to marry than to burn, a concession to the flesh necessary to secure efficiency. Assuming, in our typical case, that pure indulgence does not appear or flares and passes, then either he will be single or more or less married. The import of that "more or less" will be discussed later; for the present, we may very reasonably conceive him married upon the traditional laws of Christendom. Having a mind considerably engaged, he will not have the leisure for a wife of the distracting, perplexing personality kind; and in our typical case, which will be a typically sound and successful case, we may picture him wedded to a healthy, intelligent and loyal person, who will be her husband's companion in their common leisure, and, as mother of their three or four children and manager of his household, as much of a technically capable individual as himself. He will be a father of several children, I think, because his scientific mental basis will incline him to see the whole of life as a struggle to survive; he will recognize that a childless, sterile life, however pleasant, is essentially failure and perversion; and he will conceive his honor involved in the possession of offspring.

Such a couple will probably dress with a view to a decent convenience; they will not set the fashions, as I shall presently point out, but they will incline to steady and sober them; they will avoid exciting color contrasts and bizarre contours. They will not be habitually promenaders, or greatly addicted to theatrical

performances; they will probably find their secondary interests—the cardinal ones will, of course, be the work in hand—in a not too imaginative prose literature, in travel and journeys, and in the less sensuous aspects of music. They will probably take a considerable interest in public affairs.

They will probably not keep a servant for two very excellent reasons—because, in the first place, they will not want one, and, in the second, they will not get one, if they do. A servant is necessary in the small modern house, partly to supplement the deficiencies of the wife, but mainly to supplement the deficiencies of the house. She comes to cook and to perform various skilled duties that the wife lacks either knowledge or training, or both, to perform regularly and expeditiously. Usually, it must be confessed, the servant in the small household fails to perform these skilled duties completely. But the great proportion of the servant's duties consists merely in drudgery, that the stupidities of our present-day method of house construction entail, and which the more sanely constructed house of the future will avoid. Consider, for instance, the wanton disregard of avoidable toil displayed in building houses with a service basement without lifts! Then, most dusting and sweeping would be quite avoidable if houses were wiselier done. It is the lack of proper warming appliances which necessitates a vast amount of coal carrying and dirt distribution, and it is this dirt, mainly, that has so painfully to be removed again. The house of the future will probably be warmed in its walls from some power-generating station, as, indeed, already very many houses are lit at the present day. The lack of sane methods of ventilation, also, enhances the general dirtiness and dustiness of the present-day home, and gas lighting and the use of tarnishable metals, wherever possible, involve further labor. But air will enter the house of the future through proper tubes in the walls, which will warm it and capture its dust, and it will be spun out again by a simple mechanism. So one great lump of the servant's toil will disappear. Two others are already disappearing. In many houses there are still the offensive duties of filling lamps and blacking boots to be done. Our coming house, however, will have no lamps; and, as for boots, really intelligent people will feel the essential ugliness of wearing the evidence of constant manual toil upon their persons. They will wear sorts of shoes and boots that can be cleaned by wiping

in a minute or so. Take now the bedroom work. The lack of ingenuity in sanitary fittings at present forbids the obvious convenience of hot and cold water supply to the bedroom, and there is a mighty fetching and carrying of water and slops to be got through daily; but all that will cease. Every bedroom will have its own bath-dressing room, which one will use and leave without the slightest disarrangement. This, so far as "upstairs" goes, really leaves only bed-making for bedrooms, and a bed does not take five minutes to make. Downstairs, a vast amount of needless labor at present arises out of table ware. "Washing up" consists of a tedious cleansing and wiping of each table utensil in turn, whereas it should be possible to immerse all dirty table ware in a suitable solvent for a few minutes, and then run that off for the articles to dry. The application of solvents to window cleaning, also, would be a possible thing, but for the primitive construction of our windows, which prevents anything but a painful rub, rub, rub with the leather. A friend of mine in domestic service tells me that this rubbing is to get the window dry, and that seems to be the general impression, but I think it incorrect. The water is not an adequate solvent, and enough cannot be used under existing conditions. Consequently, if the window is cleaned and left wet, it dries in drops, and these drops contain dirt in solution which remains as spots. But water, containing a suitable solvent, could be made to run quite simply down a window for a few minutes, from pinholes in a pipe above into a groove below, and this could be followed by pure rain water for an equal time; and, in this way, the whole window cleaning in the house could, I imagine, be reduced to the business of turning on a tap. There remains the cooking. To-day, cooking with its incidentals is a very serious business; the coaling, the ashes, the horrible moments of heat, the hot, black things to handle, the silly, vague recipes, the want of neat apparatus, and the want of intelligence to demand or use neat apparatus. One always imagines a cook working with a crimsoned face and bare, blackened arms. But with a neat little range, heated by electricity, and provided with thermometer, with absolutely controllable temperatures and proper heat screens, cooking might very easily be made a pleasant amusement for intelligent invalid ladies. Which reminds one, by the bye, as an added detail to our previous sketch of the scenery of the days to come, that there will be no chimneys at all

to the house of the future of this type, except the flue for the kitchen smells.

I do not know how long all these things will take to arrive. The erection of a series of experimental labor-saving houses by some philanthropic person, for exhibition and discussion, would certainly bring about a very extraordinary advance in domestic comfort, even in the immediate future, but the fashions in philanthropy do not trend in such practical directions; if they did, the philanthropic person would probably be too amenable to flattery to escape the pushful patentee, and too sensitive to avail himself of criticism (which rarely succeeds in being both penetrating and polite); and it will probably be many years before the cautious enterprise of advertising firms approximates to the economies that are theoretically possible to-day. But, certainly, the engineering and medical sorts of person will be best able to appreciate the possibilities of cutting down the irksome labors of the contemporary home, and most likely first to secure them.

The wife of this ideal home may probably have a certain distaste for vicarious labor, that, so far as the immediate minimum of duties goes, will probably carry her through them. There will be few servants obtainable for the small homes of the future, and that may strengthen her sentiments. Hardly any woman seems to object to a system of things which provides that another woman should be made rough-handed and kept rough-minded for her sake; but with the enormous diffusion of levelling information that is going on, a perfectly valid objection will probably come from the other side in this transaction. The servants of the past and the only good servants of to-day are the children of servants, or the children of the old labor base of the social pyramid, until recently a necessary and self-respecting element in the State. Machinery has smashed that base and scattered its fragments; the tradition of self-respecting inferiority is being utterly destroyed in the world. The contingents of the Abyss, even, will not supply daughters for this purpose. In the Northern of the United States, no native-born race of white servants has appeared, and the emaciated young negress degenerates towards the impossible—which is one of the many stimulants to small ingenuities that may help very powerfully to give that nation the industrial leadership of the world. The servant of the future, if, indeed, she should still linger in the small household, will be a per-

son alive to a social injustice, and the unsuccessful rival of the wife. Such servants as wealth will retain will be about as really loyal and servile as hotel waiters, and on the same terms. For the middling sort of people in the future, maintaining a separate *ménage,* there is nothing for it but the practically automatic house or flat, supplemented by the restaurant or the hotel.

Almost certainly, for reasons detailed in the previous paper of these Anticipations, this household, if it is an ideal type, will be situated away from the central "town" nucleus and in pleasant surroundings. And I imagine that the sort of woman who would be mother and mistress of such a home would not be perfectly content unless there were a garden about the house. On account of the servant difficulty, again, it would probably be less laboriously neat than any of our gardens to-day—no bedding out, for example, and a certain parsimony of mown lawn.

To such a type of home, it seems, the active, scientifically trained people will tend. And usually, I think, the prophet is inclined to overestimate the number of people who will reach this condition of affairs in a generation or so, and to underestimate the conflicting tendencies that will make its attainment difficult to all and impossible to many, and that will tint and blotch the achievement of those who succeed with patches of unsympathetic and antagonistic color. To understand just how modifications may come in, it is necessary to consider the probable line of development of another of the four main elements in the social body of the coming time. As a consequence and visible expression of the great new growth of share and stock property, there will be scattered through the whole social body, concentrated here, perhaps, and diffused there, but everywhere perceived, the members of that new class of the irresponsible wealthy, a class, as I have already pointed out in the preceding paper, miscellaneous and free to a degree quite unprecedented in any class in the world's history. Quite inevitably, great sections of this miscellany will develop characteristics almost diametrically opposed to those of the typical, working expert class, and their gravitation may influence the lives of this more efficient, finally more powerful, but at present much less wealthy class to a very considerable degree of intimacy.

The rich shareholder and the skilled expert must necessarily be sharply contrasted types, and of the two, it must be borne in

mind, it is the rich shareholder who spends the money. While occupation and skill incline one towards severity and economy, leisure and unlimited means involve relaxation and demand the adventitious interest of decoration. The shareholder will be the decorative influence in the state. So far as there will be a typical shareholder's house, we may hazard that it will have rich colors, elaborate hangings, stained glass, adornments and added interests in great abundance. This "leisure class" will certainly employ the greater proportion of the artists, decorators, fabric makers and the like of the coming time. It will dominate the world of art—and we may say, with some confidence, that it will influence it in certain directions. For example, standing apart from the movement of the world, as they will do to a very large extent, the archaic, opulently done, will appeal irresistibly to very many of these irresponsible rich, as the very quintessence of art. They will come to art with uncritical, cultured minds, full of past achievements, ignorant of present necessities. Art will be something added to life—something stuck on and richly reminiscent—not a manner pervading all real things. We may be pretty sure that very few will grasp the fact that an iron bridge or a railway engine may be artistically done—these will not be "art" objects, but hostile novelties. And, on the other hand, we can pretty confidently foretell a spacious future, and much amplification for that turgid, costly and deliberately anti-contemporary group of styles of which William Morris and his associates have been the fortunate pioneers. And the same principles will apply to costume. A non-functional class of people cannot have a functional costume; the whole scheme of costume, as it will be worn by the wealthy classes in the coming years, will necessarily be of that character which is called fancy dress. Few people will trouble themselves to discover the most convenient forms and materials, and endeavor to simplify them and reduce them to beautiful forms; while endless enterprising tradesmen will be alert for a perpetual succession of striking novelties. The women will ransack the ages for becoming and alluring anachronisms, the men will appear in the elaborate uniforms of "games," in modifications of court dress, in picturesque revivals of national costumes, in epidemic fashions, of the most astonishing sort.

Now, these people, so far as they are spenders of money, and so far as he is a spender of money, will stand to this ideal

engineering sort of person, who is the vitally important citizen of a progressive scientific state, in a competitive relation. In most cases, whenever there is something that both want, one against the other, the shareholder will get it; in most cases, where it is a matter of calling the time, the shareholder will call the time. For example, the young architect, conscious of exceptional ability, will have more or less clearly before him the alternatives of devoting himself to the novel, intricate and difficult business of designing cheap, simple and mechanically convenient homes for people who will certainly not be highly remunerative, and will probably be rather acutely critical, or of perfecting himself in some period of romantic architecture, or striking out some startling and attractive novelty of manner or material which will be certain, sooner or later, to meet its congenial shareholder. Even if he hovers for a time between these alternatives, he will need to be a person not only of exceptional gifts, but, what is by no means a common accompaniment of exceptional gifts, exceptional strength of character, to take the former line. Consequently, for many years yet, most of the experimental buildings and novel designs that initiate discussion and develop the general taste will be done primarily to please the more originative shareholders, and not to satisfy the demands of our engineer or doctor; and the strictly commercial builders who will cater for all but the wealthiest, engineers, scientific investigators and business men being unable to afford specific designs, will (amidst the disregarded curses of these more intelligent customers) still simply reproduce, in a cheaper and mutilated form, such examples as happen to be set. Practically, that is to say, the shareholder will buy up almost all the available architectural talent.

This modifies our conception of the outer appearance of that little house we imagined. Unless it happens to be the house of an exceptionally prosperous member of the utilitarian professions, it will lack something of the neat directness implicit in our description, something of that inevitable beauty that arises out of the perfect attainment of ends—for many years at any rate. It will almost certainly be tinted, it may even be saturated, with the second-hand archaic. The owner may object—but a busy man cannot stop his life-work to teach architects what they ought to know. It may be heated electrically, but it will have sham chimneys, in whose darkness, unless they are built solid, dust and

filth will gather. It may have automatic window-cleaning arrangements, but they will be hidden by cheap mullions. Just that shabby shirking of the truth of things that has given the world such stock-broker-in-armor affairs as the Tower Bridge and historical romance, will, I fear, worry the over-lucid mind in a great multitude of the homes that the opening half, at least, of this century will produce.

In quite a similar way, the shareholding body will buy up all the clever and more enterprising makers and designers of clothing and adornment; he will set the fashion of almost all ornament, in bookbinding and printing and painting, for example, furnishing, and, indeed, of almost all things that are not primarily produced "for the million," as the phrase goes. And when that sort of thing comes in, then, so far as the trained and intelligent type of man goes, for many years yet it will be simply a case of the nether instead of the upper millstone. Just how far the influence and contagion of the shareholding mass will reach into this imaginary household of non-shareholding efficients, and just how far the influence of science and mechanism will penetrate the minds and methods of the rich becomes really one of the most important questions with which these speculations will deal. For this argument, that he will perhaps be able to buy up the architect and the tailor and the decorator and so forth, is merely preliminary to the graver issue. It is just possible that the shareholder, to a very large extent, may—in a certain figurative sense, at least—buy up much of the womankind that would otherwise be available to constitute those severe, capable and probably by no means unhappy little establishments to which our typical engineers will tend, and so prevent many women from becoming the mothers of a regenerating world. The huge secretion of irresponsible wealth by the social organism is certain to affect the tone of thought of the entire feminine sex profoundly; the exact nature of this influence we may now consider.

The gist of this enquiry lies in the fact that, while a man's starting position in this world of to-day is entirely determined by the conditions of his birth and early training, and his final position is the slow, elaborate outcome of his own sustained efforts to live, a woman, from the age of sixteen onward, as the world goes now, is essentially adventurous, the creature of circumstances largely beyond her control and foresight. A virile man, though

he, too, is subject to accidents, may upon most points hope to plan and determine his life; the life of a woman is all accident. Normally, she lives in relation to some specific man; and, until that man is indicated, her preparation for life must be of the most tentative sort. She lives going nowhere, like a cabman on the crawl; and, at any time, she may find it open to her to assist some pleasure-loving millionaire to spend his millions, or to play her part in one of the many real, original and only derivatives of the former aristocratic "Society" that have developed themselves among independent people. Even if she is a serious and labor-loving type, some shareholder may tempt her with the prospect of developing her exceptional personality in ease and freedom, and in "doing good" with his money. With the continued growth of the shareholding class, the brighter-looking matrimonial chances, not to speak of the glittering opportunities that are not matrimonial, will increase. Reading is now the privilege of all classes; there are few secrets of etiquette that a clever lower-class girl will fail to learn; there are few such girls, even now, who are not aware of their wide opportunities, or at least their wide possibilities of luxury and freedom; there are still fewer who, knowing as much, do not let it affect their standards and conception of life. The whole mass of modern fiction written by women for women, indeed down to the cheapest novelettes, is saturated with the romance of mésalliance. And, even when the specific man has appeared, the adventurous is still not shut out of a woman's career. A man's affections may wander capriciously, and leave him but a little poorer or a little better placed; for the women they wander from, however, the issue is an infinitely graver one, and the serious wandering of a woman's fancy may mean the beginning of a new world. At any moment, the chances of death may make the wife a widow, may sweep out of existence all that she had made fundamental in her life, may enrich her with insurance profits or hurl her into poverty, and restore all the drifting expectancy of her adolescence.

Now, it is difficult to say why we should expect the growing girl, in whom unlimited ambition and egotism are as natural and proper as beauty and high spirits, to deny herself some dalliance with the more opulent dreams that form the golden lining to these precarious prospects. How can we expect her to prepare herself solely, putting all wandering thoughts aside, for the serv-

antless cookery, domestic kindergarten work, the care of hardy perennials, and low-pitched conversation of the engineer's home? Supposing, after all, there is no predestinate engineer! The stories the growing young girl now prefers, and, I imagine, will in the future still prefer, deal mainly with the rich and free; the theatre she will prefer to visit will present the lives and loves of opulent people, with great precision and detailed correctness; her favorite periodicals will reflect that life; her school-mistress, whatever her principles, must have an eye to her "chances." And, even after fate or a gust of passion has whirled her into the arms of our busy and capable fundamental man, all these things will still be in her imagination and memory. Unless he is a person of extraordinary mental prepotency, she will almost insensibly determine the character of the home in a direction quite other than that of our first sketch. She will set herself to realize, as far as her husband's means and credit permit, the ideas of the particular section of the wealthy that have captured her. If she is a fool, her ideas of life will presently come into complete conflict with her husband's, in a manner that, as the fumes of the love potion leave his brain, may bring the real nature of the case home to him. If he is of that resolute strain to whom this world must finally come, he may rebel, and wade through tears and crises to his appointed work again. The cleverer she is, and the finer and more loyal her character up to a certain point, the less likely this is to happen, the more subtle and effective will be her hold upon her husband, and the more probable his perversion from the austere pursuit of some interesting employment towards the adventures of modern money getting in pursuit of her ideals of a befitting life. And, meanwhile, since "one must live," the nursery, that was implicit in the background of the first picture, will probably prove unnecessary. She will be, perforce, a person not only of pleasant pursuits, but of leisure. If she endears herself to her husband, he will feel not only the attraction but the duty of her vacant hours; he will not only deflect his working hours from the effective to the profitable, but that occasional burning of the midnight oil that no brain-worker may forego if he is to retain his efficiency, will, in the interests of some attractive theatrical performance, or some agreeable social occasion, all too frequently have to be put off or abandoned.

This line of speculation, therefore, gives us a second picture

of a household to put beside our first—a household, or rather a couple, rather more likely to be typical of the mass of middling sort of people in these urban regions of the future, than our first projection. It will probably not live in a separate home at all, but in a flat in "town," or at one of the subordinate centres of the urban region we have foreseen. The apartments will be more or less agreeably adorned, in some decorative fashion akin to, but less costly than, some of the many fashions that will obtain among the wealthy. They will be littered with a miscellaneous literature, novels of an entertaining and stimulating sort predominating, and with bric-a-brac—in a childless household there must certainly be quaint dolls, pet images and so forth, and perhaps a canary would find a place. I suspect there would be an edition or so of Omar about in this more typical household of "Modernes," but I doubt about the Bible. The man's working books would probably be shabby, and relegated to a small study, and even these overlaid by abundant copies of the *Financial*—something or other. It would still be a servantless household, and probably not only without a nursery, but without a kitchen; and, in its grade and degree, it would probably have social relations, directly or intermediately through rich friends, with some section, some one of the numerous cults, of the quite independent wealthy.

Households quite similar to this would be even more common among those neither independent nor engaged in work of a primarily functional nature, but endeavoring quite ostensibly to acquire wealth by political or business ingenuity and activity; and also among the great multitude of artists, writers and that sort of people—whose works are their children. In comparison with the state of affairs fifty years ago, the child-infested household is already conspicuously rare in these classes.

These are two highly probable *ménages* among the central mass of the people of the coming time. But there will be many others. The *ménage à deux,* one may remark, though it may be without the presence of children, is not necessarily childless. Parentage is certainly part of the pride of many men—though, curiously enough, it does not appear to be felt among modern European married women as any part of their honor. Many men will probably achieve parentage, therefore, who will not succeed in inducing, or who may possibly even be very loath to permit, their wives to undertake at most more than the first beginnings of

motherhood. From the moment of its birth, unless it is kept as a pet, the child of such marriages will be nourished, taught and built up almost as though it were an orphan; it will have a succession of bottles and foster mothers for body and mind from the very beginning. Side by side with this increasing number of childless homes, therefore, there may develop a system of kindergarten boarding schools. Indeed, to a certain extent, such schools already exist, and it is one of the unperceived contrasts of this and any former time how common such a separation of parents and children becomes. Except in the case of the illegitimate and orphans and the children of impossible (many public-house children, for instance) or wretched homes, boarding schools, until quite recently, were used only for quite big boys and girls. But now, at every seaside town, for example, one sees a multitude of preparatory schools, which are really not simply educational institutions, but supplementary homes. In many cases, these are conducted and very largely staffed by unmarried girls and women, who are, indeed, in effect, assistant mothers. This class of capable schoolmistresses is one of the most interesting social developments of this period. For the most part, they are women who, from emotional fastidiousness, intellectual egotism, or an honest lack of passion, have refused the common lot of marriage, women often of exceptional character and restraint; and it is well that, at any rate, their intelligence and character should not pass fruitlessly out of being. Assuredly, for this type the future has much in store.

There are, however, still other possibilities to be considered in this matter. In these Anticipations, it is impossible to ignore the forces making for a considerable relaxation of the institution of permanent monogamous marriage in the coming years, and a much greater variety of establishments than is suggested by these possibilities within the pale. I guess, without attempting to refer to statistics, that our present society must show a quite unprecedented number and increasing number of male and female celibates—not religious celibates, but people, for the most part, whose standard of personal comfort has such relation to their earning power that they shirk or cannot enter the matrimonial grouping. The institution of permanent monogamous marriage —except in the ideal Roman Catholic community, where it is based on the sanction of an authority which in real Roman Catho-

lic countries a large proportion of the men decline to obey—is sustained at present entirely by the inertia of custom, and by a number of sentimental and practical considerations, considerations that may very possibly undergo modification in the face of the altered relationship of husband and wife that the present development of childless *ménages* is bringing about. The practical and sustaining reason for monogamy is the stability it gives to the Family; the value of a stable family lies in the orderly upbringing in an atmosphere of affection that it secures in most cases for its more or less numerous children. The monogamous family has indisputably been the civilizing unit of the pre-mechanical civilized state. It must be remembered that, both for husband and wife in most cases, monogamic life marriage involves an element of sacrifice; it is an institution of late appearance in the history of mankind; and it does not completely fit the psychology or physiology of any but very exceptional characters in either sex. For the man, it commonly involves considerable restraint; he must ride his imagination on the curb, or exceed the code in an extremely dishonoring, furtive and unsatisfactory manner, while publicly professing an impossible virtue. For the woman, it commonly implies many uncongenial submissions. There are probably few married couples who have escaped distressful phases of bitterness and tears, within the constraint of their, in most cases, practically insoluble bond. But, on the other hand, and as a reward that in the soberer, mainly agricultural civilization of the past, and among the middling class of people at any rate, has sufficed, there comes the great development of associations and tendernesses that arises out of intimate co-operation in an established Home, and particularly out of the linking love and interest of children's lives.

But how does this fit into the childless, disunited and probably shifting *ménage* of our second picture?

It must be borne in mind that it has been the middling and lower mass of people, the tenants and agriculturalists, the shopkeepers and so forth—men needing, before all things, the absolutely loyal help of wives—that has sustained permanent monogamic marriage whenever it has been sustained. Public monogamy has existed on its merits—that is, on the merits of the wife. Merely ostensible reasons have never sufficed. No sort of religious conviction, without a real practical utility, has ever availed to

keep classes of men, unhampered by circumstances, to its restrictions. In all times, and holding all sorts of beliefs, the specimen humanity of courts and nobilities is to be found developing the most complex qualifications of the code. In some quiet corner of Elysium, the bishops of the early Georges, the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the contemporary French and Spanish courts, the patriarchs of vanished Byzantium, will find a common topic with the spiritual advisers of the kingdoms of the East, in this difficult theme of the concessions permissible and expedient to earnest believers encumbered with leisure and a superfluity of power. It is not necessary to discuss religious development, therefore, before deciding this issue. We are dealing now with things deeper and forces more powerful than the mere convictions of men.

Will a generation for whom marriage will be no longer necessarily associated with the birth and rearing of children, or with the immediate co-operation and sympathy of husband and wife in common proceedings, retain its present feeling for the extreme sanctity of the permanent bond? Will the agreeable, unemployed, childless woman, with a high conception of her personal rights, who is spending her husband's earnings or income in some pleasant, discrepant manner—a type of woman there are excellent reasons for anticipating will become more frequent—will she continue to share the honors and privileges of the wife, mother and helper of the old dispensation? And, in particular, will the great gulf that is now fixed by custom between her and the agreeable, unmarried lady who is similarly employed, remain so inexorably wide? Charity is in the air, and why should not charming people meet one another? And are either of these ladies to find the support that will enable them to insist upon the monopoly that conventional sentiment, so far as it finds expression, concedes them? The danger to them of the theory of equal liberty is evident enough. On the other hand, in the case of the unmarried mother who may be helped to hold her own or who may be holding her own in the world, where will the moral censor of the year 1950 find his congenial following to gather stones? Much as we may regret it, it does very greatly affect the realities of this matter that, with the increased migration of people from home to home and the large urban regions that we have concluded will certainly obtain in the future, even if moral reprobation and minor social inconveniences do still attach to certain sorts of

status, it will probably be increasingly difficult to determine the status of people who wish to conceal it for any but criminal ends.

In another direction there must be a movement toward the relaxation of the marriage law and of divorce that will complicate status very confusingly. In the past, it has been possible to sustain several contrasting moral systems in each of the practically autonomous states of the world; but with a development and cheapening of travel and migration that is as yet only in its opening phase, an increasing conflict between dissimilar moral restrictions must appear. Even at present, with only the most prosperous classes of the American and Western European countries migrating at all freely, there is a growing amount of inconvenience arising out of these (from the point of view of social physiology) quite arbitrary differences. A man or woman may, for example, have been the injured party in some conjugal complication, may have established a domicile and divorced the erring spouse in certain of the United States, may have married again there with absolute local propriety, and may be a bigamist and a criminal in England. A child may be a legal child in Denmark or Australia, and a bastard in this austerer climate. These things are, however, only the first intimations of much more profound reactions. Almost all the great European Powers, and the United States also, are extending their boundaries to include great masses of non-Christian, polygamous peoples; and they are permeating these peoples with railways, printed matter and all the stimulants of our present state. With the spread of these conveniences, there is no corresponding spread of Christianity. These people will not always remain in the ring fence of their present regions; their superseded princes and rulers and public masters and managers will presently come to swell the shareholding mass of the appropriating Empire. Europeans, on the other hand, will drift into their districts and under the influence of their customs; intermarriages and interracial reaction will increase; in a world which is steadily abolishing locality, the compromise of local permission, of localized recognition of the "custom of the country," cannot permanently avail. Statesmen will have to face the alternative of either widening the permissible variations of the marriage contract, or of acute racial and religious stresses, of a vast variety of possible legal betrayals, and the appearance of a body of self-respecting people outside the law and public respect,

a body that will confer a touch of credit upon, because it will share the stigma of, the deliberately dissolute and criminal. And whether the moral law shrivels relatively by mere exclusiveness (as in religious matters the Church of England, for example, has shrivelled to the proportions of a mere sectarian practice), or whether it broadens itself to sustain justice in a variety of sexual contracts, the net result, so far as concerns our present purpose, will be the same. And all these forces, making for moral relaxation in the coming time, will probably be greatly enhanced by the line of development certain sections of the irresponsible wealthy will almost certainly follow.

Let me repeat that the shareholding rich man of the new time is in a position of freedom almost unparalleled in the history of men. He has sold his permission to control and experiment with the material wealth of the community for freedom—for freedom from care, labor, responsibility, custom, local usage and local attachment. He may come back again into public affairs if he likes—that is his private concern. Within the limits of the law and his capacity and courage, he may do as the imagination of his heart directs. Now, such an experimental and imperfect creature as man, a creature urged by such imperious passions, so weak in imagination and controlled by so feeble a reason, receives such absolute freedom as this only at infinite peril. To a great number of these people, in the second or third generation, this freedom will mean vice, the subversion of passion to inconsequent pleasures. We have on record, in the personal history of the Roman Emperors, how freedom and uncontrolled power took one representative group of men, men not entirely of one blood nor of one bias, but reinforced by the arbitrary caprice of adoption and political revolution. We have, in the history of the Russian Empresses, a glimpse of similar feminine possibilities. We are moving towards a time when, through this confusion of moral standards I have foretold, the pressure of public opinion in these matters must be greatly relaxed, when religion will no longer speak with a unanimous voice, and when freedom of escape from disapproving neighbors will be greatly facilitated. In the past, when depravity had a centre about a court, the contagion of its example was limited to the court region, but every idle rich man of this great, various and widely diffused class will play, to a certain extent, the moral rôle of a court. In these days of universal read-

ing and vivid journalism, every infraction of the code will be known of, thought about, and more or less thoroughly discussed by an enormous and increasing proportion of the common people. In the past, it has been possible for the Churches to maintain an attitude of respectful regret toward the lapses of the great, and even to assist in these lapses with a seemly privacy, while maintaining a wholesome rigor towards vulgar vice. But, in the coming time, there will be no Great, but many rich; the middling sort of people will probably be better educated, as a whole, than the rich, and the days of their differential treatment are at an end.

It is foolish, in view of all these things, not to anticipate and prepare for a state of things when, not only will moral standards be shifting and uncertain, admitting of physiologically sound *ménages* of every variable status, but also when vice and depravity, in every form that is not absolutely penal, will be practised in every grade of magnificence and condoned. This means that not only will status cease to be simple and become complex and varied, but that, outside the system of *ménages* that are now recognized and under the disguise of which all other *ménages* shelter, there will be a vast drifting and unstable population grouped in almost every conceivable form of relation. The world of Georgian England was a world of Homes; the world of the coming time will still have its Homes, its real Mothers, the custodians of the human succession, and its cared for children, the inheritors of the future; but, in addition to this Home world, frothing tumultuously over and amidst these stable rocks, there will be this enormous complex of establishments and hotels and sterile households and flats, and all the elaborate furnishing and appliances of a luxurious extinction.

And since, in the present social chaos, there does not yet exist any considerable body of citizens—comparable to the agricultural and commercial middle class of England during the period of limited monarchy—that will be practically unanimous in upholding any body of rules of moral restraint; since there will probably not appear for some generations any body propounding, with wide-reaching authority, a new, definitely different code to replace the one that is now likely to be increasingly disregarded, it follows that the present code, with a few interlined qualifications and grudging legal concessions, will remain nominally operative in sentiment and practice, while being practically disregarded,

glossed over or replaced in numberless directions. It must be pointed out that, in effect, what is here forecast for questions of *ménage* and moral restraints has already happened to a very large extent in religious matters. There was a time when it was held—and I think rightly—that a man's religious beliefs, and particularly his method of expressing them, was a part not of his individual but of his social life; for surely no one can have any real right to promulgate nonsense affecting action. But the great upheavals of the Reformation resulted finally in a compromise, a sort of truce, that has put religious belief very largely out of intercourse and discussion. It is conceded that, within the bounds of the general peace and security, a man may believe and express his belief in matters of religion as he pleases; not because it is better so, but because, for the present epoch, there is no way nor hope of attaining unanimous truth. There is a decided tendency, that will, I believe, prevail, towards the same compromise in the question of private morals. There is a convention to avoid all discussion of creeds in general social intercourse; and a similar convention to avoid the point of status in relation to marriage, one may very reasonably anticipate, will be similarly recognized.

But this impending dissolution of a common standard of morals does not mean universal depravity until some great reconstruction obtains, any more than the obsolescence of the Conventicle Act means universal irreligion. It means that, for one Morality, there will be many moralities. Each human being will, in the face of circumstances, work out his or her particular early training as his or her character determines. And, although there will be a general convention upon which the most diverse people will meet, it will only be with persons who have come to identical or similar conclusions in the matter of moral conduct, and who are living in similar *ménages,* just as now it is only with people whose conversation implies a certain community or kinship of religious belief that really frequent and intimate intercourse will go on. In other words, there will be a process of moral segregation set up. Indeed, such a process is probably already in operation, amidst the deliquescent social mass. People will be drawn together into little groups of similar *ménages* having much in common. And this—in view of the considerations advanced in the preceding article of this series, considerations all converging on the practical abolition of distances and the general freedom

of people to live anywhere they like over large areas—will mean very frequently an actual local segregation. There will be districts that will be clearly recognized and marked as "nice," fast regions; areas of ramshackle Bohemianism; regions of earnest and active work, old-fashioned corners and Hill Tops. Whole regions will be set aside for the purposes of opulent enjoyment—a thing already happening along the Riviera to-day.

People who live in the good hunting country and about the glittering Grand Stand, will no longer even pretend to live under the same code as those picturesque musical people who have concentrated on the canoe-dotted river. Where the promenaders gather, and the bands are playing, and the pretty little theatres compete, the pleasure seeker will be seeking such pleasure as he pleases, no longer debased by furtiveness and innuendo, going his primrose path to a congenial, picturesque, happy and highly desirable extinction. Just over the hills, perhaps, a handful of opulent shareholders will be pleasantly preserving the old traditions of a landed aristocracy, with servants, tenants, vicar and other dependents all complete; and what, from the point of view of social physiology, will really be an assorted contingent of the Abyss, but all nicely washed and done good to, will pursue home industries in model cottages in a quite old English and exemplary manner. Here the windmills will spin and the waterfalls be trapped to gather force, and the quiet-eyed master of the machinery will have his office and, perhaps, his private home. Here, about the great college and its big laboratories, there will be men and women reasoning and studying; and here, where the homes thicken among the ripe gardens, one will hear the laughter of children, the singing of children in their schools, and see their little figures going to and fro amidst the trees and flowers.

And these segregations, based primarily on a difference in moral ideas and pursuits and ideals, will probably round off and complete themselves at last as distinct and separate cultures. As the moral ideas realize themselves in *ménage* and habits, so the ideals will seek to find expression in a literature, and the passive drifting together will pass ever into a phase of more or less conscious and intentional organization. The segregating groups will develop fashions of costume, types of manners and bearing, and even perhaps be characterized by a certain type of facial expression. And this gives us a glimpse of a curious aspect of the

future of literature. The kingdoms of the past were little things; and above the mass of peasants, who lived and obeyed and died, there was just one little culture to which all must needs conform. Literature was universal within the limits of its language. Where difference of view arose, there were violent controversies, polemics and persecutions, until one or other rendering had won its ascendency. But this new world into which we are passing will, for many generations at least, albeit it will be freely intercommunicating and like a whispering gallery for things outspoken, possesses no universal ideals, no universal conventions; there will be the literature, thought and effort of this sort of people, and the literature, thought and effort of that.* Life is already most wonderfully arbitrary and experimental, and for the coming century this must be its essential social history, a great drifting and unrest of people, a shifting and regrouping and breaking up again of groups, great multitudes seeking to find themselves.

The safe life in the old order, where one did this because it was right, and that because it was the custom, when one shunned this and hated that, as lead runs into a mould, all that is passing away. And presently, as the new century opens out, there will become more and more distinctly emergent many new cultures and settled ways. The gray expanse of life to-day is gray not in its essence, but because of the minute, confused mingling and mutual cancelling of many colored lives. Presently these lines and shades will gather together here as a mass of one color and there as a mass of another. And as these colors intensify and the tradition of the former order fades, as these cultures become

* Already this is becoming apparent enough. The literary "Boom," for example, affected the entire reading public of the early nineteenth century; it was a figure of speech that "everyone" was reading Byron, or puzzling about the Waverley mystery, that first and most successful use of the unknown author dodge. The booming of Dickens, too, forced him even into the reluctant hands of Omar's Fitzgerald. But the factory-syren voice of the modern "boomster" touches whole sections of the reading public no more than foghorns going down the Channel. One would as soon think of Skinner's Soap for one's library, as So and So's Hundred Thousand Copy Success. Instead of "everyone" talking of the Great New Book, quite considerable numbers are shamelessly admitting they don't read that sort of thing. One gets used to literary booms, just as one gets used to motor cars; they are no longer marvellous, universally significant things, but merely something that goes by with much unnecessary noise and leaves a faint offence in the air. Distinctly, we segregate. And while no one dominates, while, for all this bawling, there are really no great authors of imperial dimensions—indeed, no great successes to compare with the Waverley boom or the boom of Macaulay's History—many men, too fine, too subtle, too aberrant, too unusually fresh for any but exceptional readers, men who would probably have failed to get a hearing at all in the past, can now subsist quite happily with the little sect they have found, or that has found them. They live safely in their islands; a little while ago they could not have lived at all, and yet it is most often these very men who are most covetously bitter against the order of the present day.

more and more shaped and conscious, as the new literatures grow in substance and power, as differences develop from speculative matter of opinion to definite intentions, as contrasts and affinities grow sharper and clearer, there must follow some very extensive modifications in the collective public life. But one series of tints, one color, must needs have a heightening value amidst this iridescent display. While the forces at work in the wealthy and purely speculative groups of society make for disintegration, and in many cases for positive elimination, the forces that bring together the really functional people will tend more and more to impose upon them certain common characteristics and beliefs, and the discovery of a group of similar and compatible class interests upon which they can unite. The practical people, the engineering and medical and scientific people, will become more and more homogeneous in their fundamental culture, more and more distinctively aware of a common general reason in things, and of a common difference from the less functional masses and from any sort of people in the past. They will have, in their positive science, a common ground for understanding the real pride of life, the real reason for the incidental nastiness of vice; they will be a sanely reproductive class and, above all, an educating class. Just how much they will have kept or changed of the deliquescent morality of to-day, when in a hundred years or so they do distinctively and powerfully emerge, I cannot speculate now. They will certainly be a moral people. They will have developed the literature of their needs, they will have discussed and tested and thrashed out many things, they will be clear where we are confused, resolved where we are undecided and weak. In the districts of industrial possibility, in the healthier quarters of the town regions, apart from the swamps and away from the glare of the midnight lights, these people will be gathered together. They will be linked in professions through the agency of great and sober papers. The best of the wealthy will gravitate to their attracting centres. Unless some great catastrophe break down all that man has built, these great, kindred groups of capable men and educated, adequate women must be the element finally emergent amidst the vast confusion of the coming time.

H. G. WELLS.

(To be continued.)

CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY.

BY HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL GIBBONS.

ONE of the most ancient images of the Christian Church is that of a ship tossed about on the waves, yet never sinking. This image was painted more than once on the walls of the Roman Catacombs, precisely when it seemed as if Christianity could not possibly hold out much longer against the impact of social and juridical forces that had sworn its extermination. Nevertheless, the Fisherman of Galilee, with his brethren, survived this first great hurricane of opposition, and planted the victorious symbol of the new religion on the Capitol and the Palatine—over the shrine of Roman religion, and amid the councils of the Roman state. On the morrow of this first great reckoning of the new spirit in mankind with the old established forms of belief and government, a tremor of astonishment seized on the priests and philosophers of the pagan world, that an obscure Syrian sect should have at last lifted a triumphant head. It seemed as though all the *criteria* of mankind—common sense, logic, reason, history, analogy—were at once and hopelessly shattered, and a wonder-world set up in the place of the familiar realities of society. It is an old story how the few remaining pagans hoped against hope, until they saw the fall of the whole fabric of Western civilization, and the figure of a Universal Church interposed between organized society and the elemental forces of barbarism that threatened it from the North and East. In those all-embracing arms, the world of Greece and Rome, that thought to perish doubly, was firmly seized and made to live again.

Since that day, Christianity has dominated all modern history. Its morality, based on the loving kindness of an Eternal Father and the mystic brotherhood with the God-Man, has renovated the face of the earth. It has set firmly the corner-stone for all future

civilization, the conviction of a common humanity that has been deeply rooted in us by no stoicism, but by the story of Jesus Christ and by the lives and deaths of countless Christian men and women. It has clarified at once the sense of sin and the reasons for hope. It has touched the deepest springs of efficient conviction; preached successfully, in season and out of season, of mercy and justice and peace; affected intimately every function of domestic life; thrown a sheltering veil of sanctity about maid and mother and home; stood out against the fierce ambitions and illicit loves of rulers, and the low passions of the multitude. It has healed and cleansed whole legislations, and "filled out with a vivifying spirit" the noble but inorganic letter of great maxims that a Seneca or an Epictetus might utter, but could not cause to live. It has distinctly raised the social and civil life of all civilized humankind. It bears within itself the antidote of a certain divine presence, whereby it overcomes forever those germs of decay and change that cause the death of all other societies. Its earliest writers and exponents had a subtle sense of its true character, when they took over from paganism, and applied to the work of Jesus, the symbolic myth of the phœnix, emblem of a native, organic and indestructible vitality.

If we believe the eminent statistician, Mr. Michael G. Mulhall, the population of the world in 1898 was 1,450 millions. Of these, 764,500,000 were yet pagans, nearly all located in Asia (667,-800,000) and in Africa (91,000,000). In Europe, there are none who can be officially described as pagans; in Oceanica there are 4,400,000, and in America, 1,300,000. Therefore, on its oldest and most favorable field, the only tenable forms of paganism have gone down absolutely before the shining of Christian truth, a symbol of what we may hope for in the future over the two continents yet addicted to paganism. The Christians of the world number 501,600,000, of whom 348,500,000 belong to Europe, 126,400,000 to America, with a scattering of 12,600,000 in Asia, 4,400,000 in Africa, 9,700,000 in Oceanica. That is, the most enlightened and progressive portion of the Old World, Europe, with its noble adult daughter in the New World, is still entirely Christian, after nearly sixteen centuries of external struggle against the forces of barbarism and Islam, and internal struggles of the deepest and most momentous nature. As the future of humanity rests henceforth in the hands of the men who

guide, politically and intellectually, the society of Europe and the New World of North and South America, I cannot but see in this distribution and preponderance of the Christian masses an omen of great hopefulness for the future of the religion of Jesus Christ. I know that there is not now that absolute unity of the Christian multitudes that once existed and is yet the necessary, indispensable, ideal condition of that religion. I shall come directly to this fundamental point. But I feel justified in believing that, among these five hundred millions of Christians, there are rough, imperfect, unfinished unities of tradition, practice and spirit; that they all look up to the Son of Mary as the Redeemer of Humanity; that He marks for them the true line of delimitation between the Old and the New; that in and through Him is the firm bond of union that holds us all to a common Father, a Giver of all good things, and a purifying, inflaming Spirit, that acts in a manifold but mystic manner on all who have in any way confessed that Jesus Christ is True God and True Man.

Were this unity perfect among Christians, there can be no doubt that long since the whole world would have been won over to the Gospel of Jesus, that its sweet influences would have transmuted all the hardness and imperfections of our common humanity, by lifting us all into that higher spiritual sphere of brotherhood with the Redeemer of our souls, and sonship with the Head of our race. It is this lack of unity among Christians that makes it even possible for any other religion, old or new, to set up a comparison with it, to challenge its immortal titles to admiration and acceptance. For lack of unity, the impact of the missionary labors is broken, and the incredible sacrifices of Christian men and women must be repeated, often in vain, from generation to generation. This defect of our Christianity it is which enables the savage man, as well as the man of a foreign culture, to escape the arguments and appeals of the Christian apostle. It also renders almost nugatory the efforts of Christianity, on its original soil, to dominate even the most tangible forces of the world and the devil.

The life and teaching of Jesus Christ Himself have nothing but victories to chronicle since His appearance among men. Every century is a new campaign from which He returns to the Heavenly Father, crowned with innumerable laurels, and leading captive innumerable multitudes of human souls. The records of history

are full of the most astonishing conquests by Him of individual souls, voluntary submissions to the irresistible charm of the Son of Man. There is no altitude of intellect so towering that it has not bent before Him, no seat of power so high that it has not done homage to Him. Philosophy and Criticism, History and the Natural Sciences, have sent over to Him, without ceasing, their noblest worthies as pledges of victory. To go no farther back than the century just elapsed, we may say that every page of its annals is bright with the illustrious names of great men who have been proud to confess the Divinity of Jesus. Some of them never knew a wavering of allegiance; others came back to Him by a kind of postliminary process, having learned by hard experience the truth of the apostolic cry of Saint Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."* From this point of view, there is never any diminution of the work of Jesus Christ. His benign and gracious figure dominates forever all life and society. Scarcely, indeed, was He known to the world when we are told that He won the personal admiration of great Roman emperors like Tiberius and Hadrian and Alexander Severus. Sweet legends of the veneration of an Augustus and an Abgar cling forever to His person—symbols of that constant self-surrender in love and adoration which has gone on since then, and will cease no more.

What is the secret of this constant and cosmopolitan devotion to Jesus? From what deep springs of history and human nature do the forces flow that keep it forever alive, in spite of the multitudinous accidents of time and space and change that affect so thoroughly all other phenomena of life? *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* It can be no slight bond that holds forever such elastic and elusive forces as the minds and hearts of men, in varying epochs and lands, periods, forms and degrees of culture. To all Catholics, it is as simple as the sun that shines in the heavens, or as the air we breathe.

To us, the religion of Jesus Christ—for we maintain, on the authority of the gospels, that He founded a religion—is no vague resultant of world-forces that found their proper time and suitable expression in the Son of Mary. Indeed, the first great domestic struggle of the new religion was against just those loose, nuclear forces of Gnosticism and Eclecticism that desired to fasten their

*John vi., 68.

dying causes to the vigorous young body of Christian Faith, but which she repelled with clear consciousness of their desire and of her repugnance. To us, Christianity is no philosophy, however elevated and potent, but a divine thing in the sense of an immediate, positive revelation. Hence, in its earliest documents, it is known as "The Name," "The Work," "The Manifestation" of an Omnipotent Divine Will, the closest and sublimest bond that can unite the Divinity with mankind. From among the philosophers of the world, there could never come a Redeemer. And this is precisely what we welcome in Jesus Christ, the figure and the office of a Divine Atoner for the sins of the world, the Saviour of mankind from the inherited and actual burden of sin.

Hence it is that Christianity is the most intensely personal of all religions. It presumes, as no other, the unwavering belief in and concern for an immortal and responsible individual soul, the confession of an Omniscient and All-Just Judge, a known and possible code of conduct, and a clearly-apprehended sanction that waits upon the violation or neglect of that code. The ideal of the individual Christian is the Imitation of Jesus Christ, "the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, * * * * the head of all principality and power * * * * for in Him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead corporally."* And, inasmuch as He realizes in His own person and circle of influence this sublime model, Christianity may be said to live or die for Him.

But how shall the individual follower of Jesus know His will, and, knowing it, follow it perfectly? For this purpose, Jesus formed a visible society, destined to embrace all who would accept Him as God and Master. He gave it the power to reproduce and continue itself, and conveyed to it the custody of His teaching and the example of His life, with vicarious authority to interpret both in time of need, and to decide with finality. To its court of appeal, He indicated not only the letter but the spirit of its procedure. He assured this society of His helpful presence forever, and also of the direction and guidance of the Holy Spirit. He foretold for it a career of great trial and sorrow, but also foreshadowed for it periods of triumph and glory. But, above all, He imposed on it the absolute condition of Unity. This is evident, not only from all His devices of constitution and description throughout the gospels, but, in a very particular manner, from the

*Coloss., i., 15; ii., 9, 10.

great lyrical, almost dithyrambic, monologue in which, on the eve of His Atonement, He pours forth the very soul of prayer to the Heavenly Father.* Here the underlying *motif* is Unity, that shadow of the Divine Life, the condition of the new sanctity, the mark and proof of genuine Christianity:

"And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in me:
That they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee: that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.
And the glory which thou hast given me, I have given to them: that they may be one, as we also are one."

Elsewhere, He insists that there shall be one fold and one shepherd, that whoever gathers not with Him scattereth, that whoever receives His disciples "receives me and Him who sent me." There can be no doubt, then, as to an effective will of Jesus that this society should be one to the end of time, and among all kinds and conditions of men. It was also to be holy and stainless, imperishable and all-glorious, self-identical and self-witnessing; but the note of unity predominates throughout. His prophetic soul forecasts and denounces every attempt to rend this unity, as the chief obstacle to the success of His life and teaching among men, as the great stumbling block, the creators of which He will hold eminently responsible in the last great accounting.

Now, when we enter upon the last century of the mystic cycle of two thousand years during which the gospel of Jesus has been preached, principally by and through this society which is His Holy Church,† we seize with a terrible earnestness and directness the meaning of Christ's language about unity. Just as that note dominates all others in the gospels, so does its infringement or diminution dominate the history of His Church, the public propagation of His saving and consoling teachings. The avowedly anti-Christian forces of the past two centuries could never have scored their triumphs were it not for the mighty cleft that divided Protestant from Catholic Christendom. While conflict ran high as to the points on which they differed, the enemy was pillaging such parts of the original estate as they yet held in common. The Christian Church was, truly, the mother of all modern happiness and liberty; yet a minority of rebels or apostates was allowed

*John, xvii., 20-23.
†Eph., v., 27.

to set aside her claims, to contaminate all the sources of public and private education, to enlist against her the literature and the arts that she had saved and cherished in a night of storm and disaster. And all this, because centuries of unhappy division had accustomed both Catholics and Protestants to look to one another only for suspicion and coldness and uncharity. Truly, the divine eye of Jesus saw well through the ages, and what He saw could only have intensified His will to base His Church upon a rock of unity that could not be overthrown. Could we restore to-day the former unity of all Christian peoples, with what ease we could look forth to the lifting of China to the highest plane of Christian welfare and culture! Could we be once more as in the fifteenth century, with what ease could the gospel of the Prince of Peace be preached throughout Africa from the lips of united brethren, and not amid the horrors of injustice and war that are leaving their ominous, red tracks across every newly opened land! So, too, if there were again the old-time unity of East and West, what a quickening there could be of the slumbering forces of the Greek Church, and what a useful race the Coptic Christians would be for the evangelization of Darkest Africa! Whatever way we look, the functions of Unity seem so great and valuable that all the reasons which in the past operated to destroy it are pushed into the background, as no longer worthy of consideration. Indeed, as time wears on, and men take a broader and more philosophic view of things, it will be seen that each individual schism or heresy was less necessary or justifiable, in the light of the magnificent horizon of possible efforts and enterprises that is now dawning upon us, but to which we are unable to reach by reason of our lack of thorough and durable unity. Can any genuine Christian contemplate with equanimity the sad results that the Monophysitism of the fifth and sixth centuries has entailed upon the Churches of the Orient by its substantial contribution to the success of Islam, and thereby upon all Christian society, mediæval and modern? There is in all such cases an encysting of the general Christian spirit and strength, a gradual hardening and crystallizing of all those currents of enthusiasm and daring that once poured in from the great main flow of Christian grace, a steady uplifting of walls of separation that can only render more narrow, if in some cases more deep and intense, the tides of Christian life, thought, endeavor.

To the Catholic, the Unity of the Church, that especial desire of Jesus Christ, is based upon the Rock of Peter. He finds the reasons for his belief in the Petrine headship of the Apostolic College, in the special promises and privileges accorded to Peter by Our Lord, in the peculiar activity of Peter and the pre-eminence that he obtains in the inspired records of primitive Christian life. No other See than that of Peter ever laid claim to a hegemony over Christianity, while, from the earliest days, that See claimed this supreme ascendency. The last chapters of St. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians (*circa* A. D., 96), the almost contemporary epistle of St. Ignatius of Antioch to the Romans, the famous description by St. Irenaeus of the Roman Church as the oldest, greatest, most glorious and most authoritative of all the apostolic churches, are only a few among many indications of the right of supreme leadership that archaic Christian society adjudged to the See of Rome.

Doubtless, in the infancy of Christendom, this supremacy was chiefly visible in the mystic pomp of martyrdom and the organized services of charity. But it was an organic and native right, and could therefore adapt itself, as it did, to all the actual needs of Christian society, as they developed from internal growth or under pressure from without. The little pseudo-Cyprian tract, "Against Gamesters," is an index that, before Constantine, they claimed to rule by the "Power of the Keys." In its spirit, this very ancient discourse of a Roman Bishop does not differ from any formula of Leo the Great. Yet Eusebius is guaranty that this power was chiefly exercised over the churches by acts of charity that extended from the apostolic times down to his own day. I need not rehearse the functions of Rome at a later period, in repressing the most disruptive, anti-Christian heresies, in the conversion and instruction of the barbarians, in the formation of their rulers and their laws, in the uplifting and idealizing of the incipient national lives of France, Germany, England and Spain. Writing in 1808, Tobler could say that, without the Papacy, there would not have remained in the world any universal religion, faith would have entirely disappeared. And the contemporary Swiss historian, the great Johann von Müller, could write that their paternal hands held up bravely the whole hierarchy, and at the same time preserved the liberty of all the states of Europe. "It was the Pope who restrained and governed, by means of the

principles of religion and the fear of God, the bold, unbridled youth of our modern States." The Gregories, Alexanders and Innocents of the Middle Ages were, indeed, as a wall against the torrent of absolutism that then threatened to invade the whole earth. If, in the weakness of mediæval, popular organization, the insidious despotism of the Orient failed to prevail in the courts of the West, it was because the violent and lascivious nobles were forever held in check by the fear or the respect of him who sat in the Chair of Peter. And, when the awful cataclysm of the Reformation took place, it was still the insight, genius and energy of Rome that kept intact a solid phalanx of Catholicism, through all the defections and apostasies of a century.

The average non-Catholic does not easily seize the point of view from which the Roman Catholic looks on the Pope. To us, he is the divinely-appointed High Court of Appeals of Christendom, the *"Dominus Apostolicus"* or living embodiment of the supreme, vicarious authority of the Apostolic College. Hence, we measure the progress or decay of the Christian cause and interest, very largely, by the condition of the Roman See. It is for us the working heart of Christendom. And the words of affection and veneration that we use when speaking of it we believe to be justified by its eminently paternal character and spirit, its origin, its age, its manifold experience, its countless services to the virtuous and the oppressed, its supra-national functions. For its sake, we have imitated the Geux of Holland, and converted a title of reproach into a title of distinction. Every Catholic bishop knows, by history and by instinct, that his strength and dignity are dependent on the strength and dignity of the Pope. And the latter knows, in turn, that his first duty is the confirmation of the bishops in faith and enthusiasm.*

The last great storm through which our Catholic Christianity has gone was the French Revolution. The brunt of this was borne by the See of Rome. Two Popes, Pius VI. and Pius VII., learned in their own persons what the agony and the glory of martyrdom are like. To their personal courage and independence is very largely owing the recrudescence of Catholic affection for a See which, in these bishops, showed itself truly apostolic. We consider that it is owing to the extreme watchfulness and foresight of the Popes in this century that schism and heresy have

*Luke, xxii., 31, 32.

been so little in evidence. More than one source or cause of these great disruptions has showed itself. But, from whatever quarter the danger threatened, it was conquered by the action of the Apostolic See. In the meantime, the numbers of its adherents have grown with the growth of the world, and may be set down at the opening of the twentieth century as more than one-half of the five hundred millions who bear the name of Christians.* Nowhere, perhaps, is this phenomenal growth more noticeable than among the English-speaking peoples. From the most insignificant place in the statistics of Catholicism, they have come in this century to count nearly two hundred and fifty bishops, in a total of less than one thousand; and, from a handful of believers outside of Ireland, to be more than twenty-one millions, with over twenty-one thousand priests and more than eighteen thousand churches.†

To this large and compact body, habituated to look on Christianity as a living organism of which they are integrant parts, the Pope represents all the counsel, experience, sympathy, glory, and also the sufferings of the past. No other figure in the modern world so rouses the hearts of men as the venerable bishop who dwells in the Vatican, the Shepherd of Humanity, the only voice that to-day, in the midst of universal religious decay, can speak to all society with an archaic authority, an unparalleled experience and a universal good-will that all must recognize, if they do not obey. His genuine wrongs and sufferings must some day be redressed, for they have an intimate relationship with the wrongs and sufferings that the common people everywhere loudly proclaim that they themselves are compelled to bear. It is an eternally true law of history that any signal violation of justice avenges itself eventually upon all human society, and demands an equally signal reparation.

Catholic students of history and politics agree that there is a remarkable unity of purpose and means, a keenness and direct-

*At the late Australasian Catholic Congress, Mr. Michael G. Mulhall declared that, of the 501,600,000 Christians in the world, 290,000,000 were Roman Catholics.

†In a work lately published by Messrs. Swan & Sonnenschein, of London, I find the following statistics of conversions to Catholicism within fifty years from among the higher classes of English society: "Since 1850," it is there said, "the persons who have gone over to the Church of Rome include 445 graduates of Oxford, 213 of Cambridge, and 63 of other universities, besides 27 peers, 244 military officers, 162 authors, 129 lawyers, and 60 physicians. Among the graduates were 446 clergymen of the Established Church."

ness of vision, in the onslaughts which were made upon the Papacy during the past century, and that ended in the utter destruction of its public status as a civil power. But they know, too, that the peace, happiness and prosperity assured by the doctrinaires and sectaries of the whole century are not yet the lot of that nation which has been built over the grave of the Pope's old and venerable political authority. They rightly suspect, from the analogy of the past, the character of the peoples of the peninsula, and the scope of those who yet detain his political authority, that the measure of the popular sufferings of Italy is not filled up. On the other hand, the peoples of all Europe are threatened with evils of the same nature. The men who sit in the high places of these nations speak with little hope of the near future. Militarism, that has always ended in despotism, and a godless industrialism, that must needs breed popular envy and hatred, lift their heads with pride and assurance of future domination. Again an era of force, cloaked but poorly by a coarse luxury and license, dawns upon the Continental nations, with all its sure subversion of hardly conquered popular rights and liberties, and the equally sure retaliation of the oppressed.

The Roman Catholic is convinced that all these evils which seriously threaten Christian Europe are owing to the popular neglect of the simple and sane principles of the gospel, their quasi-official expulsion from public life, the fatal assumption that there can be a sufficient and working morality without religion and worship—that is, without public recognition of God, as Creator, Father, Provider and Saviour. To him, the symbol of this secular activity is the degradation and humiliation of the one great force that stood publicly and officially for the historic Christian morality. We recognize and welcome those numerous voices from outside our fold that daily join themselves to us in regretting the destruction of a Supreme Moral Tribunal among Christians, that could alone efficiently avert the evils of war, alone persuade whole peoples to a hearty reconciliation. But we listen with greater veneration to those words of Leo XIII., in his late Encyclical on Jesus Christ, in which the august nonagenarian, himself one of the few survivors of the century, points out the dangers of the future and mingles with his warning the words of remedy:

"So great is this struggle of the passions and so serious the dangers involved that we must either anticipate ultimate ruin or seek

for an efficient remedy. It is, of course, both right and necessary to punish malefactors, to educate the masses, and by legislation to prevent crime in every possible way; but all this is by no means sufficient. The salvation of the nations must be looked for higher. A power greater than human must be called in to teach men's hearts, awaken in them the sense of duty, and make them better. This is the power which once before saved the world from destruction when groaning under much more terrible evils. Once remove all impediments and allow the Christian spirit to revive and grow strong in a nation, and that nation will be healed. The strife between the classes and the masses will die away; mutual rights will be respected. If Christ be listened to, both rich and poor will do their duty. The former will realize that they must observe justice and charity, the latter self-restraint and moderation, if both are to be saved. Domestic life will be firmly established by the salutary fear of God as the lawgiver."

The Roman Catholic believes that no teacher of morality that the world knows, or could create, can ever speak a more true and noble language, or emphasize his teaching with greater authority and experience. Every word is coined out of the common Christian treasury of truth, and is received as such by more than one-half of Christendom, not only because it corresponds to the written records of the life of Christ, but because it comes from the mouth of one whom He has set up among us as His authorized witness, exponent and mouth-piece. With equal masterliness, the Pope touches on the original sin of our public life—its rejection of the spirit of Jesus, as manifested in the gospel and the history of Christianity:

"In the same way the precepts of the natural law, which dictates respect for lawful authority and obedience to the laws, will exercise their influence over the people. Seditions and conspiracies will cease. Wherever Christianity rules over all without let or hindrance, there the order established by Divine Providence is preserved, and both security and prosperity are the happy result. The common welfare, then, urgently demands a return to Him from whom we should never have gone astray; to Him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life—and this on the part not only of individuals, but of society as a whole. We must restore Christ to this His own rightful possession. All elements of the national life must be made to drink in the life which proceedeth from Him—legislation, political institutions, education, marriage and family life, capital and labor. Every one must see that the very growth of civilization which is so ardently desired depends greatly upon this, since it is fed and grows not so much by material wealth and prosperity as by the spiritual qualities of morality and virtue."

I am aware that the obstacles in the way of the Unity of Christendom are very great, and that to many minds they seem

hopeless. Nevertheless, it is possible; perhaps, if our prayers were fervent enough, this incalculable boon would be again granted, that we might all own one God, one faith, one baptism. Thereby, we would again bring to bear upon the new life that opens before mankind the benign, regenerating influences of the example and the teachings of Our Lord, but this time with the impact of a common unity. Even Melancthon recognized its necessity; and for many years the theologians of the Reformation were occupied with the bases of such a step as might have been the noblest act of the sixteenth century. The hope clung to life in the hearts of Grotius, Leibnitz, George Calixtus. In the Anglican Church, Laud, and perhaps Ussher, cherished the same desire. It has lived a cryptic life in Oxford, and among a small number of the more spiritual Anglican clergy. Very noble souls, like Ambrose de Lisle Phillips, have given themselves to the furtherance of the ideal. Societies exist in Germany and France for that purpose—societies of prayer, persuasion and example. The Popes have never ceased to solicit officially the wandering families of Christendom to come back within the common fold; and, while the Church cannot sacrifice the truth of her teaching, in all other ways the return would be made easy. She has only deep sorrow and abundant tears for the dissensions of Christendom, knowing well that they are the chief cause of the persecutions it undergoes, the delay of its triumph over the hearts and souls of men, and the rejoicings of its eternal enemies that at last they have fixed the limits of its influence and marked the hour of its downfall and ruin.

J. CARD. GIBBONS.

AMERICAN PROGRESS AND BRITISH COMMERCE.

BY HAROLD COX.

In the March number of the Review, Mr. Charles R. Flint gave expression to the pride felt by himself, and doubtless shared by his fellow-citizens, in the industrial progress of the United States. With that pride no level-headed Englishman is likely to quarrel, even though the expression of it is, perhaps, a trifle overdone. To most of us in England the industrial development of the United States causes no surprise. One only wonders that it was not sooner attained.

I chanced the other day upon a little book by an English free-trader, W. P. Adam, published in the year 1852, and my eye fell upon the following passage:

> "America is the country of the future; and no legislation, no restriction of ours will, for one moment, hinder that development, which, rapid as it has been, is destined for the future to be more rapid and decided; with an enormous unoccupied territory, with a population doubling itself every twenty-one years, with a tide of emigration setting steadily towards her from all parts of the Old World, with a people as enterprising and energetic as any on the face of the globe, it is impossible not to foresee the brilliant future which awaits her, and the folly of those who think that by the paltry barrier of legislation they can for one instant stay her resistless course onward—a course which must soon place her in at least an equal position to ourselves among the commercial nations of the earth."

If Mr. W. P. Adam were still alive, he would certainly feel that he had a right to complain of the United States for having taken so long to fulfill his prophecy. Consider, for a moment, the enormous advantages the United States has possessed. It has had control of a practically unlimited area of virgin soil, intersected

by magnificent waterways. Its mineral wealth is of fabulous value and is, for the most part, easily accessible. Its people, by the mere fact that they live in a new country, are largely freed from that tyranny of custom that in old countries everywhere impedes progress. Moreover, the American population is constantly recruited from the most alert elements of the various populations of Europe. You may get some of our ne'er-do-wells, but you also get the men of enterprise and ambition, who are willing to leave their homes on the chance of bettering their condition. It is the plodding, unprogressive man who refuses to move from his own village or back street. Thus the human conditions have conspired with the physical conditions to give the United States opportunities of progress such as no nation in the world ever before enjoyed. In addition, the people of the United States have been able freely to call upon the old world for every pound of capital they cared to borrow, in order to construct their railways, to exploit their mines and to cultivate their fields.

Two farmers are living side by side. The one is mature, the other is beginning life. The older man is cooped up within a ring fence; the farm of the younger has no fixed boundaries, but spreads out as far as he cares to drive the plow through unbroken, but fertile, land. The older man is daily aiding the younger by advancing to him stock and implements; and, year by year, the older man packs off some of his own farm hands to join the younger man's establishment. Would it not be a marvel if the younger man failed to overtake the elder?

Probably, the United States would have overtaken England twenty years ago, if she had not deliberately hampered herself by an absurd fiscal system. Had she been a smaller country, these fiscal barriers would have delayed her progress even more. But the United States is a little world in itself. As Mr. Flint points out, its "interstate commerce to-day is the largest trade carried on anywhere under conditions of absolute free trade." It has been able freely to exchange the semi-tropical products of the South for the products of the colder North; it has been able to exchange freely the product of the forest for the product of the field, and the product of the mine for both. This complete freedom of exchange has not hindered the growth in the newer States of manufacturing industries of which the older States appeared at one time to have exclusive control. The new South has become

a keen industrial competitor with the old North; and the centre of gravity of your manufacturing industries is steadily moving southwards and westwards. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that, if you had enlarged the area of free exchange, if you had permitted your manufacturers, your miners, your farmers and your transport agencies to draw upon the whole world for the materials and the implements which they require, your industrial development would have been even more rapid.

That is a question, however, of argument and speculation too lengthy to be dealt with in this article. It is more important for the moment to call attention to some of the remarkable statements made by Mr. Flint, in the exuberance of his joy at discovering that, at last, the United States, with its boundless territory and its seventy-five million people, has caught up with this little island in the Northern seas.

He thinks we English are appalled at the fact. Not at all! Some of our yellow journals may occasionally indulge in a screaming article upon the decadence of England, but sober Englishmen only read such papers for the sake of amusement. So far from being appalled at American progress, we are only pleased. The richer you grow, the more profitable will our trade with you become. The more you develop your industries, the better market will you offer to ours.

At the present time, the United States stands about fourth in our list of customers, and if we may judge by our experience with Germany, you will take more and more of our goods, either directly or indirectly, as your industrial development proceeds. British exports to Germany have risen in the past thirteen years, with scarcely a break, from $80,000,000 in 1888 to $140,000,000 in 1900. Yet, on this side of the Atlantic, as well as on yours, we have people who are incapable of seeing that our keenest commercial rivals are also our best customers, and that their prosperity adds to ours. The figures of our export trade with you are on the surface by no means so satisfactory. They show great fluctuations year by year, with a general tendency downwards. The fluctuations are partly due to variations in your harvest, which, by affecting your export of cereals, affect your power of purchase. They are also due in part to loan transactions between England and America, which are constantly fluctuating in amount. The general tendency downwards is probably due,

almost entirely, to your tariff, which forces our trade into a circuitous route. Instead of paying you directly for what we buy, we have to send our goods to Brazil, or Mexico, or some other neutral market, and leave our customers there to balance the account by sending some of their stuff on to you.

A direct trade would probably be more advantageous to both parties; but it seems almost hopeless to discuss that point, as long as people of ability, like Mr. Flint, are apparently unable to grasp the elementary fact that the advantages of trade must be mutual. Mr. Flint talks as if American goods were, in some way, forced upon the British market, against the wish of the British people. He is entirely wrong. American goods come to this country only because we call for them. It is not the producer who determines the sale, but the purchaser. American manufacturers might load all the ships in the world with American goods, but they could not sell a single ounce unless some purchaser wanted to buy. Is it necessary to add that the British purchaser buys only to please himself, not to please the American producer? In the same way, the American producer sells only because he finds a profit in doing so. He does not send his goods to Great Britain out of pure benevolence. He expects to be paid for them, and he is paid. The trade is mutually advantageous to buyer and seller; and, unless it were so, it would not continue for a day.

I ought almost to apologize to my readers for putting before them these elementary considerations, with which every man of business must be familiar in the daily routine of his life. But it is one of the curious facts in connection with debates upon international trade that the disputants frequently seem to forget altogether the fundamental human motives that lie at the root of all trade. Mr. Flint, indeed, carries his forgetfulness to the point of actually confusing plus with minus, profit with loss. After quoting figures to show that the United States is now sending out a greater value than she receives back, he says: "It is difficult to add to the force of these figures. They mean that for every dollar's worth of goods imported by us and produced by the cheap labor of the world we are selling to those cheap laborers themselves two dollars' worth." A little later on, he adds, triumphantly, that the United States is "the only nation in the world that shows any considerable trade balance on the right side."

Must we, then, turn our ledgers upside down? How can a

man grow rich by giving two dollars' worth of stuff in exchange for one dollar's worth? Or, perhaps, Mr. Flint is indifferent to national wealth, and thinks that his countrymen are sufficiently rewarded for the loss of fifty per cent. on every transaction, by the knowledge that they are acting as benefactors to the "cheap labor" of Europe. The truth, of course, is that, if the United States were really doing such a trade as Mr. Flint imagines, even its splendid resources would not long stand the strain.

The whole confusion arises from a misapprehension of the part which money plays in trade. Money is only the means by which trade is conducted. Men do not empty their warehouses of wheat and cotton in order to fill their strong-rooms with gold and silver. They sell the wheat or cotton only in order that they may be able to buy something else. The money is merely a go-between; and, in the gradual perfection of modern exchange, this once solid go-between is rapidly losing all substantial existence. Transactions amounting to thousands of millions of dollars are yearly disposed of without the transference of a single metal coin or paper note. Trade is, and in essence always has been, and always must be, merely barter—the exchange of goods against goods. If America sends goods to Britain, the exchange is not complete until Britain sends back other goods to America, or to some third country from which America buys. Unless these other goods were sent back, the American exporter would receive no payment, and would very soon get tired of the amusement of exporting.

That is why Englishmen, who have been trained in the school of free trade, regard with perfect equanimity the development of American industries, and what is called the "invasion" of the home market. The more you sell to us, the more we must sell to you, unless you intend to set up as universal philanthropists. Even so, we should not complain. It has been an enormous advantage to England to be able to buy your wheat at a cheap rate. It would be a still greater advantage to get it for nothing.

The same consideration applies to the alleged intention of the new Steel Trust to sell below cost price in England. Incidentally, I may remark that the leading men in the British iron and steel trade are not very seriously alarmed by the threats of your over-capitalized trusts. During the past two years, British and German workshops have had more orders than they could dispose of.

After all, there are only twenty-four hours in the day; and on this side of the Atlantic we have learnt that, in the long run, it pays best to keep the larger number of those hours for sleep and recreation. British and German firms were, therefore, quite content that you should take some of the orders they could not fulfill. It will not be so when business slackens. Competition will again become keen, and, as far as can be gathered from the public utterances of British iron-masters, they are quite confident of the result.

It may be that they are wrong. It may be that your superior natural advantages, and the superior mental alertness of your workmen, will outweigh the load you have placed upon your industry by your protective tariff, and that you will be able to carry your goods across the Atlantic and underbid our producers. Even that prospect does not alarm us. There was a time when England exported wheat to the United States. For a century we have ceased to do so, and for half a century we have been largely dependent upon you for our daily bread. And yet we go on, and continue to smile. If you can send us cheaper steel than we can make ourselves, we shall gladly buy it, for it will enable us to produce ships and machinery even more cheaply than now.

Undoubtedly, the destruction of our blast furnaces would be a serious matter to the men whose capital is embarked, or whose labor is specialized, in that industry. But destruction, as well as construction, is inevitable in the gradual development of the world. Whole industries are disappearing from the face of the globe, because new inventions have rendered them unnecessary. Every day, thousands of dollars' worth of capital is being "scrapped" to make way for some small improvement. The human element has to adapt itself to these changes and is every day so doing. Already, indeed, it is possible to forecast a time when the building of steam engines will be as extinct an industry as the building of stage coaches. To prohibit the importation of American steel into England, in order to preserve British blast furnaces, would be only a trifle less silly than to prohibit the manufacture of electro-motors in order to preserve the steam engine.

Mr. Flint, however, appears to imagine that it will be possible for American producers to destroy one British industry after

another, till there be no British industry left. It is an amiable anticipation, but the author of it does not explain how the American producer is then to be paid for his products. We are delighted to buy anything that America sends us, if it is cheap enough and good enough; but if the American producer is so unreasonable as to wish to be paid for what he sells, he must graciously permit us to go on producing something ourselves. We have nothing but our goods to give in exchange for your goods. If you will not buy from us, though we shall still be pleased to take anything you like to send, we shall not be able to pay for it.

This brings me to the interesting question of how the balances of international trade are in practice settled. A very cursory examination of international trade statistics is sufficient to show that, in all old and prosperous countries, there is an apparent excess of imports over exports. Here are the figures for the most highly-developed countries of Europe, in the year 1898, the last year for which all the figures are yet available:

	Net Imports. Million Dollars.	Net Exports. Million Dollars.	Excess of Imports. Million Dollars.
United Kingdom	2,045	1,165	880
France	895	700	195
Germany	1,270	940	330
Switzerland	230	155	75
Belgium	410	355	55
Holland	735	630	105
Denmark	100	65	35
Sweden	125	95	30

How is this apparent excess to be explained? In the first place, it is due to the profit that is made by the persons engaged in international trade. Take the case of Great Britain. The tables of imports are intended by the Board of Trade to give the value of the imported goods upon arrival at our ports. As accurately as can be ascertained from the importer, the value entered represents the original cost, plus insurance, plus freight. The tables of exports give, in the same way, the values of exported goods when they leave our ports, in a word, the free-on-board price.

If the two figures were exactly the same, there could, clearly, be no profit on the exchange. England would get back exactly the same value as she sent out, and her merchants would consequently be working for nothing. That is not the habit of the British merchant. He has a weakness for being paid for the work he does; and his payment—that is, his profit—appears in the statis-

tical tables as part of the excess of imports over exports. In addition, there is the large question of freight to be considered. The ship-owner also wants to be paid, and his payment will be marked in the tables by an import into the country where he happens to live. It is notorious that the greater part of the carrying trade of the world is in the hands of Great Britain, and that is one of the principal reasons why the British excess of imports is so much greater than the excess enjoyed by any other country. The payments for insurance further swell the British total, for the greater part of the marine insurance business of the world is in British hands.

Lastly we come to the important question of the movement of capital. It is this that explains why the older countries have generally an excess of imports and the new countries an excess of exports; it is because the old countries are creditors and the new countries are debtors. Europe every year receives an enormous revenue in the shape of interest upon money that has been lent by her to assist in developing the new world—the United States, Canada, the Argentine, Chili, Peru and Uruguay, Australia, India and South Africa. India must be classed with the new world; for, although her civilization is as old as the oldest in Europe, industrially she is a new country, and has to borrow largely from England for the development of her railways and factories.

Of all these many borrowers, there is none so insatiable as the United States. Not only have your railways been largely constructed with English capital, and your mines developed with the same assistance, but in the Western States many of the farms are practically in the hands of English capitalists. The annual payment due on account of these loans is enormous, and explains at once the greater part of the excess of exports from the United States to the rest of the world. That excess would have shown itself earlier, if it had not been that you were steadily contracting new loans, so that the capital borrowed in one year often exceeded the amount due for interest upon previous debt. It is reasonable to assume that you are now getting to the end of your borrowing. Your railway system is to a large extent completed, and your population is now so large and your industries so well established that you are probably making capital for yourselves as fast as you require it. There are, indeed, signs that you are already beginning to pay off some of your indebtedness, and to

make investments of your own in foreign countries. While that process continues, your excess of exports will steadily grow greater. But, when the bulk of your debt is paid off and you have secured a substantial investment abroad, you will again experience what Mr. Flint regards as an adverse balance of trade; that is to say, you will again receive, as you did when you were borrowing freely, a greater value in imports than you send away in exports. When that time arrives, doubtless there will be people among you—as there are now among us—to declare that you are living on your capital and hurrying to national bankruptcy. In a sense, it will be true that you will be living on your capital; for you will be partly living upon the interest on your investment, just as we are to-day. If it hurts you no more than it hurts us, you will have little cause to complain.

The people who imagine that an excess of imports over exports is an indication of approaching bankruptcy, may profitably examine the figures of British trade for the past half century. It was in the year 1854 that the Board of Trade of the United Kingdom began to enter imports according to their real value. Before that date, the figures are useless for purposes of comparison. In the forty-seven years that have since elapsed, the gross, aggregate value of the imports into the United Kingdom has amounted to $75,220,000,000. That is what the world has sent us in the shape of corn and cotton and wine, wool and hides, butter and bacon and eggs, sugar and tea and coffee, tobacco and spirits, timber and metals, oils and petroleum, and a thousand other things, to feed our industries or to give pleasure to ourselves. What have we given in exchange? During the same period the gross, aggregate exports from the United Kingdom have amounted to $58,650,000,000. Thus there is an apparent deficiency of $16,570,000,000. If this were really a balance on the wrong side, even the wealth of Great Britain could not stand the strain. As for the idea that some people appear to entertain, that we pay for our imports in gold, it ought to be sufficient to remark that England does not produce gold. As a matter of fact, we import in most years considerably more gold than we export. During the period from 1858 to 1900, our aggregate, net imports of gold amounted to $780,000,000. That is the sum in solid gold which in forty-three years we have acquired and absorbed, in addition to the enormous excess value

of imported commodities. Adding the two figures together (although they do not cover quite the same period), we get a total of $17,350,000,000. The true explanation of this stupendous figure has already been given in advance. It represents, first, the profit made by British merchants; secondly, the freights earned, and insurance fees collected by British ship-owners and underwriters; and, thirdly, the interest we receive for our investments abroad, after deduction has been made of the capital which we still continue to export. The figures above quoted would, in fact, have been probably more than doubled, if we had not during the period under review continued to lend freely to foreign countries.

A suggestion, I am aware, is often made that England is paying for her constantly growing imports by selling her securities. The best answer to that theory is furnished by the London money market. Doubtless, England has parted of late years with some of her American securities; but she continues to lend money with both hands to almost every country in the world. Instead of a scarcity of capital on the London market, there is an almost constant plethora. Though there is a growing scale of expenditure in every class of the community, yet the annual savings of the nation are so enormous that we have continually to look for fresh investments. This may or may not be a healthy condition of society. Personally, I think that great aggregations of wealth are a distinct evil, but there is no evidence that capital is held in larger blocks with us than with you. On the contrary, there are probably fewer multi-millionaires in England than in the States.

But, for our present argument, the important point is that, whether the increase of wealth in England is a good thing or a bad thing, it is a fact. The following figures are carried down to a period before the war in South Africa had begun to influence our finances. They show that, in spite of frequent reductions of taxation, the national revenue has enormously expanded, and that the national debt had been greatly reduced. They show that the incomes of the well-to-do classes had more than doubled, and that the savings of the working classes—so far as these are represented by deposits in the Savings Bank—had increased nearly fivefold. The figures, lastly, show a remarkable increase in the standard of comfort, as evidenced by the growth in the consumption of such staple commodities as tea and sugar:

THE UNITED KINGDOM UNDER FREE TRADE.

	Year, 1859-60. Million dols.	Year, 1869-70. Million dols.	Year, 1879-80. Million dols.	Year, 1889-90. Million dols.	Year, 1899-00. Million dols.
National revenue	350	370	395	445	600
National debt	4,140	4,000	3,885	3,455	3,195
Property assessed to income tax. Gross annual value	1,675	2,225	2,885	3,345	3,795
Savings bank deposits	195	255	380	540	910
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Tea consumed per head of population	2.7	3.6	4.7	5.0	5.9
Sugar consumed per head of population	35	43	66	77	91

One word in conclusion. In what is above written, England has been compared to the mature man, America to a sturdy youth. The analogy is useful from many aspects; but it is apt to be misleading, if pressed too far. Our Australian offspring had grown so accustomed to this analogy; it was so much their habit to speak of England as the "old country," that they had worked themselves into a belief that England was beginning to suffer from senile decay. When, in 1897, Australians visited the old country in large numbers for the late Queen's jubilee, they expressed their astonishment at seeing on every hand the signs of eager enterprise and manly vigor. The truth is that, though a nation as an organism may grow old in years and rich in comfort, its vitality will suffer no abatement, its mind will not falter, nor its hand tremble, so long as every year a new group of active youths and smiling maidens steps upon the stage, to replace the old men and matrons who have done their day. There is no evidence that this perennial succession of eager adolescence to declining age is yet interrupted, or soon likely to be, either in England or in the States. You may call us old, we may soon begin to retort that you are middle-aged; but, a thousand years ahead, there will still be boys and girls in both our countries, to fight new industrial battles, to face new scientific problems, to carry on the race, and to laugh at the talk of decrepitude.

HAROLD COX.

OUR FOREIGN TRADE AND PROSPERITY.

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE article by Mr. Charles R. Flint on the "Business Situation and Prospects in the United States," in the March number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, is a remarkable compilation of interesting facts and fallacious deductions. At a time when the United States is entering upon a new commercial career, it is of the utmost importance that our business men should have correct ideas about their prosperity, and clear perceptions of the forces which may undermine its foundation. Mr. Flint's wide business experience and his familiarity with the facts of the commercial world give to his opinions, naturally and properly, great weight among business men. I think it worth while, therefore, to call attention to dangerous fallacies in his article.

Among political economists, Mr. Flint would be classed as an intelligent exponent of the old mercantilist school, whose peculiar doctrines about wealth and prosperity it was the mission of Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill to destroy. Mr. Flint's article is one loud hurrah over the fact that the exports of the United States far exceed its imports. His patriotic exultation is also encouraged by the newly-acquired position of our country as the leading gold producer of the world. Here are two unquestioned facts, and in Mr. Flint's opinion they prove the United States to be, not only the most prosperous nation in the world, but also the one whose prosperity in the future is least liable to overthrow. These conclusions are the threads upon which all the interesting facts of his article are strung.

Let us first notice Mr. Flint's interpretation of our "favor-

able balance of trade." In 1900, this amounted to $649,000,000, that sum representing the excess of exports over imports. Says Mr. Flint:

"In other words, we are paying our way as we go, living on the best, spending all the money we want for luxuries as well as necessities, and still 'laying by,' like the thrifty Yankees that we are, at the rate of $54,000,000 a month. Every time the minute hand ticks a surplus reserve of $1,300 is posted to Uncle Sam's credit on the books of the world, after he has paid everything he owes in trade."

Here is an attractive statement of the long-exploded doctrine that the "balance of trade" represents the profit and loss account of the national ledger. Nothing could be further from the truth. I am certain that Mr. Flint does not mean to imply that the increase of our national wealth hinges entirely on the turn which our foreign trade may take. Certain sentences in his article show his appreciation of the importance of our internal commerce, which is the real source of national income in a country like the United States. Important as is foreign commerce, its profits are a mere bagatelle compared with those accruing from internal production and exchange. I have no doubt that Mr. Flint would admit this to be true; and yet the average reader will get the idea from his article that the growth of our wealth, our status as a world power, our command over the labor and luxuries of other peoples, must be measured by the excess of our exports over our imports.

Consistently with this theory, Mr. Flint proceeds to set up the three richest countries of Europe as objects of pitiable contemplation. England, France, and Germany are on the downward path, forsooth, because their trade balances are unfavorable. Mr. Flint says:

"While the United States is piling up a credit balance of over six hundred millions a year, our three chief competitors for the trade of the world are writing a total of over one billion on the wrong side of the ledger. That the full significance of these figures may be appreciated they must be studied and analyzed. It is as if four houses were doing business side by side; one of these houses, the United States, after paying all its running expenses, has a balance in the bank of six hundred millions, in round numbers, while the other three houses have an aggregate loss to write up at the end of each year amounting to one thousand million dollars."

Mr. Flint's analysis does not explain the true significance of the figures. England deserves congratulations because of her

so-called "unfavorable balance." So does France; so does Germany. The people of those countries, in past generations, have laid aside surplus pennies and centimes and pfennigs, the unconsumed profits of their factories, their agriculture, their ocean-carrying trade, and have loaned their accumulated savings to less-favored peoples in North and South America, in India, and in the Orient. While making these foreign investments, and before a large returning tide of dividends and interest set in, the exports of these countries were larger than their imports. Now the world is paying them tribute. From all quarters of the globe, ships laden with luxuries and necessaries are steering toward English, French, and German ports; and sometimes their return voyage is with empty holds, because there is no balance to be settled. It would be difficult to find a country on the face of the earth whose people are not toiling, as it were gratuitously, for the benefit of those Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans whom Mr. Flint would have us pity. The disparity between England's imports and exports furnishes no clue to her prosperity. Knowing England's investments in various parts of the world, we can safely predict that, for many years to come, her imports will exceed her exports, no matter how much the latter may increase. With regard to England's welfare, we can say with confidence, on account of her limited resources, her insular position, and her climate, that any decline in her foreign trade on either side cannot be regarded as a cheerful indication. England depends much more on foreign trade than does the United States. Our country, with its variety of resources and climate, encompassing the torrid, the temperate, and the frigid zones, is practically independent of the world, and it might be prosperous even though another ship never crossed the high seas.

Mr. Flint is familiar with the resources of the United States. In his article he calls attention to them, and then draws the conclusion, from our possession of these resources, that the balance of trade in our favor will increase steadily. This is an opinion which will not bear analysis. The United States cannot forever go on exporting more than it imports. Indeed, the tide must turn within not many years. Americans want payment for their products, and that payment must come in gold or goods, or remain a debt due us from foreigners. Very little of that debt can be paid in gold. The United States needs no more

gold than it produces. It produces a surplus of gold, as it produces a surplus of wheat. It is naturally a gold-exporting nation. So the payment must be made in goods, or in investments. If in investments, the time cannot be far off when dividends and interest on those investments in foreign countries will flow in toward the United States, just as now dividends and interest payments are moving toward France, Germany, and England. It is absurd to suppose that any country can always be investing and never demand returns on its loaned capital.

The United States, according to Mr. Flint, has become a creditor nation because of its favorable balance of trade. Here he gets the cart before the horse. A creditor nation is one which lends to its neighbors. No nation will lend to foreigners if it can get a better rate of interest at home. The United States is loaning money to Europe, because European borrowers are now paying a higher rate of interest than American borrowers. There could be no other reason why the banks of New York should leave balances in Europe. What has given rise to the disparity between interest rates in the United States and Europe? The accumulation of capital in the United States, and the absorption of European capital during recent years in wars and in various industrial enterprises, of which the Siberian Railway is the most notable. The United States has become a creditor nation, because capital is relatively more abundant in the United States than in Europe, and not because it has managed to sell more to Europe than it has bought. As a matter of fact, our favorable balance of trade, in relation to our position as a creditor nation, is a result and not a cause. The disparity between our exports and imports has been growing in recent years, because of the fact that we were willing to lend capital to Europe, our investors and bankers realizing there four and five per cent. at times when three per cent. could barely be got at home. The excess of exports from the United States, while evidence that our manufacturers are getting the advantage in many fields over foreign competitors, also proves that the United States, by the development of its internal resources, by the genius of its people for invention, and as a result of its efficient labor, has accumulated more capital than its *entrepreneurs* can employ, has ceased to be a borrower, and is supplying the capital—that is, machinery and foodstuffs—for the development of

other countries. Its so-called "favorable balance," in other words, is growing *because* it has become a creditor nation. In time, the tide will turn, and ships laden with goods representing interest and dividends, will turn toward New York from the ports of the world. Our imports may then exceed our exports, yet the United States will be none the less a creditor nation.

I am unable to discover the basis for Mr. Flint's belief that American prosperity will last longer than Europe's. He says:

> "This is so well understood abroad that foreigners are everywhere eager seekers for our securities. Since the last election there has been a rush for American investments unparalleled in history. All over the world capital is anxious to go into partnership with American industrial enterprises."

I am disposed to question these statements. If it is true that foreigners are investing capital at an unprecedented rate in the United States, then I must confess inability to explain the growth of our exports, and I can discover no reason for calling the United States as yet a creditor nation. Why should we lend money to foreigners at a time when our own enterprises are so attractive that they draw foreign capital over to us?

At a time when every good American is anxious to see New York the financial center of the world, any explanation of London's proud position in that respect is worthy of attention. Mr. Flint's explanation contains more patriotism than logic. In his opinion, London's status, as the financial center of the world, could not be maintained if England did not have large investments in the United States and were not drawing something like two hundred millions a year out of our people on account of ocean freights and foreign travel. "She gets from these sources," Mr. Flint remarks, "in a measure, what she loses in the balance of trade." I am unable to follow this reasoning, or to see any possible connection between the facts and the conclusions. London's position as a financial center is due to the fact that she is also the commercial center. London is called the financial center merely because bills of exchange on London are the most acceptable bills anywhere created. They do not owe their acceptability to chance, or to the wealth of England, or to England's investments in the United States. Their acceptability has a commercial origin. English ships have long been going into all the ports of the world, and English manufacturers have been of

necessity seeking markets in every land. Everywhere on the globe, one finds business men dealing with London, just as in the United States one everywhere finds business houses engaged in transactions of one kind or another with New York firms. Thus London exchange is in demand in all markets. For this reason, and for no other, London has become known as the financial center. New York cannot wrest the title from London until American manufacturers have found customers in every land.

American business men must not place too much confidence in Mr. Flint's assertion that "our prosperity is built on lines that place us beyond the competition of the world." In his opinion, we have Europe practically at our mercy, for she depends upon us for the necessaries of life, whereas we buy from Europeans, in the main, only luxuries. "We send them," he says, "one hundred pounds of produce, and they give us in return a few ounces of fizz and feathers. This gives us control of the situation." It is but a short step from this epigram to the conclusion that the United States is under no obligation to Europe for the prosperity which it enjoys. Even if Europe, says Mr. Flint, should organize an "economical alliance" for the purpose of shutting out American goods, Europe alone would suffer; if we lost our foreign markets our mills and factories "would still be kept busy supplying the needs of our own people." Mr. Flint here reaches a conclusion diametrically opposed to the one which constitutes the main thesis of his article. In the first place, he finds Uncle Sam's profits to be measured by the excess of exports over imports; in the end, he concludes that the old gentleman's business would not suffer if he exported no goods at all. Mr. Flint cannot be right in both of these positions. As a matter of fact, both of them are erroneous.

Erroneous views with regard to the nature and indications of prosperity are always likely to work mischief. In these times of world markets, when our mines and factories are turning out products for consumers in remote lands, it is of the utmost importance that business men should read the signs of the times aright. If every sailor had implicit confidence in the traditional promise of the rainbow, or believed that every black cloud meant a hurricane, the world's commerce would come to a standstill. Business enterprises must likewise suffer if men misread the portents in the financial sky. A mistake is always costly. A

man who contracts his operations through baseless fear of adversity loses the profit he might have made, deprives his workmen of their means of subsistence, and so helps to turn imaginary panic into actual disaster. The notion that the prosperity of the United States is to be measured by the excess of its exports over its imports, is not merely a harmless error in economics. It is an error which may do mischief in the business world. In a few years, if present conditions continue and are correctly understood, the Old World will be largely in our debt, and, as I have pointed out, will be shipping to us large quantities of goods in payment of the interest and dividends on our investments abroad. Our imports will gradually swell until they exceed our exports. In this change of the balance from the so-called "favorable" to the "unfavorable" side, there will be no cause for dissatisfaction or foreboding.

On the other hand, there may be, within the next two or three years, a change in the relative proportion of exports and imports, which will be due to conditions calculated to give our manufacturers serious apprehension. During the last few years, Europe has been a good customer. She has borrowed money of us and then bought our goods. Her people have been enjoying, since 1894, an era of unprecedented prosperity. The new gold of South Africa has gotten into the channels of circulation, lifted prices, and stimulated industry. But Europe will not always be willing to borrow, nor will she always be able to buy extravagantly. The touch of hard times already lies hard upon Germany. Tons of manufactured products stamped "Made in Germany" are likely to be thrown upon the world's markets during the next year and sold at cost, because the producers are forced to liquidate and pay their bills. Forced sales of a bankrupt stock always lower prices and injure all competitors. The United States cannot help feeling the effects of the industrial collapse in Germany, and if that is followed by paralysis in France, England, and other European countries, the people of the United States, unless they find compensating markets in South America or the Far East, are liable in a year or two to have in their warehouses large stocks of unsalable goods. Then our exports will diminish, and our imports quite probably will increase. Here, indeed, would be a condition that might well cause the American *entrepreneur* to consider well his risks and take in some of his

canvas. Under the present economic adjustment, American prosperity cannot properly be called independent of Europe. Europe is our largest customer. Our total exports in 1900 amounted to $1,394,000,000. Of this amount about $1,000,000,000 went to European ports. For us it is of the utmost importance that Europe shall be prosperous and solvent.

I have briefly described two sets of conditions which might produce a change in our balance of trade from "favorable" to "unfavorable." In the one case, the change would result from the world's continued prosperity, from the uninterrupted growth of our own industries, and from the increasing flow of American capital into foreign enterprises. In the change so produced, there would be no threat of disaster for us. On the other hand, the change might be due to the poverty of our European customers, to their inability to buy at as good prices as our own people would pay at home, and to our willingness and ability to pay more for their goods than their own people could pay. While this reversal of our foreign trade statistics would be no evidence of adversity in the United States, it would nevertheless contain a warning of derangement in the world's markets; and the United States, like every other nation, would be obliged to pause and wait for demand to overtake supply.

It is the height of folly for us to imagine that our good times are independent of Europe, because our imports consist mainly of "fizz and feathers," which we can easily go without. The United States comes nearer being a complete economic unit than any other country in the world; its soil and climate could be made to yield almost all the necessaries and luxuries which the people consume. But under the present economic adjustment, with capital invested as it now is, we are not in a position to talk about independence. We are making things we do not want, and we want things we do not make. From the point of view of independence, I cannot discover that the seller has any advantage over the buyer. Each is in absolute need of the other.

During the greater part of the nineteenth century, the United States imported capital from the old world. Its industries yielded the highest net returns. That was why capital came here. Its coming was a sign of exuberant health and buoyant, well-founded hope. It was one evidence of our prosperity. If our country had been meagre in resources, if our people had not

been large producers and generous buyers, investments in the United States would not have paid and foreign capital would not have come. In those years, the imports of the United States far exceeded the exports. The excess of imports, roughly speaking, represented the amount of capital we were borrowing from Europe. If one nation borrows from another, the loan must always take concrete shape in either gold or goods. We took our borrowed capital mainly in goods. In the last quarter of the century, the proportion of foreign capital invested in new enterprises declined, and at the same time our factories and farms and mines and forests began sending dividends and interest to foreign stockholders and bondholders. We could not have paid those dividends in gold. To have done so would have exhausted our stock of the yellow metal in a few years. We made the payments in the produce of our lands and in the products of our factories. As a necessary consequence of these payments, our exports of merchandise have for thirty years been in excess of our imports. During the last three years, this excess has reached a figure so enormous that one is almost forced to conclude that the American people are paying back the principal of their indebtedness, and are now even lending in the very markets where they borrowed ten years ago. How long the tide will run in this direction nobody can prophesy with confidence. Much of the capital of Europe, during recent years, has been wasted—economically speaking—on battleships, military armaments, and costly campaigns in remote countries. The resultant high rate of interest in Europe, the magnet which has drawn American capital abroad, may be temporary. If so, then the restoration of peace will restore the old order of things, with capital cheaper in Berlin and London than in New York and Chicago. American capitalists, always looking for the highest rate of profit, will then seek investments in the United States, or in the rich countries of Central and South America. On the other hand, if capital is to continue scarce in Europe and abundant in the United States, then it will appear that we have become, internationally speaking, a creditor nation. We shall have a surplus of capital and shall go on exporting it, for the same reason that we have long had a surplus of wheat and have long exported it—namely, because it is worth more abroad than at home.

JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON.

THE THEORY OF THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

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THE rapidity with which exports of American products have increased in recent years has served, naturally enough, to stimulate discussion concerning the unprecedented balance of trade which now stands in "favor" of the United States. Not a few writers seem to believe that the extraordinary excess of exports over imports has made our foreign trade peculiarly profitable to the country, and there has been a marked revival of some of those theories which are associated with the name of the mercantile school of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such conditions will justify renewed study of that time-worn topic, the "Balance of Trade."

I.

Mercantilism arose in the period when the precious metals discovered in the New World began to find their way into circulation in the various countries of Europe. One cardinal tenet of the school was that the statesman must exercise especial care to secure for his country a sufficient stock of treasure in silver and gold. Spain and Portugal received directly from their colonies the riches that the treasure ships brought each year from the Indies; but England and other countries, whose dependencies contained no mines of the precious metals, could, manifestly, obtain new supplies of specie only by way of trade. For this reason, an excess of exports over imports, which might be settled by an inflow of gold or silver, was considered a "favorable" balance of trade, and became an object of solicitude to statesmen and to writers upon economic subjects.

Two circumstances aroused endless discussion of the balance of trade in England from the early decades of the seventeenth century. The East India Company was obliged to export specie each year to pay for the goods it obtained from the East, where there was little demand for English products. Then, the trade with France was believed to result in a balance unfavorable to England, so that it was thought that her traditional political rival was draining the country of its treasure. Partisans of the East India Company, such as Thomas Mun, insisted that the exportation of treasure to the East did no harm, because it was exchanged for products that were sold, at a still larger gain, in many countries of Europe; but the unfavorable balance in the French trade occasioned serious anxiety. Several times, commerce with France was absolutely prohibited; and at all periods heavy duties were imposed upon the staple imports from that country. Yet this branch of trade was long viewed with jealous eye; and writer after writer made elaborate calculations of the amount of treasure lost by the dealings with France, prophesying the utter ruin of the kingdom. "Make a law," they said, "to prohibit French trade: you need no wine and few of his commodities; and France will grow poor, while we grow rich."

Meanwhile, various Tory writers, such as Child, North and Davenant, less hostile to France, had argued that an unfavorable balance in dealings with a particular country need cause no alarm, because commerce with other countries resulted in a net excess of exports on the entire trade of the nation. But the theories of the mercantilists were not effectually controverted until the time of David Hume and Adam Smith. Hume contended that money, whenever the means of communication are open, brings "itself nearly to a level," and that its purchasing power cannot vary greatly in different nations. Spain and Portugal, he said, could not by any laws keep within their borders all the treasure brought from the Indies, since such a course would merely lower its purchasing power in those countries, and hasten its export to other places where it would command more commodities. Prices south of the Pyrenees could not be much higher than in France, since otherwise gold and silver would flow northward in exchange for cheaper products. He said that, if the various states of the old Saxon Heptarchy had maintained separate existences, each kingdom would have worried over the

balance of trade. Moreover, Hume attacked that insane "jealousy of trade" which marked the commercial relations of the various European states; and insisted that, since a wealthy man or country is a better customer than a poor one, "the increase of the riches and commerce in any one nation, instead of hurting, commonly promotes the riches and commerce of all its neighbors."

It remained for Adam Smith to deal the death-blow to the theories of the mercantilists. He contended that all natural trade is profitable, and that its profit consists, not in the specie it may bring into the country, but in the addition it makes to the annual produce of the land and labor of the nation. The mercantilists, he said, had prophesied the ruin, through an unfavorable balance of trade, of every commercial country in Europe; and their forecasts had been discredited invariably. All the treasure that flowed from Peru and Brazil could not be retained by Spain and Portugal; and every attempt of those countries to check the outflow of specie merely tended to increase prices and to give other nations "double advantage" in their commerce with the Peninsula, by raising the prices obtainable for imports sent thither, while making domestic products dearer and more difficult to export at a profit. Since the publication of the "Wealth of Nations" few economists have thought it necessary to trouble themselves over imaginary evils resulting from the balance of trade.

But recent developments in our foreign trade have led to the expression of views that differ but slightly, if at all, from the theories of the old mercantilists. We are said to be now creating a favorable balance of trade equal to $1,300 for every minute of the day; while England, Germany and France are "writing a total of over one billion on the wrong side of the ledger" for each year's transactions. In foreign trade, we are told, it is, as in the philosophy of Mr. Micawber: "Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditures nineteen six, result happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditures twenty pounds ought and six, result misery." Then we read passages like the following:

"Never before in the history of the United States were the profits from foreign business so large as in 1898 and 1899. By profits, I mean the excess in value of the goods sold—that is, exported—over those bought—that is, imported."

When the country imports more than she exports, she is said to be "a loser by her foreign trade," and "all the great nations of the earth," with the exception of Russia and the United States, are declared to suffer enormous "losses" by importing more than they export. True, an occasional writer recognizes that our excess of exports is offset, to some extent at least, by invisible items of international indebtedness; while sometimes it is realized that the unfavorable balances of older countries mean cheaper food and raw materials for the people, and represent also the return upon foreign investments of capital or the earnings of merchant marines. But the revival of mercantilist theories is sufficiently marked to deserve recognition as a general tendency in the thought of the day.

II.

With this general subject of international trade, it is notoriously true that the average man does not look with great favor upon reasoning based upon principles of a general and abstract character; while immediate results or events lying upon the surface of things create a far more powerful impression than the ultimate consequences of underlying forces. For this reason, the attention of the reader is now invited to a survey of the foreign exchanges of the United States during the years that have elapsed since the establishment of American independence. By such a study of simple historical facts, it may be possible to enforce more successfully than in any other manner some elementary truths concerning the real significance of the balance of trade.

A preliminary word is necessary regarding the sources of information. Statistics of international commerce always contain an element of error, and this is especially true of the only data available for the early decades of our national existence. Prior to 1821 imports admitted free of duty were not reported at all, and the rest were not valued in a satisfactory manner; while the valuation of exports did not receive sufficient attention from the customs authorities. The statistics now accepted as official for this period were made up in 1835. Beginning in 1821, the Annual Reports on Commerce and Navigation were published with greater or less regularity, and there has probably been a constant improvement in the character of our commercial statistics. For many of the items, other than exports or imports of

merchandise, that contribute to the international dealings of the United States, no official data are obtainable, and we are compelled to rely upon mere estimates that sometimes have a decidedly conjectural character. Precise computation, therefore, is impossible. The most that can be done is to demonstrate what the general tendencies have been in each epoch investigated.

(A.) The first period that we shall study extended from 1789 to 1820. It witnessed a rapid growth of our commerce up to the year 1807, when such events as the Embargo, Non-Intercourse Acts, and the War of 1812 affected all industry most injuriously. After the restoration of peace in 1815, a period of wild speculation, fostered by an inflation of the currency, encouraged large importations of foreign products. These were viewed as a sign of prosperity while the "boom" lasted, but were styled an inundation of European goods as soon as the speculative fever abated. The reaction, however, lowered prices and checked the flow of imports, which decreased automatically from $147,000,000 in 1816 to $74,000,000 in 1820.

For the entire period of thirty-one years, the estimated imports of merchandise and specie amounted to $2,350,000,000, while exports were placed at $1,839,000,000, an "unfavorable" balance of $511,000,000. Nor was this our only item of international indebtedness. Foreign capital was largely represented in the debt of the federal government, and had been invested in the stocks of the first Bank of the United States and in other enterprises. For interest on all such investments we owed, for the entire period, a sum that is estimated at $200,000,000 or more. But the amount due for the excess of imports and the interest on foreign capital had been balanced readily by the earnings of our merchant marine. The tonnage of the ships registered for the foreign trade amounted for the entire period to 20,000,000 tons engaged in traffic for one year. One estimate places the "balancing power," or international earnings, of our shipping at $20,000,000 annually from 1789 to 1815; and another reckons the earnings at $800,000,000 for the period now under consideration. The neutral position of the United States during the wars that engaged the attention of Europe for so many years had enabled American vessels to carry the larger part of our exports and imports, besides earning large sums in trade between different foreign ports. By this means, therefore, we had

paid our international indebtedness, and had been enabled probably to import a considerable net balance of gold and silver.* So far, then, from the country being drained of its money in payment for the balance of imported merchandise, the banks held not less than $20,000,000 of specie in the year 1820; while Gallatin and Crawford estimated that there had never been more hard cash in circulation.

The situation was analyzed correctly by Timothy Pitkin in 1817. He showed that a cargo of flour shipped to Spain in an American vessel would be valued at $47,500 at domestic prices, and would figure at this amount in the returns of our exports. If the flour were sold in Spain at the usual advance necessary to cover freight, insurance, commissions, and a fair profit, it might command as much as $75,000. Then, if the proceeds from the sale were invested in a return cargo that would be valued at our custom houses according to the prescribed methods, the final result of the voyage would be the importation of commodities that exceeded very greatly the value of the original exports. Therefore, he contended that, if the imports had not shown an excess, our ships would have incurred a loss on their voyages.

(B.) From 1821 to 1830, our commerce showed no material increase over the first period. For this decade, imports of merchandise aggregated $729,000,000 and exports were placed at $694,000,000, an "unfavorable" balance of $35,000,000, which was slightly reduced by a net exportation of $2,400,000 in specie. The indebtedness of the country was increased still further by whatever sums were due to foreign investors. Although the United States was reducing its public debt and returning considerable amounts of capital to foreign owners, the States had begun to contract debts, and borrowed during the decade $26,469,000. We may assume, therefore, that the sums returned to foreigners by the federal government were reinvested in State securities, and that the annual interest charge against the country remained nearly stationary. Moreover, Americans were beginning to indulge more extensively in foreign travel, so that a new item of indebtedness affected the exchanges. The sums expended by our travellers, however, were offset in part by the money brought here by immigrants, who numbered 150,000 during the decade.

*The balance of $511,000,000 due on the excess of imports does not show the facts regarding the movement of specie, since the estimates do not separate the two items of merchandise and specie prior to 1821.

Whatever the indebtedness of the country may have been on these various accounts, the earnings of our merchant marine sufficed to pay it, and to turn the exchanges in favor of the United States at the close of the period. After 1821, we have statistics showing the amounts of exports and imports carried in American and in foreign vessels. From this time, the net result of the carrying trade can be computed upon the following basis. Since American consumers must bear the expense of bringing merchandise to this country, the freight charges on goods brought in foreign vessels will be reckoned as an element in our international indebtedness; while the sums earned by American vessels in the import trade will be considered to have no effect upon the foreign exchanges. Similarly, with our exports, we shall estimate that other countries are indebted to the United States for freights on goods carried in American vessels, and that cargoes shipped in foreign bottoms may be omitted from our computations. Estimates of the probable proportion between freight charges and the values of the products carried range from ten to fifteen per cent. We may, therefore, place the cost of ocean carriage at twelve and a half per cent.; and this estimate may continue to be used until, for recent decades, it becomes possible to replace it by a better one.

From 1821 to 1830, exports carried in American vessels aggregated $666,090,000, on which the freight charges would be about $83,000,000; while imports brought in foreign bottoms were placed at slightly more than $51,000,000, which would be subject to a charge of something more than $6,000,000. Thus, our merchant marine earned from foreign countries about $77,000,000, which would be somewhat increased by the profits from carrying goods between foreign ports. Again, therefore, our ships earned enough to balance the indebtedness incurred on other accounts; and, in 1829 and 1830, the net imports of specie amounted to $8,400,000, while foreign exchange was quoted in favor of the United States.

(C.) The third period extends from 1831 to 1840. For the first six or seven years the country was engaged in an extraordinary speculative movement, which was followed by the inevitable reaction and business depression. Population advanced at a rapid rate, immigration became very large, and sales of public lands increased greatly. The State banks were enabled to ex-

pand their note issues from $61,000,000 in 1830 to $103,000,000 in 1835, the notes being used in payment for the lands occupied by settlers. Then, in 1836, the federal government distributed $28,000,000 of surplus revenue among the States, this money finding its way into the banks, which increased their issues to $149,000,000 by the year 1837. Such an inflation of the currency raised prices and invited large importations of merchandise. Thus, our imports rose from $62,720,000 in 1830 to $176,579,000 in 1836; while exports increased much less rapidly. When the speculative mania ended in the crisis of 1837, imports immediately decreased; but, for the entire decade, importations of merchandise exceeded exports by $159,700,000.

More than this, the movement of specie showed for the ten years an excess of imports amounting to $50,650,000; so that on these two accounts the balance of importations was not less than $210,000,000. This sum was far larger than the earnings of our merchant marine, which amounted to $90,000,000. How shall we account for the unsettled balance of $120,000,000?

The explanation is found in the large investments of European capital that were placed in the United States during this period. Between 1830 and 1838, various States that had undertaken internal improvements created debts amounting to $147,835,000. For this purpose, bonds were sold in other countries, and foreigners became indebted to America for the principal of the loans. Two circumstances, however, contributed to reduce the claims which the country held against foreigners on this account. The debt of the federal government, which amounted to $39,123,000 in 1831, had been paid in full by the year 1835; and a considerable part of these securities had been owned in Europe. As a result, foreign investors had been able to purchase some of the State bonds by the simple reinvestment of funds already standing to their credit in the United States. In the second place, no small amount of interest had accrued upon federal and State securities during the decade, and this item may have amounted to thirty or forty millions.* Foreign investors, therefore, owed the United States $147,835,000, less that part of the principal of the federal debt, and of the interest accruing upon all securities, for which this country was indebted

*Lest this estimate should appear too small, it will be well to add that, of the $147,835,000 invested in state bonds, $107,823,000 was placed in this country after 1835.

to European capitalists. After making such deductions, it is evident that our large imports of merchandise and specie had been made necessary by the movement of foreign capital toward the United States.

(D.) The next decade opened with two or three years of continued depression, but conditions improved after 1844, and subsequently the foreign commerce of the country began to show a decided increase. In 1847, the exchanges were affected greatly by the famine that followed the failure of the potato crop in Ireland. This event caused a remarkable increase in our exports of breadstuffs, which rose from $7,445,000 in 1845 to $53,262,000 in 1847. The result was that our exports of merchandise exceeded imports, in the year last mentioned, by $34,317,000. Such a sudden disturbance of trade caused a net importation of specie amounting to $22,214,000. This large inflow of money altered the condition of the exchanges; so that, in 1848, imports increased by $26,000,000, while exports declined more than $18,000,000, and a balance of $9,481,000 of specie was exported.

From 1841 to 1850 the imports of merchandise aggregated $1,180,000,000, and exports were estimated at $1,195,000,000. Thus a small balance of something less than $15,000,000 stood to the credit of the United States. At the same time, imports of gold and silver had exceeded exports by $21,830,000; so that the movements of merchandise and specie had reached approximately a condition of equilibrium. From this fact, one would infer that the invisible items of exchange must show a similar balance. Now, what are the facts?

The panic of 1837 had checked the growth of State debts. In 1841, the aggregate indebtedness of the State and local governments was not much more than $216,000,000. When the States retired from industrial undertakings, the field was left open for business corporations, which constantly increased in number, and began to find in Europe a market for a part of their securities. Thus investments of foreign capital, which were estimated at $200,000,000 in 1840, were supposed to amount to $261,000,000 in 1853. For the decade they may have averaged $225,000,000, upon which the aggregate interest charges would amount to $135,000,000.

But this debt to holders of American securities was diminished by the $40,000,000 or $50,000,000 of new capital that

sought investment in this country; so that our foreign indebtedness on this account was $85,000,000 or $95,000,000.

Upon the other hand, our merchant marine carried away from our shores exports that exceeded by $690,000,000 the imports that were brought to this country in foreign vessels. Therefore, on account of ocean freights, the United States was entitled to a credit of $86,000,000, which would balance approximately the interest due to foreign holders of American securities. Cargoes carried by our ships between foreign ports increased the earnings of the merchant marine; and were sufficient, perhaps, to balance any foreign outlays occasioned by the operations of our army during the Mexican War. Since specie exports exceeded imports in 1850 and 1851, we may conclude that some debts remained unadjusted at the close of this period.

(E.) In the ensuing decade our foreign commerce increased nearly 125 per cent. over the figures for any previous period of equal length, and merchandise imports exceeded exports by $355,800,000.

'Passing over, for the moment, the movement of specie, we find that State and local debts increased by $100,000,000 during the decade; while 21,000 miles of railroad were constructed, for which large amounts of iron rails were imported in exchange for newly issued securities. Foreign investments may have amounted to some $300,000,000 or $350,000,000, upon an average; but it is difficult to secure any satisfactory estimates. The annual interest charges may have been some $18,000,000 to $21,000,000, and, if we deduct $80,000,000 for new investments, we may place the debt due to foreign capitalists at from $100,000,000 to $130,000,000 for the decade. Thus, the United States was a debtor for $355,000,000 of imported merchandise, for $100,000,000 to $130,000,000 on interest charges, and, perhaps, for an unsettled balance from the year 1850.

To meet these claims, the profits of the merchant marine proved wholly inadequate. The net earnings of our ships amounted to no more than $158,000,000. Evidently, some new cause had been operating to disturb the exchanges, and to increase our obligations beyond the point where the earnings of our ships could establish an equilibrium.

We must now return to the movement of gold and silver. Upon the opening of the California mines, our domestic gold

output suddenly rose, from insignificant proportions, to $50,000,000 in 1850; and subsequent years showed a still larger product, which was several times as great as the amount secured annually from all countries of the world prior to 1845. From 1851 to 1860, the aggregate production of gold in the United States equalled $550,000,000, and this was five or six times the estimated specie circulation of the country in any year before the discoveries in California. The money in circulation in 1850, including bank notes as well as specie, was no more than $285,000,000, or about $12 *per capita.* If the new gold could have been retained in the country, our circulating medium would have risen to $835,000,000 for the year 1860, or $26.60 *per capita.* Such a sudden inflation as this would have raised prices far above the level prevailing in other parts of the world, put an end to the exportation of many products, and attracted imports from all quarters of the globe. Therefore, the new gold began to flow out of the country, after prices had been raised to a point at which the import trade could increase sufficiently to produce this result; and, from 1851 to 1860, we exported a net balance of $417,608,000. By 1860, our specie circulation had risen to $235,000,000, an increase of $81,000,000 in ten years; while the issues of bank notes had grown to $207,000,000, giving the country a supply of money that averaged $14.06 *per capita.* The United States had become one of the leading gold producing regions, and the course of the exchanges was inevitably altered.

(F.) Even more instructive was the period that extended from 1861 to 1873. The fiscal year 1860 had been marked by great prosperity, and both exports and imports were larger than at any former time. But the Civil War wrought havoc with our foreign trade, which, in the space of two years, shrank to little more than one-half of the proportions reached in 1860. Especially marked was the decline in our exports of cotton, which decreased from $191,800,000 in 1860 to an average of $11,700,000 from 1861 to 1865. But in 1863 the volume of foreign trade began to increase; and, after the restoration of peace, the expansion was very rapid.

In 1862, the federal government began to issue inconvertible paper, which produced an inflation of the currency, raising prices and intensifying the speculative movement naturally induced by the enormous public expenditures for military purposes. The inevitable result was a large increase of merchandise imports, which

rose from $243,000,000 in 1863 to $642,000,000 ten years later. While it is true, as Cairnes contended, that high prices in inconvertible paper would not tend to favor the growth of imports, because foreigners did not exchange commodities for depreciated greenbacks but received payment in gold, it is certain, also, that the speculative mania had raised gold prices somewhat above the level prevailing in other countries, so that the inflow of commodities was greatly stimulated. For the thirteen years ending in 1873, imports of merchandise aggregated $5,107,000,000, while exports were placed at $3,952,000,000, a balance of nearly $1,155,000,000 against this country.

But this was not the only account which foreigners held against the United States. Our merchant marine had suffered irreparable damage from the ravages of the Confederate cruisers, and the proportion of our foreign trade carried in American vessels had greatly decreased. For this entire period the imports brought to our shores in foreign ships exceeded the exports carried in our own vessels by $1,500,000,000. This gave rise to a debt of $187,500,000. For the first time in our history, we were indebted to foreigners on account of the carrying trade; and the aggregate of our obligations for merchandise and freight amounted to $1,342,000,000.* Moreover, it was estimated by David A. Wells, in 1869, that American travellers were then spending $25,000,000 annually in foreign countries, and the money brought here by immigrants could not have counterbalanced such an outlay. But there were other international transactions that restored the exchanges to an equilibrium.

In the first place, the net exports of specie during the thirteen years had amounted to no less than $677,822,000, this sum representing nearly nine-tenths of the output of our mines at this period. The rest of our foreign indebtedness was settled by the flow of European capital into the United States. From 1861 to 1863, there seem to have been large withdrawals of foreign investments on account of the disturbed conditions caused by the war; but, during the next ten years, the movement of capital turned in the other direction. The federal government had incurred an interest-bearing debt of $2,381,000,000, State and local indebtedness had increased by some $500,000,000, while 39,642

*The sum due for freight should, however, be considerably reduced; because many American vessels had been registered under foreign flags, and the earnings of such ships should not be credited to foreign account.

miles of railways had been constructed. Foreign investors were attracted by the securities issued for these purposes.

In 1868, Secretary McCulloch estimated the foreign investments at $850,000,000, exclusive of railway stocks. The following year, Mr. Wells computed that $1,100,000,000 of federal and local securities were held in other countries, while $365,000,000 of European capital had been placed in railway and other enterprises. Even if this estimate was too large in 1869, we may be certain that not less than $1,500,000,000 of foreign investments had been made by 1873; because the inflow of capital had been very rapid during the interval, amounting to $100,000,000 for the first eight months of the latter year. Now, if we place the withdrawals of the years 1861 and 1862 at $200,000,000, it may be considered that foreign capitalists were indebted to the United States for $1,300,000,000 on account of the principal of new investments. This debt would be decreased by the interest charges that had accrued prior to 1873, but the precise amount of this allowance cannot be determined. Remembering, however, that most of the capital came to the country after 1863 and that the interest was stated at $88,000,000 in 1869, we may estimate it as equivalent to some $80,000,000 annually for a period of six years. Thus, the aggregate indebtedness of foreign investors would be reduced to about $820,000,000. This was the item, therefore, which, in addition to the $677,000,000 of specie exports, furnished the means of settling the enormous balance due on merchandise, freights, and travellers' expenses.

Manifestly, such a condition of the exchanges could not continue. Even if nothing had occurred to check the inflow of foreign capital, the growing interest charges would have exceeded ultimately the annual investment of principal. In 1869, Mr. Wells had prophesied that exports of merchandise must increase, sooner or later, in order to pay for the interest accruing to European capitalists. More explicitly still, in 1873, Professor Cairnes wrote:

"These considerations lead me to the conclusion, that the present condition of the external trade of the United States is essentially abnormal and temporary. If that country is to continue to discharge her liabilities to foreigners, the relation which at present obtains between exports and imports in her external trade must be inverted. * * * This, it seems to me, is a result which may be predicted with the utmost confidence. The end may be reached by an extension of

exportation, or by a curtailment of importation, or by combining both these processes, but by one means or the other reached it will need to be."

Proceeding a step further, Cairnes showed that the excess of exports over imports could not be established unless the high prices then ruling in this country should be materially lowered, or prices in Europe should show a considerable advance; and he considered it probable that the change would come about by a fall of prices in the United States sufficient to make importation more difficult and exportation more profitable. Such a decline of the price level would probably "come with a crash," so that he looked forward "to the immediate future of American trade as a period of much disturbance and fluctuation, culminating, it is possible, from time to time, in commercial crises." Before his book appeared, these prophecies were in course of literal fulfillment.

(G.) The last period extends from 1874 to 1896, subsequent years being reserved for discussion in our final paragraphs. In September, 1873, the whole fabric of ten years' speculation utterly collapsed, while prices fell to a point at which imports must decrease and exports could expand. In 1874, for the first time in twelve years, exports of merchandise exceeded imports; and this condition was maintained in eighteen out of the next twenty-two years. By the close of the fiscal year 1896, the exports for the entire period stood at $17,479,000,000, while imports were placed at $15,190,000,000, a "favorable" balance of $2,289,000,000. In addition to this, exports of specie showed an excess of $529,000,000 over imports; so that the United States was entitled to a total credit of $2,818,000,000. This meant simply that the country had assumed its normal position as a debtor nation on the various items of invisible exchanges, and was paying annually something like $122,500,000 on such accounts.

In the first place we owed foreign nations for interest upon a mass of invested capital, which was not less than $1,500,000,000 in 1874, and increased to some $2,000,000,000 before the close of this period. The rate of interest upon these investments decreased from six to perhaps four per cent., as the years passed, and may have averaged about five per cent. This would make the annual interest charge stand at $80,000,000 or $90,000,000 upon the average amount of capital invested; so that, for the twenty-three years, this country owed from $1,840,000,000 to $2,070,-

000,000. But this sum would be decreased by the new investments made during the period, which aggregated $500,000,000.

Secondly, our foreign merchant marine showed a continual decline, so that imports brought in foreign vessels exceeded exports carried in American ships by $9,267,000,000. At the present time it is thought that freight charges upon imports are about ten per cent. of the value of the cargoes, while upon exports the estimated charges are as high as fifteen per cent. Upon this basis, the net earnings of foreign ships would aggregate $805,000,000. This item of indebtedness tended to increase, as the proportion of imports in American bottoms declined.

Finally, there were several kinds of debt that cannot be ascertained with much accuracy. In 1869, the annual expenditures of American travellers were placed at $25,000,000, but for recent years they have never been estimated at less than $50,000,000. Upon this account, however, a certain reduction should be made for the money brought into the country by immigrants and foreign travellers. Then, it is known that considerable amounts of real estate are owned by foreign capitalists, and that the rentals upon such property are no small item. Also, various foreign corporations, such as insurance companies, conduct a large business in this country; and their annual profits go to swell the volume of our international indebtedness. When all allowances are made for the uncertainty of the data, enough facts have been presented to account for the constant excess of exports of merchandise and specie from 1873 to 1896. At the close of the period under consideration, the invisible elements of indebtedness must have amounted to $80,000,000 interest upon $2,000,000,000 of foreign capital; $52,000,000 due to foreign ships; something less than $50,000,000 expended by American tourists; and indefinite sums that must have carried the debt up to $200,000,000 per annum.

III.

From this survey of the progress of American commerce, certain important conclusions may be drawn concerning the theory of the balance of trade.

(1.) Exports and imports of merchandise may throw no light upon the movement of specie, so that a favorable balance may not result in an inflow of gold or an unfavorable balance cause an outflow. From 1831 to 1840, merchandise imports exceeded ex-

ports by $159,900,000, while the net imports of specie amounted to $50,650,000. On the other hand, from 1873 to 1896, a favorable balance of trade amounting to $2,289,000,000 was accompanied by a net exportation of $529,000,000 in specie.

(2.) Many items that are not included in the customs statistics enter into the determination of the foreign exchanges; and, over a period of years, all these elements regulate themselves in such a manner that the total credits of a nation equal the aggregate of the accounts upon which it stands a debtor.

(3.) Whether imports shall exceed exports or exports rise above imports, depends wholly upon the position of the country as a producer of precious metals, or as a debtor or creditor on account of the movements of capital, of the carrying trade, of foreign travel, and the like. If capital is seeking investment in a new country, as was the case in the United States from 1831 to 1837 and from 1863 to 1873, imports must exceed exports; and this condition will be desirable or undesirable according to the advantages or disadvantages of the situation that invites foreign investments. When the inflow of capital ceases, exports must be sent to pay for the interest that accrues each year; and a favorable balance of trade caused in this way will point simply to the fact that the country is able to pay its debts, and will not indicate a peculiarly profitable condition of trade. If a country engages extensively in ocean carrying, imports of commodities will tend to exceed exports; and the unfavorable balance will be the measure of the profits derived from the merchant marine. Finally, in a country that mines an unusual quantity of the precious metals, gold and silver will be exported constantly to other nations where they are less abundant; and this will force larger imports of commodities. This was the condition produced by the Californian discoveries, and it continued until our growing indebtedness to foreign capitalists and ship-owners exceeded the annual product of our mines and caused an enormous excess of exports after 1874.

(4.) In all cases, the precious metals are used chiefly to pay balances, and they form but a very small element in the international exchanges. From 1821 to 1896, the merchandise exports and imports of the United States aggregated more than $53,000,000,000, while the entire shipments of gold and silver were less than $5,000,000,000.

All of these conclusions could be reinforced by a study of the commerce of other countries. In general, it is the younger and poorer nations that show an excess of exports over imports, while the opposite condition prevails in older countries that possess greater accumulations of wealth. Great Britain has had an enormous "unfavorable" balance of trade for many years, and must continue to do so as long as the earnings of her merchant marine and the interest on her foreign investments remain as large as they are at the present time.

The general conclusion is, therefore, that the movements of merchandise indicate nothing more than the position which a country occupies as a debtor or a creditor upon account of the invisible exchanges that form so important an element in international transactions.

But this statement of the case is not wholly complete, and needs to receive one important qualification before it can be accepted by the practical financier. From his point of view an excess of imports or of exports is frequently a matter of great importance. Both domestic and foreign exchanges are conducted by means of a complicated system of credit, the volume of which greatly exceeds the reserves of ready money that serve as its foundation. At those seasons of the year when our exports of staple products are largest, exchange usually turns in favor of this country, and gold imports are to be expected. At other seasons, when imports of merchandise are heaviest, exchange may turn in the opposite direction and cause an outflow of gold. Such fluctuations in the exchanges have always existed, and are natural and inevitable under any system of monetary or commercial policy; but they may be important to the world of finance.

A favorable turn in the exchanges that results in a temporary inflow of gold, increases the reserves of the banks, making money plentiful and cheap in the financial centers; and such conditions are favorable to business activity. Upon the other hand, a movement of specie away from the country tends to decrease the reserves, harden the money market, and raise the discount rate. All this, however, is a matter of temporary importance if the currency of the nation is upon a thoroughly sound basis, and if the general condition of business is healthful. When gold imports lower the rate of discount, prices of merchandise and securities

rise, and conditions are favorable for increased importations of foreign goods. Moreover, this tendency is accentuated by the concomitant fall in the rate of sterling exchange, which increases the profits that importers derive from their transactions. The result is that the tide soon turns in the opposite direction, and the inflow of gold is checked automatically. When, however, exchange rises to the point that makes gold exports necessary, discount rates are increased, prices tend toward a lower level, foreign bills drawn against exports yield a larger profit, and trade is given a counter impulse that restores the equilibrium.

But the case may be different. If business has been moving onward upon a course of mad speculation, straining to the utmost the delicate mechanism of credit, an unfavorable turn of the foreign trade may cause exports of gold at a time when specie reserves are all too small to withstand such a strain. Thus it is that panics are precipitated. If, in addition, the currency of the country is unsound, the importance of a rise in sterling exchange is greatly magnified. From 1878 to 1893, the United States was engaged in reckless experiments with its paper and silver money. The federal treasury had undertaken to circulate, at a parity with gold, a mass of debased currency the amount of which steadily increased under the operation of our laws calling for purchases of silver; while the banks, which had formerly supplied whatever specie might be needed for export, felt compelled in 1892 to draw upon the precarious gold reserve which the government endeavored to maintain. As soon as this occurred, every demand for gold needed in foreign shipments caused a drain on the slender reserve upon which the stability of our monetary system depended. Under such circumstances, an unfavorable turn of the exchanges was fraught with the direst peril.

But with these qualifications, the conclusions reached in the earlier part of our discussion will stand as correct beyond all reasonable doubt. There can be no greater error than to measure the advantages derived from the commerce of a nation by the excess of exports over imports, or to suppose that an unfavorable balance is a certain proof that the trade has become unprofitable. At the same time, a highly speculative market may well apprehend the consequences of an adverse turn in the exchanges; while a nation with an unsound monetary system will always be the sport of every fluctuation in foreign transactions. Moderation

in business activity and the establishment of a standard of value that cannot be shaken, would rob the balance of trade of its last vestige of significance.

IV.

It remains for us to consider briefly the tendencies that have manifested themselves in our foreign commerce during the last five years. Exports have increased enormously during this period, while there has been no corresponding movement in the import trade. Nearly all branches of exports have shown a noteworthy increase; but the most remarkable phenomenon has been the expansion in the sales of domestic manufactures, which have risen from $183,595,000 in 1895 to $433,851,000 in 1900. For the four fiscal years ending June 30th, 1900, our total exports aggregated $4,903,000,000, while imports amounted to no more than $2,927,000,000, a balance of $1,976,000,000 on the side of the exports. Moreover, the returns for the first eight months of 1901 show a further excess of exports to the amount of $491,000,000.

No statistical data that have been produced offer an adequate explanation of this phenomenon. For the four fiscal years ending in June, 1900, exports had exceeded imports by $1,976,000,000; while the net importation of specie had amounted to only $94,670,000, leaving a balance of $1,881,000,000. This would be reduced by the interest due on foreign investments, which may have ranged from $80,000,000 to $100,000,000 per annum, a total of $320,000,000 to $400,000,000 for the four years. The sums paid to foreign ship-owners aggregated some $191,000,000 during this period. In recent years, the expenditures of American tourists may have risen above $50,000,000 a year, so that, for the four years under consideration, our indebtedness on this account may have equalled $250,000,000. If the other items of invisible debts averaged $25,000,000 a year, we can make a further deduction of $100,000,000. But all of these items, even if we place interest paid to foreign investors at the highest figures, would amount to no more than $941,000,000, against a balance to our credit of $1,881,000,000.

Events growing out of the Spanish War may have contributed somewhat to reduce the unsettled claims standing apparently to the credit of the United States. For about two and one-half years, we have maintained an army of some 60,000 men in the

Philippines, and have incurred in this manner debts which have been increased by the $20,000,000 paid to Spain and by the expenditures of American warships on foreign stations. Yet with this deduction, there would remain a balance, apparently unsettled, of over $800,000,000 upon the trade of the four years.

In financial circles, two explanations have been offered to account for this extraordinary situation. In the first place, it has been suggested that the official statistics have overestimated the value of our exports. As a general thing, customs statistics undervalue both imports and exports, and this tendency is usually more marked in the case of the latter than of the former. But when domestic prices are very high, it is easy to estimate the exports at higher figures than are realized upon the actual sales in foreign markets. Yet a study of the export prices officially reported shows that our statisticians have, in most cases at any rate, valued the exports at less than domestic prices; and it would be hard to demonstrate that overvaluation has actually occurred. We know, however, that many of the trusts have sold their surplus stocks in foreign markets at prices that are very far below the charges exacted from domestic customers, and that some manufacturers not connected with combinations have done the same thing. This would make it probable that exports may have been overvalued to a certain extent.

A second explanation is that, in recent years, American money has been seeking investment abroad, while a considerable amount of foreign capital has been withdrawn from the United States. Since March, 1900, no less than $118,000,000 of British, German and Swedish securities have been sold in this country, and it is entirely possible that other investments have gone unrecorded. Concerning the alleged withdrawal of capital formerly invested in the United States, no reliable information is accessible to the writer, but leading financial authorities have declared that Wall Street has had no knowledge of such an influx of securities during the last two or three years. Upon the whole, it seems probable that this country now holds unsettled claims to a considerable amount against foreign nations. But, since it is not to be supposed that we have given away the surplus of exported commodities, our outstanding credits cannot exceed greatly the balances carried by international banking houses.

A word concerning the probable development of American

commerce during the next decade may not be out of order. In the first place we may enquire whether conditions will remain such as to allow the enormous balance of exports to continue. There are only three forces that may operate to produce this result. If the accumulated wealth of the United States has now become so great that our investors can find better openings in other lands, as, for instance, in colonial dependencies, an excess of exports will result from the outward flow of capital, until the time is reached when the interest charges exceed the annual increment of principal. This force, therefore, will, at the most, prove to be of comparatively short duration. Another possibility is the withdrawal of foreign investments now placed in the United States, which would be a second cause of an excess of exports. This force, however, would spend itself in the course of a few years; and, moreover, the removal of uncertainty concerning our standard of value ought to lessen the motive for the withdrawal of capital. Finally, there is the chance that our new foreign policy may entail the continued support of large armies in distant parts of the globe, which would tend toward a balance of exports. But the desire for strenuous living seems, upon the whole, more likely to show an abatement than an increase; and, if this forecast proves correct, military outlays will not intensify permanently the forces making for an excess of exports over imports.

Upon the other hand, counteracting causes may develop that will contribute to reduce our annual indebtedness to foreigners on account of the invisible items of the exchanges, and eventually will make an excess of exports an impossibility. First among these influences will be the revival of our foreign carrying trade.

The flourishing condition of our merchant marine from 1790 to 1855 was mainly due to our possessing a cheap and abundant supply of ship timber. With the advent of the iron and then the steel vessel, this industry was certain to decline, so long as the American price of iron ranged above that prevailing in England. Recent years have reversed conditions in this respect, and the astonishing development of our iron and steel production will furnish shipbuilders with an opportunity which, as recent events show, they are likely to improve. To the extent by which, during the next decade, American vessels recover their share of the carrying trade, our indebtedness to foreigners upon this account will tend to decrease, and one cause for an annual excess of exports will

be removed. A second influence will become operative if investments of American capital in other countries show, as they are likely to do, a tendency to increase. Temporarily, this movement will cause an outflow of commodities; but, sooner or later, the annual interest will be sufficient to produce an opposite tendency. So far, then, as indebtedness on account of capital is concerned, we may expect that conditions in the United States will come to resemble those which prevail in older nations which receive each year large imports of commodities that represent the earnings of invested capital. Finally, it should never be forgotten that this country furnishes a large part of the world's annual supply of gold and silver. If the interest upon our own foreign investments and the earnings of our ships ever equal or exceed the claims which are due to other countries upon these two accounts, then the product of our mines will turn the scale in favor of imports and put an end to the present excess of exports.

Upon the whole, it may be predicted that the existing condition of our foreign exchanges cannot continue for many years, and that, possibly before the present decade has passed, the relation between our import and export trades must be radically altered. This is not to say that exports must necessarily show an actual decrease, since the exchanges may be corrected by an increase of imports. But if conditions are such as to make the latter process difficult or impossible, then the former alternative will be forced upon us. Every dollar earned by foreign investments of American capital, or by a renascent merchant marine, will cancel an equal debt now owed to other nations upon these accounts, and will make it impossible to sell our present volume of exports without receiving a larger quantity of imports. The present balance of exports is due to our position as a debtor country on the many invisible accounts of the foreign exchanges; and, as we advance to the rank of a creditor nation, we must consent to receive our payment in the products that will represent the profits of our ships or of our capital.

Our recent unbounded prosperity has culminated in a speculative movement that has surpassed previous records. Unquestionably the rage of speculation has exceeded all reasonable bounds, and is likely to be followed by a reaction of equal intensity. While prudent men are even now putting their houses in order, the large number will continue their overtrading until

the storm bursts upon them. At such a time the foreign exchanges will assume a position of great temporary significance. While various European markets have experienced for some months the reaction that is certain to be felt in this country before the accounts of recent years can finally be closed, our own prosperity has suffered no material abatement, and we are able as yet to detect no certain signs of danger. To the firm condition of our markets the recent developments of our foreign commerce have contributed most powerfully, because our international position is so strong that no slight shock could start an outflow of gold sufficient to test the strength of the gigantic fabric of speculation; and, as long as present conditions continue, our day of reckoning may be postponed. In such matters it is usually the unexpected that happens, and no one can foresee the precise course of the events that will ultimately precipitate the crisis; but of one thing we may be assured. Unless untoward domestic occurrences intervene to cause the initial shock, the next turn of the foreign exchanges will put to the severest test our highly sensitive markets, in which the substantial profits of prosperous years have been given fictitious valuations. Whenever our excess of exports falls to a point where it will not counterbalance the debts incurred on the invisible foreign transactions, we shall probably witness the end of the present era of speculation.

CHARLES J. BULLOCK.

A POSSIBLE DIFFERENCE IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN FICTION.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

In reading Mrs. Humphry Ward's last story, "Eleanor," I felt again, as I had felt before in her work, its general difference from the best American fiction in a particular which may perhaps have caught the notice of others. If it has not, I may be mistaken in my feeling, and shall be unable to persuade others to make it their conviction. But the point is interesting, and if I can make it evident, something will have been done toward explaining American novelists to themselves, and reconciling them to their performances as the necessary outcome of their conditions. Possibly, something more will have been done, and they will be satisfied in recognizing that English breadth must always be denied them, and making the most of the depth which seems to be their characteristic when they are at their best.

I.

The deceitfulness of appearances is notorious, and even when they are the effect of reality they are seldom of such a unanimity that the inference from them cannot reasonably be questioned. You have first to get your appearances, and this alone is a thing of no small difficulty. Many appearances are so purely subjective that when you come to draw the attention of others to them, they turn out to be disappearances; and, in the case in hand, there will probably be some people to deny that English fiction is noticeably broad, or American fiction noticeably deep. They will say that Thomas Hardy and George Eliot have both written things that suggest depth as well as breadth, and that Mrs. Ward,

who is alone among English writers worthy to be mentioned with these novelists, is so much of the American spirit in her art that, if her work is broad, it is a proof that breadth is as characteristic of American fiction as depth.

The effect is to dissatisfy you with the words themselves, as saying too much, and if, after trying "dramatic" and "epical," you return to them, you wish to explain that you employ neither invidiously, but only with the single desire to trace certain questionable appearances to certain unquestionable facts, and so render them less questionable. I confess that the effect of the breadth I have felt, or seemed to feel, in Mrs. Ward's work was such as to make me discontented with the depth that I remembered in the best American work, as if this were comparatively a defect, since it was necessarily narrower. It was only by reflecting that our depth was the inevitable implication of our civic and social conditions that I was consoled, and restored to something like a national self-respect. To put it paradoxically, our life is too large for our art to be broad. In despair at the immense variety of the material offered it by American civilization, American fiction must specialize, and turning from the superabundance of character it must burrow far down in a soul or two.

Men may invent almost anything but themselves, and it was not because Hawthorne made himself psychological, but because he was so, that in the American environment he bent his vision inward. His theory was that our life was too level and too open and too sunnily prosperous for his art, but it was an instinct far subtler than this belief that he obeyed in seeking the subliminal drama. Hawthorne was romantic, but our realists who have followed him have been of the same instinct, and have dealt mainly with the subliminal drama, too. In their books, so faithful to the effect of our every-day life, the practical concerns of it are subordinated to the psychical, not consciously, but so constantly that their subordination has not been a matter of any question. The usual incidents of fiction have not, in the best American novelists, been the prime concern, but the subliminal effect of those incidents. Love itself, which is the meat and drink of fiction, is treated less as a passional than as a psychological phenomenon. Long ago the more artistic of our novelists perceived that the important matter was not what the lovers suffered or enjoyed in getting married, or whether they got mar-

ried at all or not, but what sort of man and maid their love found them out to be, and how, under its influence, the mutual chemistry of their natures interacted. All the problems, in any case, are incomparably simplified for the English novelist by the definite English conditions. One can no longer call them fixed; but they are still definite, and in a certain way character proceeds from them—the character of a gentleman, a business man, an artizan, a servant, a laborer. Each of these has his being in a way so different from the others, that he is a definitely different creature; and when through some chance, some perverse mixture of the elements, the conditions are traversed, and the character bred of one shows itself in another, it has a stronger relief from the alien background. But, ordinarily, the Englishman feels, thinks, and acts from his class; when you name his class you measurably state him; and you have rather to do with what he does than with what he is. The result in fiction is a multiplicity of incidents and persons; you have breadth rather than depth.

Even in so psychological a story as Mrs. Ward's "Marcella" the definite conditions account for so much that it is, after all, a study of incident more than a study of motive. The conventions of English realism, the county society and the life of the great houses, and interests and opinions of the gentry and their dependents; the hovels and the physical and moral squalor of the poor; the parliamentary election, and the agitations of the demagogues and the real reformers; the intervention of the church and the chapel; the poaching and the murder and the hanging; all these things are of the familiar acquaintance of the novel-reader, who knows them from the time of Bulwer down, through the innumerable novelists who have treated of them since. Mrs. Ward treats of them with a fresh mind, but they are in themselves so far from fresh that they seem to stale her thought of them; and the figure that she projects against them, the very novel and very original figure of Marcella, seems to acquire convention from them, and to be as hackneyed as all the rest. The result is a fiction of high order, of higher order in certain aspects than any since George Eliot's fictions, and yet having breadth rather than depth. Yet this may be an appearance and not a fact. Marcella is so essentially modern, so perfectly of the day before yesterday, that the inquiry into the soul of the socialistic esthete, the girl of good birth and good tradition, emerg-

ing from her shady father's past, to find herself engaged to the most conscientious and noble-minded of aristocrats, but at war with all his convictions through the impassioned preferences of her earlier associations, necessarily involves psychological research which goes far if it does not go deep. She is, indeed, so interesting that one wishes the author might have had her in the sparsely settled region of an American fiction, so that we could have sat down with her in the long leisure of our social existence and divined her to the ultimate mystery of her nature. It may be that there is really no more of her than her author shows, but it seems as if, in a different environment, there might be more.

Possibly, we touch here a fundamental variance of the English and American life. In former times we Americans were accused of being curious, over-curious, of being insatiable and impertinent questioners of strangers. It may be, however, that we were not so, but that the most penetrating difference between us and the English is that they are social and we are personal. Their talk is of incidents; ours of interests. Their denser life, we will say, satisfies them with superficial contrasts, while in our thinner and more homogeneous society the contrasts that satisfy are subliminal. This theory would account for their breadth and our depth without mortifying the self-love of either, which I should like to spare in our case if not in theirs.

Our personality is the consequence of our historic sparsity, and it survives beyond its time because the nature of our contiguity is still such as to fix a man's mind strongly upon himself, and to render him restless till he has ascertained how far all other men are like him. We are prodigiously homogeneous, though in the absence of classification we seem so chaotic. We shall change, probably, and then the character of our fiction, our art of representing life, will change, too. Very likely, it will become more superficial and less subliminal; it will lose in depth as it gains in breadth. As yet, its attempts to be broad, to be society fiction, have resulted in a shallowness which is not suggestive of breadth.

II.

The English are less apt than we have been to carry a story abroad, and to find in an alien setting terms more favorable than those of home for the subliminal interests. This may be because they inevitably carry their civilization with them in all possible

details down to the emblematic bath-tub, while we find that we can get on abroad fairly well without steam heat and exposed plumbing, and the American order which they stand for. We are, in fact, far more easily detachable from our native background, and blend far more readily with the alien atmosphere, than the English, so that I think if an American family as nearly as possible corresponding to the Manisties had been set down in the air of Rome, they would have lost their native outline more. The thing is hard to say, and perhaps I shall come as near to suggesting it as may be in noting the impression that the cosmopolitan Englishman gives, of being more English than if he had never left home; whereas, the cosmopolitan American really ceases to be American even if he does not become anything else.

Of course, my position can be assailed by saying that there could not be any such American family as the Manisties, who are distinctively and inalienably English, and are of that world which, whether it is really great or not, makes ours seem a small world. Manisty has had to do all his life with questions which affect politically, socially, and spiritually the civilization of many races, systems, languages, and religions, as no American public man can have to do with them; and Eleanor Burgoyne, through the English traditions which admit women to the discussion of such questions, is of a range of thinking and feeling possible to no American woman, except some one who has given up society and gone in for a public life through the advocacy of a great interest, like temperance or the suffrage for women. I allow that all this is true, without allowing all its implications; and in the meantime I fall back to my original position, and invite the reader again to consider whether the fact does not make for that breadth in English fiction which I began by imagining. We will suppose that the author, for the sake of getting her main group of people face to face with each other, and keeping them to their psychological problem, wishes to isolate them from the alliances and relations of their past, and therefore takes them into an alien environment. Almost immediately it proves that she has not isolated the English Manisty and Eleanor, but only the American girl, Lucy Foster. With the others, questions of European policy at once come in, and distract their attention from the psychological problem; to Lucy alone these questions are without vital interest, if not without reality. Priests, diplomats, peasants,

artists, citizens, society figures come and go in her consciousness, with the effect of deepening it inward in the great question whether she is doing wrong in letting Manisty love her, or letting herself love him, when she feels or knows that Eleanor loves him.

If the situation had been invented by an American novelist, I think he would have studied it mainly through the consciousness of Lucy, and the prime interest of the story would have been personal, psychological, subliminal. The effect would have been depth; and I do not mean this in any bragging way. Now, the main effect is breadth, which, certainly, I could not mean derogatorily. It is indifferent to me, for the present inquiry, whether the American or the English effect is better; and I wish to note, without disparagement of Mrs. Ward's work, that Mr. Hardy gets depth by dealing with persons who are unconventionally circumstanced, or wholly out of society. For much the same reason, the author of the remarkable "Mark Rutherford" books is able to get it.

Is it true, then, that the Americans get it because their characters are unconventionally circumstanced, or are not in society? Something very like this might be true; and American fiction is faithfuller to the average American conditions than if it dealt with people conventionally circumstanced and in society, for most of us are certainly not so, as most equally educated Englishmen certainly are so. We have the forms; the social structure is the same with us; but having built our house and furnished it, we find it a bother, and would rather live at a hotel.

Still better, we like to travel, to journey and sojourn in far countries, and amidst the outer strangeness to get more intimately at our inner selves. If we are novelists, we like to take our characters abroad, as if the home sparsity were not enough, and in the resulting isolation, to penetrate the last recesses of their mystery, or at least learn that it is not penetrable. More than one piece of our sublety in this sort could be alleged, but perhaps it is sufficient to allege two, of which what I am saying seems eminently true, namely, "The Marble Faun," and "Daisy Miller." If an English novelist does the same thing, the result is not the same; the English environment is inalienable; the characters are continually frittering themselves away in superficial encounter on the native terms, at dinners, and luncheons, and teas, till there is nothing subliminal left in them.

III.

One great objection to words is, that they are always oversaying things; and I could easily take up the foregoing postulate and show it untenably excessive. Nevertheless, I think it has some truth in it, and I feel concerning Eleanor Burgoyne, that she is not enough alone for the evolution of her innermost self. She is always in a clutter of society, which is right enough, since she is of that English world so cluttered, to our elbow-roomy American sense, as we view it afar or anear; even in her withdrawals from it in pain or in passion, the atmosphere of drawing-rooms seems to envelop her. It is her native air, and one cannot complain, though one feels that a final knowledge of what she might otherwise have been to the reader must be postponed to a future life. What she could be in this, hampered by the perpetual coming and going, and meeting and parting, is a most generously imagined personality. In fact, Mrs. Ward is so good at imagining heroines of noble nature that she ought to be the favorite novelist of her sex, which loves to have its magnanimity recognized; I will not say flattered. The wife of David Grieve, in the novel of his name, is one of these great creatures, and worthily the heroine of what I am not going rashly to call the author's best book, though I should not dispute such a verdict from another. I think it was contrived that the reader should meet her on a more subliminal level than most other English heroines, and this was perhaps so because she was of a social world almost as uncrowded as our own; and perhaps also because there is something much more analogous to the American in the Scotch nature than in the English. I am writing without the book, but after the five years which have passed since I read that powerful story, she is still present in a sort of tender sublimity, as the fit type of the sacred love whose flame purifies David Grieve's soul of all but the record of his profaner passion.

So much may be expected and exacted of the type of heroine which Mrs. Ward imagines, that the noble goodness of Marcella Maxwell, when she reappears in the story of "Sir George Tressady," can have force not only to regenerate the feeling of Sir George toward herself and transform it to an exalted friendship, but also to turn the jealousy of Lady Tressady to some such complexion. Can such things be? one asks one's self, and then is ashamed of one's self for asking, for doubting. Yet, Lady Tres-

sady, in her prettiness and pettiness, her vanity and vulgarity, has the superior probability, and is—I am tempted to say it—more profoundly divined than Marcella. In fact, Marcella loses probability in her second avatar, as socialistic wife to a socializing prime minister. In the scheme of "Sir George Tressady," the ideal beauty of soul so courageously imagined for her scarcely recompenses the reader for this loss, though he must honor the courage. Her apparition to Tressady, crushed and dying in the coal mine, is not of the convincing supernaturalism to which Tourguénieff and Tolstoy have sometimes carried their naturalism; and her personal beauty, which is so constantly insisted upon, seems at each insistence less impressive. At the risk of being insufferably paradoxical, I should say that Marcella was left less appreciable by being left too little a mystery, and that, in being altogether removed from the vague, she is rendered impalpable to those perceptions which realize personalities. To put it still more perversely, we meet her too often to know her thoroughly. We know little, light, hard Letty Tressady far better; we have a sense of her; she is the more convincing because, to the very last, we are no more convinced than she is that she is not still jealous of her husband with respect to Marcella, though she is no longer jealous of Marcella with respect to her husband. She has forgiven but she has not forgotten, and she remains with the reader in the luminous question whether she will like being commended to the care of Marcella and Lord Maxwell by her dying husband.

In suggesting such a question, the author evinces psychological depth, and in questions equally incapable of final answer in the case of both the wife and the mistress in "David Grieve," I find proof of a depth in that novel beyond that of any other of Mrs. Ward's books. The wife's relation to David's past amour remains full of satisfying mystery; and the feeling of the French girl who forsakes him for her art, and escapes in terror from her love of him, is something that seems to penetrate the very sources of her nature.

IV.

Of course, I am aware of proving too much, but if I am getting at the truth, I do not much mind being inconsistent, or even finding myself wrong. If my thesis is that Mrs. Ward, when her fiction deals with the more crowded scenes of English life,

loses depth, and when it deals with a sparser environment gains depth, perhaps I shall not find myself so very wrong, after all. I should still have to ask myself how far she had sought such an environment in laying the scene of her last novel in Italy, and in giving her English heroine the relief of an alien setting; how far such a motive was subconscious with her, and how far she had failed to give it effect.

I have already intimated my sense of her comparative failure, and as for the subconscious motive, that is something that I know of no critical subtlety competent to render evident. The question which remains is, in what degree the inevitable spread of the story has superficialized the heroine's character, or perhaps the impression of her character.

What one has to do, in any case, is to recognize the courageous originality with which Eleanor Burgoyne is imagined. She has been married to a sufficiently unlovable and unloving husband, whose delirious suicide has involved the death of their little son. She struggles up from her crushing sorrow, and in making herself useful to her cousin Manisty as his secretary and counsellor in his work, she finds not respite from her grief so much as the chance of new happiness in the hope of his love. But she loves him too well and unwisely to be his unsparing critic; and when the unformed American girl, Lucy Foster, comes into their family circle, and from the fearlessness of her absolute sincerity censures where Eleanor has not the heart to censure, Eleanor has the anguish of seeing the man's fancy veer toward the girl as one of greater authority. Lucy is beautiful, and Eleanor, in the first days, has devoted her taste and knowledge to making her more evidently beautiful. The feeling that she has toward her is not jealousy, or else it is a jealousy so sublimed by her noble nature that it is rather a recognition of the facts than a resentment of them. She weakens, indeed, so far as to put the case to Lucy and ask her to give Manisty up to the love which has earned him, but not won him; and the girl consents. But both their wills are crushed in Manisty's, when he makes it plain that his love has nothing to do with justice, and that he wants what he wants, not because it is best or impersonally right, but because he wants it. This is the way of true love, which we are always exalting as the finest thing in the world, though there are obviously many things finer. It is, at least, honest and sin-

cere, and that is what Eleanor Burgoyne owns in her acquiescence with fate, when she renders Lucy up to her inevitable happiness, if it is happiness to marry Manisty. That the woman should ask the girl to forego her happiness is a daring supposition in which we must acknowledge the author's high esthetic courage, and perhaps the frankness which is almost brutal in Eleanor's despair is truer than any fineness would have been. The contrast of the two lives in that scene, the woman's experience and the girl's innocence, is more valuable than the contrast even of their natures; but possibly in this also the author's work lends itself to my theory of greater breadth and less depth in the English novel as compared with the American. Nothing of subconscious, of subliminal, is left to the reader's conjecture; but I do not at all mean that character is rendered superficial by bringing everything in it to the surface. I am far too fond of the plain light of day for that; but still, it may be so contrived that the plain light of day may strike to the nethermost abysses, and that what is most intricate and most recondite in the soul may be rendered luminously apparent at its proper depth.

V.

The personality and the dramatic office of Eleanor are greatly imagined, and they remain essentially unaffected by the handling. You get the meaning of her tragedy and the innermost meaning, which is perhaps less poignant than it might be if it were relieved by comedy. Mrs. Ward is serious, and, no doubt, in this she has her strongest hold upon her vast public. Through the absence of humor, Mrs. Ward is a little lower, if one chooses to think so, than that great woman novelist whose level she more nearly reaches than any of her successors. You cannot quite name her in the same breath with George Eliot; but you can name her in the next breath; and it is to be questioned if even George Eliot had a wider and stronger grasp of the important actualities of English life. In "Eleanor" one must acknowledge that increasing mastery of which each of her successive books has given proofs. She has risen to her present eminence so wholly since American fiction began to shape itself from the art of Continental fiction, that one might almost claim an American influence in her work; but that might well be claiming too much. Her manner is still marked by the ejaculatory and suspiratory self-indul-

gence of the minor English novelists, to which George Eliot herself was not superior. She draws her breath in open pathos, and she caresses a situation or a character with a pitying epithet or adjective, as George Eliot does in the case of some heroine she likes very much, notably Maggie Tulliver, or Janet Dempster, and less notably Dorothea Brooke. The foible is characteristic of all but the finest artists in English fiction, and in her greater moments Mrs. Ward does not indulge it. There is nothing of this weak pity of her own creations in such a scene as that where Eleanor reverses her prayer to Lucy Foster, and, baring her wasted neck to show herself a dying woman, makes the girl promise to be true to the love between her and Manisty. The most touching moment of the whole story, that when she asks Manisty to carry her up the stairs, is of an intense pathos, enfeebled by no suggestion of feeling in the author. "Eleanor, with her hand on Marie's arm, tottered across the court-yard. At the convent door her strength failed her. She turned to Manisty: 'I can't walk up those stairs. Do you think you could carry me? I am very light.' Struck with sudden emotion, he threw his arms round her. She yielded like a tired child. He, who had instinctively prepared himself for a certain weight, was aghast at the ease with which he lifted her. Her head, in its pretty black hat, fell against his breast. Her eyes closed. He wondered if she had fainted. He carried her to her own room and laid her on the sofa there. . . . As he left the room Eleanor settled down happily on her pillow. 'The first and only time!' she thought. 'My heart on his—my arms round his neck. There must be impressions that outlast all others. I shall manage to put them all away at the end—but that!'"

Such a passage (and it is by no means the only passage of its kind in the book) is of a fineness so penetrating, so far-reaching, that a critic more enamored of his thesis than I, might own it a proof of the contrary. If he had been arguing that English fiction had breadth but wanted depth, he might urge that it was one of the exceptions which proved the rule. But I prefer to save myself by a little different means, and referring to a suggestion already made somewhat faint-heartedly, I would leave the reader to say whether, in such an instance, Mrs. Ward was not rather like the American than the English novelists.

W. D. Howells.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS,

one of the most learned and most highly honored American statesmen of modern times, was born in Vermont nearly three-quarters of a century ago. After spending a few years in the practice of law, he was elected to a seat in the Legislature of his native State in 1854, and he remained in that body for five years, during three of which he served as its Speaker. In 1861-62 he was a member of the State Senate, and its president *pro tempore*. On the death of Solomon Foot in 1866, he was appointed by the Governor of Vermont to the vacant seat in the United States Senate. He was subsequently elected by the Legislature to fill the unexpired term, and for twenty-five years thereafter—until his resignation in 1891—he was a leader, on the Republican side, in the Upper House of the national legislature. His name has been associated with a large number of prominent measures, notably with the act passed in 1882 for the suppression of polygamy in Utah and the disfranchisement of those who practise it. Mr. Edmunds took an active part in the impeachment of President Johnson. In 1876-77 he was one of the members of the Electoral Commission, having been chairman of the Senate Committee which, in concert with a similar committee of the House of Representatives, prepared the bill creating that commission. As a candidate for the Presidency in 1880, he had the support of a large number of the delegates to the National Republican Convention. During the Presidency of General Arthur he was President *pro tempore* of the United States Senate. Though now in private life, he takes a keen interest in public affairs, and there are few whose opinions thereon are held in higher esteem by his fellow-countrymen.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL

belongs to even an earlier generation of statesmen than Mr. Edmunds. He was admitted to the bar of Massachusetts in 1836, and he served for seven terms, between 1842 and 1851,

in the Legislature of Massachusetts, being recognized as the leader of the Democratic party in that State. In 1851 he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and in 1854, after the repeal of the Missouri compromise, he threw in his political lot with the Republican party, which he helped to organize. In 1860 he was a member of the Chicago Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. In 1862-63 he was, on the appointment of President Lincoln, the first commissioner of the new department of internal revenue. From 1862 to 1868 he was a member of the House of Representatives, and, because of the energy with which he advocated the impeachment of President Johnson, he was chosen chairman of the committee appointed by the House to report articles of impeachment, and became one of the seven managers of the trial. In March, 1869, President Grant called him into the Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, in which capacity he used his influence in the direction of effecting a large reduction of the national debt. He resigned from the Cabinet in March, 1873, and took his seat as a United States Senator from Massachusetts, having been chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the election of Henry Wilson to the Vice-Presidency. He was appointed by President Hayes in 1877 to codify and edit the statutes at large. For six years Mr. Boutwell was an overseer of Harvard University, and for five years secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. He has been a resolute opponent of the policy of expansion, and is president of the New England Anti-Imperialist League.

O. P. Austin

was the author of an important article on "A Century of International Commerce," which was printed in the November (1900) number of the Review, in which a note regarding him will be found.

Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer

was also the subject of a short note in the number of the Review for November, 1900, which contained the first instalment of an interesting and valuable paper on "New York and Its Historians," to which her article in this number on "Mr. Fiske and the History of New York" is, in effect, a sequel.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

A short note on Mr. Taylor was published in the number of the REVIEW for October last.

COLONEL L. W. V. KENNON,

on graduating from the United States Military Academy, in 1881, was appointed a second lieutenant in the Sixth regiment of infantry. In 1887 he published in the "United States Service Magazine" an article entitled "The Changes in Infantry Tactics Necessitated by the Development of the Modern Arm," which attracted the favorable attention of military authorities in this country and Europe. In 1890 he was detailed to prepare a work relating to infantry tactics which was adopted by the War Department, and has been widely used by the National Guard throughout the country. He received his commission as captain in 1897, and served with his regiment in Cuba during the war with Spain, being commended for gallantry at the battle of Santiago. After serving on the staff of General Brooke, he was made Colonel of the Thirty-fourth U. S. Volunteers, and in command of that regiment he has seen service in six provinces of Northern Luzon. Colonel Kennon's intimate knowledge of the Spanish language and the nature of his service have given him exceptional opportunities of obtaining information as to the character of the inhabitants of the Philippines and the objects and operations of the Katipunan Society.

SIDNEY WHITMAN

is a well-known English man of letters, whose happy metrical translations of the poems which the Queen of Roumania contributed to the REVIEW in March, 1900, will be recalled with pleasure by those who read them. Part of his education was received in Germany and Belgium, and he has devoted close attention to the political conditions prevailing on the Continent. Among his published works may be mentioned "Imperial Germany," "Realm of the Habsburgs," "Teuton Studies," "Story of Austria," and "Reminiscences of the King of Roumania."

W. D. MCCRACKAN

is a descendant of Scotch ancestors, who came to this country before the Revolution and settled in New Haven, Conn. His great-grandfather and his grandfather were treasurers

of Trinity Church (Episcopalian) in New Haven for fifty-seven consecutive years. Mr. McCrackan attended the Latin Gymnasium in Stuttgart, Germany, then St. Paul's School, in Concord, N. H., and graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., in 1885. He is also a graduate of the Metaphysical College in Boston, Mass., and has received the degree of C. S. B. He has been a frequent contributor to the magazines, and he is a member of a number of societies, including the American Historical Association and the American Social Science Association. Among the books which he has written are "The Rise of the Swiss Republic, "Romance and Teutonic Switzerland," and "Little Idyls of the Big World."

Dr. C. M. Blackford, Jr.,

is a native of Virginia, and received his preliminary education at the Episcopal High School of Virginia. He graduated from the University of Virginia with the degree of Doctor of Medicine, in 1888, and obtained the same degree in the following year from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York. After a course of study in Vienna he began the practice of his profession, but soon withdrew from it to devote himself to biological investigation. For several years he has been making researches in regard to the conditions of life in the sea.

George E. Roberts

was born in Delaware county, Iowa, and after passing through the common schools found employment in the office of the Fort Dodge *Messenger,* where he learned the printer's trade. The paper became his property when he was twenty-one years of age, and he exhibited such enterprise and energy in its management that he was elected State printer for Iowa in 1882. For many years he has made a special study of finance, and he is the author of several works on that subject, including "Coin at School in Finance," "Iowa and the Silver Question," and "Money, Wages and Prices." Mr. Roberts has been Director of the Mint since 1898.

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THE INSULAR CASES.

BY GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, FORMERLY UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM VERMONT.

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." (Constitution of the United States, Article VI.)

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." (Amendment X., Constitution of the United States.)

Two recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have compelled renewed and solicitous attention to the fundamental and constitutional relations, for all time to come, of Congress and the President to the inhabitants of New Mexico, Arizona, Alaska, Oklahoma, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands, as well as to all other citizens, subjects and aliens(and slaves in the Philippines) who may happen not to be within the geographical boundaries of any *State* of the United States, but still within the political dominion of our country in some of its Territories. Happily for the inhabitants of Ohio, and of the great and prospering States of the Northwest living under the sway and protection of both National and State

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constitutions, their fair lands have ceased to be Territories, and they are delivered from the despotism, however benevolent and wise, of a Congress in which they could have no vote, and whose power over their lives, liberties, fortunes and happiness was restrained by no constitutional barrier. Probably, an absolute despotism is the best imaginable government, provided the ruler is the complete embodiment of all wisdom and virtue. But in all the history and experience of the world, no such ruler, or body of rulers, or any resembling him or them, have ever appeared. A conclave of despots has almost always been found to be worse than a single despot. The French Directory was worse than the King it had slain, and the Commune was worse than Napoleon III. Was the Declaration of Independence of 1776 a mere phantasm of the founders of the Republic putting forth fantastic fictions? If so, the people of the United States ought, logically, to be now a Crown Colony of Great Britain, awaiting, like the Boers, the good pleasure of Parliament and the King for such measure of liberty and justice as their masters might be pleased to bestow upon them.

Differing from the condition of a State legislature, the powers of Congress are such, and such only, as the Constitution has imparted to it. It did not create the Constitution, but, on the contrary, the Constitution created it and endowed it with all, and the only, powers it possesses. "All legislative power herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, etc.," is the very first provision of the Constitution. These powers are then enumerated and distributed; and, to guard against misconstruction and usurpation, special prohibitions were established, and the whole mass of powers not so delegated were expressly "reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." No general sovereign power, such as is attributed to the ruler or people of a single and separate State, was conferred on Congress or the President. This is in distinct contrast with the powers of the legislatures of the several States, which are sovereign and supreme, except in so far as their own written Constitutions and the Constitution of the United States limit them.

The foregoing observations set forth briefly what has been, during the whole period of our national existence until now, considered to be axiomatic—the rock on which the edifice of just liberty and order should stand indestructible.

The first of the two cases referred to in the opening of this article is De Lima *versus* Bidwell. In this it was held that instantly upon the cession of Porto Rico by Spain to the United States, that Island became a part of the United States, and that duties could not be lawfully exacted upon merchandise coming thence to the United States after the cession and before the so-called Foraker Act was passed by Congress.

The second case referred to is Downes *versus* Bidwell. In this case it was held that Congress could constitutionally impose duties not uniform throughout the United States, and which were discriminative, upon merchandise coming from Porto Rico to the United States after the Foraker Act providing for such duties was passed, for the reason that Porto Rico is not a part of the United States within the meaning of the revenue clauses of the Constitution.

The decision in the first mentioned case was delivered by Mr. Justice Brown, and concurred in by the Chief Justice, and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham, and dissented from by Justices Gray, Shiras, White and McKenna. The decision in the second case was also delivered by Mr. Justice Brown, and concurred in by Justices Gray, Shiras, White and McKenna, for reasons (as stated by Mr. Justice White) "different from, if not in conflict with, those expressed" in the opinion of Mr. Justice Brown; and it was dissented from by the Chief Justice, and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham.

However variant in principle and deduction these two controlling decisions and the reasons announced therefor may be, and however grave the consequences that may flow from them, and especially from the latter one, in the future, they must now stand and must continue to stand unless they should be reviewed and one or the other of them overruled by the same great tribunal, whose judgments must command the respectful acquiescence of all good citizens (and particularly of the citizens of the respective States whose equality of burdens and of rights under the Constitution are still secure from Congressional injustice, so long as they stay at home and have nothing to do with the Territories), as determining what are the powers of Congress over the people of all the Territories of the United States, present and to come.

Thus, ceded territories become absolutely a part of the United

States, but their citizens are not entitled to *some* of the protections of the Constitution against unbridled power. Whether they are entitled to *any* constitutional protection, or are solely dependent on legislative will for the security of rights which the Constitution makes sacred to the people of the several States against invasion by Congress, remains to be determined. Among these rights named in the Constitution are:

The right to have representatives and direct taxes apportioned according to numbers;

The right to have all duties, imposts and excises uniform throughout the United States;

The right that no appropriation of money for the support of armies shall be for a longer term than two years;

The right that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it;

The right that no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed;

The right that no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to census enumeration;

The right that no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State;

The right that no preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over those of another, nor that vessels bound to or from one State shall be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another;

The right that no person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses, and that no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted;

The right to be free from laws respecting an establishment of religion;

The right to the free exercise of religion;

The right to freedom of speech and of the press;

The right peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances;

The right to keep and bear arms;

The right to be free from the quartering of soldiers in their houses in time of peace, and in time of war only in a manner prescribed by law;

The right to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures;

The right to be secure from certain criminal prosecutions unless on the indictment of a grand jury;

The right not to be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy;

The right not to be compelled in criminal cases to be witnesses against themselves;

The right in criminal cases to be informed of the nature and cause of accusation, and to be confronted with the witnesses against them, and to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in their favor, and to have the assistance of counsel;

The right to be free from cruel and unusual punishments.

This enumeration of rights comprises a large part of those understood by the framers of the Constitution, and by the people and States adopting it, to be among the fundamental and inalienable rights of man living in civilized and organized communities. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution and of the first body of amendments, the Government of the United States was in possession and control of the Territory northwest of the Ohio River, which it had acquired by cession from those States which had before claimed dominion over it. The same Constitution that declared and secured these rights declared that Congress should have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory or other property belonging to the United States. Can it be possible that this grant of power was not intended to be, and was not in fact and law, subject to these same limitations and prohibitions imposed upon Congress by language unrestrained and in no way limited to particular parts of the one country over which the Government had become supreme, and for the government of which the departments of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary were established? If the people residing in the several States so needed the securities above mentioned, notwithstanding the protection the governments of their respective States might give them, by so much the more would the people of the Territory then under the dominion of the United States need them. Can it be that as to them Congress was superior to the Constitution, and could deny to them the rights which, were they inhabitants of any of the States, Congress could not invade?

It is true that it has long been held that, in respect of the life tenure of judges mentioned in the Constitution, that tenure was not required in the Territorial courts; but it may be fairly contended from the judicial article of the Constitution that the autonomy of the judicial establishment therein described was to be exercised within the boundaries of the respective States, and that in the government of the Territories the official tenure of the judges of courts established therein, under the power to make all needful rules and regulations, need not be for life. But, however this may be, it can furnish little, if any, reason for expanding a mistaken construction of one clause of the Constitution to all the others.

Unequal taxation is, perhaps, the most galling and destructive of all forms of tyranny. If the uniformity of taxation clause of the Constitution had been omitted, and Congress should now impose a tax discriminating against the people of some State or group of States, what would be likely to happen? What ought to happen? Are the principles of justice and the necessity for constitutional protection against abuses of sovereign power in and by the same government superfluous and illogical beyond the physical boundary of the States? These and many other like questions force themselves into the pathway of what its devotees hoped to be our benevolent and Christian imperial progress, carrying with it liberty, civilization and true religion. If the written Constitution of our country is clearly not adequate to these ends, it is not the fault of the judiciary; the responsibility is elsewhere. The paradox of a sovereignty created and existing only by the Constitution, but to be exercised contrary to its provisions, may be found to be best suited to the needs of twentieth century civilization; but this is more than doubtful. Doubtless, it is highly convenient, as it always has been, to rulers having aggressive policies, good or bad, to carry on, that no barriers to their free exercise exist. Thus, the colonial charters before the Revolution were perverted, suspended or revoked, as the will of a weak and wicked king, or the passions of party, or selfish motives of trade, dictated; and, following such precedents, as is reported, the charter of Cape Colony has just been suspended. And thus Congress, thinking itself free from any constitutional constraint, has thought it fit to enact discriminative measures affecting intrinsic rights and interests of our citizens and the other

people of Porto Rico and Hawaii, and has imposed conditions upon the people of Cuba not hinted at in the solemn, public declaration made by Congress, when the great drama out of which have grown all our present embarrassments opened. And in the Philippines, a government is being instituted and laws decreed by the President alone, in his sole discretion, under an authority granted him by Congress for that purpose—and, in legal effect, a power to continue in him until he himself shall consent to surrender it, or two-thirds of each House shall take it from him. The theory and standards of a people's government must have greatly changed since the Congress of the Confederacy provided for the government of the North West Territory in 1787, when, having full sovereign power unlimited by any Constitution, it enacted a system of laws for that Territory and provided for their due and orderly execution; and since the Congress of the United States provided in 1803 for the government of the vast territory ceded to the United States by France, and enacted that the President should take possession of the territory, and "that, until the expiration of the present session of Congress, unless provision for the temporary government of the said territories be sooner made by Congress, all the military, civil and judicial powers exercised by the officers of the existing government of the same shall be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion." This Act provided for the administration of the then existing laws, as they had been administered by the officers of France, by officers to be appointed by the President—a mere change from French officers to American officers, and nothing more. The President was to regulate the manner of the exercise of the specified powers to the end of preserving liberty, property and religion; but he could neither increase, diminish nor change the powers themselves. He had no more power over them than the Secretary of the Treasury has over the revenue laws. His was executive power, pure and simple. And even that measure of authority was limited in time to the then session of Congress.

The Philippine Act of March 2d, 1901, provided that "all military, civil and judicial powers necessary to govern the Phil-

ippine Islands, acquired from Spain by the treaties concluded at Paris on the tenth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, and at Washington on the seventh day of November, nineteen hundred, shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, for the establishment of civil government and for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion." In the Louisiana instance, the military, civil and judicial powers existing at the time of the cession, and none others, were to be administered. In the Philippine instance, all military, civil and judicial powers necessary to govern the islands were to be administered. In the first case, existing laws were to be executed; in the second case, any and all laws thought necessary by the President were to be set up and executed. The contrast between the essential principles and the actual grants of power to the President in the two Acts could not be more complete. In Louisiana, Congress adopted the existing laws and merely changed the personnel of their administrators. In the Philippines, Congress adopted no law at all, but deposited all power in the agents of the President.

The expansions and dominations, now almost encircling the globe, entered upon by Congress have cost the people of the United States a very great expenditure of blood and treasure, and a severe shock to the ideas of liberty, self-government and equality which used to be thought fundamental, and which we professed (sincerely, it is to be hoped) when we declared war against Spain. But the present situation must be taken as it is. The *status quo ante bellum* cannot be restored, and should not be if it could. It is possible, if the wisdom of Congress shall so determine, to protect and guide the people of the "appurtenant" Territories in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and to give the civilized parts of them a substantially independent self-government, and to deal with the uncivilized tribes (including the "Emperor of Sulu" and his wives, subjects and slaves) by treaties, etc., just as we have for a century constitutionally done with the Indian tribes in the States and Territories on this continent.

That patriot, statesman and great jurist, Chancellor Kent,

said upon the subject, in his Commentaries on the Constitution, that:

> "Such a state of absolute sovereignty, on the one hand, and of absolute dependence, on the other, is not congenial with the free and independent spirit of our native institutions; and the establishment of distant territorial governments, ruled according to will and pleasure, would have a very natural tendency, as all pro-consular governments have had, to abuse and oppression."

Most of these difficulties and dangers can be avoided if we place our relations with these distant and different peoples on the footing of friendly assistance and protection in self-government, instead of on that of an absolute dominion. Although the present spirit of the times, both in public and private operations, may be that "They should take who have power, and they should keep who can," there is no good ground for discouragement to those who hope for the increase and diffusion of happiness among men. The disorders of policies and ambitions, and the warfare of contending and selfish interests among nations and in the social world, will by and by give way before the ever-increasing intelligence of all peoples.

> "The tumult of the times disconsolate
> To inarticulate murmurs dies away,
> While the eternal ages watch and wait."

While the liberty of speech, of education and of religion exists, the golden future will draw nearer and nearer, however much the present may be clouded.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE DEPENDENCIES.

BY GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, FORMERLY SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.

THE opinions given by the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, were given in the cases known under the general name of Insular Tariff Cases—the case of De Lima & Co. and the case of Samuel B. Downes, both against the collector of the port of New York. In each case, the opinion was given by Mr. Justice Brown, and in each case the decision was reached through a bare majority of the Court. In the case of De Lima, the final question in which the public is concerned was this: Was the Island of Porto Rico, after the treaty with Spain for the transfer of sovereignty had been ratified and exchanged, and the proclamation thereof made at Washington, a part of the territory of the United States and subject to the provision of the Constitution which declares that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

The ratification of the treaty was proclaimed at Washington the 11th day of April, 1899, and the articles which were the subject of controversy were imported in the autumn of that year. At that time, Congress had not acted in any manner in regard to the Island of Porto Rico. On the 12th day of April, 1900, an act known as the Foraker Act was passed, which provided a form of political organization for the government of the Island. Five justices, namely, Chief Justice Fuller, Justice Harlan, Justice Brewer, Justice Brown and Justice Peckham, concurred in the opinion that the goods so imported from Porto Rico into New York were entitled to admission free of duty. The decision is in these words:

"We are therefore of opinion that at the time these duties were levied, Porto Rico was not a foreign country, within the meaning of the tariff laws, but a Territory of the United States, that the duties

were illegally exacted, and that the plaintiffs are entitled to recover them back."

By the words of the decision, Porto Rico was declared to be a Territory of the United States; and from the decision itself it might be inferred that the uniformity clause of the Constitution applied to the Territory. This inference was controlled, however, by the opinion of Justice Brown in the Downes case. Inasmuch as there had been no attempt by Congress to legislate for Porto Rico, the authority of the Constitution in the Island, whatever it was, must have been due entirely to the innate force of the instrument, by which it operated upon a possession of the United States whenever the nature of that possession was such as to command the assent of other nations in conformity to the law of nations. Such must have been the opinion of the four judges who concurred with Justice Brown in the De Lima case. Four justices dissented from the conclusion reached by the majority of the Court. Mr. Justice Gray dissented on the ground that the decision was not reconcilable to the unanimous decision of the Court in the case of Fleming against Page, found in the ninth of Howard, page 603. Justices McKenna, Shiras and White dissented from the opinion of the Court, apparently upon the ground that, at that time, Porto Rico had not been organized as a Territory of the United States under the enabling act that had been passed by Congress.

In the dissenting opinion of the three judges last named, there is a distinct declaration that a duly organized Territory is within the embrace of the Constitution and under the uniformity clause of that instrument.

In the Downes case, Mr. Justice Brown assumed a position and announced a doctrine which is in opposition to the position of his four associates in the De Lima case. The importation which was the subject of controversy in the Downes case, was made after the 12th of April, 1900, when the Foraker Act was passed. By that act, provision was made for a Territorial government in Porto Rico. A legislative body, consisting of two branches, was created, and authority was given for the appointment of a Governor and Attorney-General. Courts were to be created and authority was given to litigants for an appeal from the courts of Porto Rico to the Supreme Court of the United States. By the same act a duty was levied upon the

products of Porto Rico that might be brought into the United States. The question was as to the validity of the duty so imposed. In this case, Mr. Justice Brown, for himself alone, as appears from the record, assumed and maintained by argument the position that the Constitution of the United States was framed by the thirteen States, and that its scope and authority were limited to the thirteen States and to such States as from time to time might be added thereto; further than this, that the Constitution did not, by its own force, extend to the possessions of the United States, whether created into Territories with a regular form of government, or whether they were outlying, unorganized possessions. His position is easily understood. It is not without some support from the men who framed the Constitution. Its weakness is in the fact that the political history of the country and the records of the Supreme Court, with singular unanimity, maintain contrary doctrines, so far as this, assuredly —that the Territories, when organized, are, by the fact of organization, brought within the scope of the Constitution. These authorities assume that a Territorial organization constitutes a pledge to the inhabitants of a Territory that, under circumstances which in the nature of things are likely to arise, a Territory is to become a State in the Union. His opinion was not supported by the opinion of any other member of the Court. Three justices who concurred with him in the majority opinion in the Downes case, namely, Justice White, Justice Shiras and Justice McKenna, differed from him in regard to the scope of the Constitution, and maintained, as a doctrine, that, whenever a possession had been organized as a Territory, it became at once and thenceforth a part of the United States and subject to the jurisdiction of the Constitution, without any special declaration by Congress to that effect. Mr. Justice Gray concurred in the majority opinion, but without committing himself to the doctrine set up by Mr. Justice Brown. Four justices, Chief Justice Fuller, Justice Harlan, Justice Brewer and Justice Peckham, were of opinion that the Constitution applies to new possessions of the United States as soon as such possessions are transferred by treaty with the former sovereign, followed by the proclamation of the President that the treaty had been duly ratified.

Hence it follows, that seven of the Justices of the Supreme Court were of opinion that the Constitution became applicable

to a Territory whenever such Territory was duly organized, and four of the seven expressed the opinion that the Constitution applied to the possessions whenever acquired agreeably to the law of nations. It follows from these opinions, that the Court as a majority must hold, whenever the question is presented, that the uniformity clause of the Constitution, in regard to the levy of duties, excises and imposts, is applicable, not only to the States, but also to the Territories that may have been duly organized. The official action of the several justices warrants the conclusion that the four justices who concurred with Justice Brown in the opinion in the Downes case, were of the opinion that at the time the importation was made, which was the subject of controversy, the Island of Porto Rico had not been incorporated as a Territory agreeably to the usage of the country. On the other hand, the Chief Justice and the three justices concurring with him were of opinion that Porto Rico was, at the time of importation, a duly organized Territory of the United States, or otherwise that as a dependency the rules of uniformity applied to it. This difference of opinion must at some time disappear; and it may be assumed that, whenever the government that was authorized by the Foraker Act has been duly organized and set in motion, the difference of opinion in the Court, as far as seven justices are concerned, will have disappeared.

Upon this statement of the case the following conclusions may be deduced: As Justice Brown was of the opinion that Porto Rico, at the time of the importation of the articles in controversy in the De Lima case, was not foreign territory but a possession of the United States, and as he was also of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States did not apply to that Island and that Congress had not legislated concerning duties or imposts for the Island, he could only reach the conclusion that the duty which had been levied upon the De Lima importation had no authority either in the Constitution or in the laws of the United States, and therefore that the assessment made by the collector was unlawful. The four justices who concurred with him being of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States did apply to Porto Rico, were consequently of the opinion that the assessment of duties was illegal, inasmuch as under the Constitution the uniformity clause was applicable to trade between Porto Rico and New York. Hence, these five justices, al-

though entertaining different opinions as to the scope of the Constitution, were brought necessarily to the same conclusion upon the question which was at issue in the De Lima case, namely: "That, at the time these duties were levied, Porto Rico was not a foreign country within the meaning of the tariff laws, but a Territory of the United States, and that the duties were illegally exacted."

In the Downes case, Justice Brown expressed the opinion that the Constitution of the United States did not apply to any territory of the United States not included within the limits of a State. This opinion, whether sound or otherwise, is not, in any particular, in conflict with his holding in the De Lima case, but is entirely consistent with it. At the time of the importation which was in controversy in the Downes case, the act known as the Foraker Act had been passed, but the Territorial form of government for which provision had been made in that act had not been organized and put in operation. In that condition of affairs, it was entirely consistent for Justice Brown to hold, that the act imposing a duty of fifteen per cent. of the duties imposed under the Dingley Law was a legal proceeding on the part of the government of the United States, inasmuch as the territory of Porto Rico was no longer foreign territory, and inasmuch as it was not, in his opinion, within the scope of the Constitution. It followed necessarily that Congress could legislate, under its own discretion, for the tariff system of Porto Rico, assuming always, what is not by every one admitted, that Congress has power to legislate beyond the scope of the Constitution, from which its own authority to legislate is derived. Thus it appears that so far as the two cases are dealt with by Justice Brown, his action is consistent with his position that the Constitution of the United States does not extend beyond the States of the Union. His support in the Downes case is derived first from Justice White, Justice Shiras and Justice McKenna. The reasonable conclusion deducible from their concurring opinion is this, namely: the Constitution of the United States applies not only to the States, but also to such Territories as may have been created by act of Congress and duly organized. Following this opinion is the conclusion on their part, that at the time of the importation of the articles in controversy in the Downes case, Porto Rico had not been created a Territory and so organized

as to justify the opinion on their part that the Constitution extended to the Island. In that condition of opinion, they concur in the conclusion reached by Mr. Justice Brown, that the legislation in the Foraker Act, by which a duty was imposed on the products of Porto Rico was legal, inasmuch as the uniformity clause of the Constitution had no application to the Island. Therefore, and for the time being, the Foraker Act was within the scope of the authority of Congress. Of Mr. Justice Gray, it is to be said that his statement justifies the conclusion that, in his opinion, Porto Rico was in a transition period, and that during that period Congress had power to legislate.

Having in mind these opinions, certain views as to the future action of the Court may be deduced, namely: That the three justices who concurred with Justice Brown must reach the conclusion, at some time not far distant, if a case should arise, that Porto Rico is a Territory of the United States and subject to the Constitution of the United States. Justice Gray has not so committed himself but that he may concur with the three justices referred to. In this condition of opinion, it must happen that seven justices, and perhaps eight justices, will unite in the conclusion that the Territories of the United States, as they may from time to time be created by act of Congress and duly organized, are brought within the scope of the Constitution. Porto Rico is already an organized Territory or its organization as a Territory is soon to be completed. It must, therefore, be recognized by the Court, if a question should arise, as within the scope of the Constitution.

Not much time can elapse before a similar condition of things must exist in the Philippine Islands. A military government cannot be maintained for an indefinite period. It follows, therefore, that, very soon, every dependency which has come into the possession of the United States through the treaty with Spain, will be organized in a Territorial government, and, therefore, that, within the same period of time, the Constitution of the United States will be made applicable to each of them, through the expressed opinions of a large majority of the Justices of the Supreme Court. This being the case, the practical conclusion must be that which has been demanded by the Anti-imperialists of the country, namely: that the entire possessions of the United States that have been acquired in conformity to the law of

nations, will be under the jurisdiction of the Constitution, and that to them as to the States the clause which requires that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States" will be applicable. Thus the demand of the Anti-imperialists will have been satisfied, though only through a process of delay. From the opinions of the different members of the Court, it may be inferred reasonably that they entertain the opinion, that the clause of the Constitution which provides that "the Congress shall have power to dispose of and to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," is to be interpreted in its natural signification, and that the Territories of the United States may be disposed of at the will of Congress.

GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

THE WORLD'S NATIONAL INDEBTEDNESS.

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF STATISTICS.

RECENT international complications in the Far East and other parts of the world, the raising of great war loans by our own Government and that of England, and the floating of another loan by the United States for the purpose of interest reduction, seem to justify at this time a study of national debt conditions, past and present.

The national debts of the world, as nearly as can now be ascertained, aggregate $31,800,000,000, if we include the $150,000,000 borrowed by the United Kingdom, $85,000,000 by Russia, and $75,000,000 by Germany during the present year. According to the most trustworthy information available, the world's national debts aggregated $2,500,000,000 in 1793 at the beginning of the Napoleonic wars, and at the actual opening of the nineteenth century were probably about one-tenth of the sum recorded at its close. It is during the latter half of the century, however, that the growth has been greatest and most remarkable. From 1793 to 1848, the increase of the world's indebtedness was only from $2,500,000,000 to $8,500,000,000, while, from 1848 to 1901, the growth was from $8,500,000,000 to $31,800,000,000. Thus, in the fifty-five years from 1793 to 1848, the increase was $6,000,000,000, or at an average rate of $109,000,000 per annum; while, in the fifty-three years from 1848 to 1901, the increase was $23,000,000,000, or at an average rate of $434,000,000 per annum. In other words, the world's national indebtedness has increased during the second half of the nineteenth century at a rate fully four times as great as that which marked the increase during the first half of that period.

The fact that this large increase in national indebtedness has been simultaneous with the world's adoption of steam and steel for land and sea transportation, suggests that railway and steam-

ship construction and operation are responsible for at least a part of this indebtedness, and this is, doubtless, the fact. Many of the European nations and most of the British colonies own their railway systems, which they have either acquired by purchase, created by direct action, or encouraged by contributions. Most of the German railways are owned by the State or National Governments. Two-thirds of the railways of Russia are owned by the Government, and this is also true, more or less, of Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; while France, which now owns some of the railways of that country, will, by the middle of the century, become the owner of practically the entire system, partly through direct contributions to their construction, and partly through an agreement by which the companies constructing the railways are to turn them over to the Government at a given date. In the British colonies, the railways were for the most part constructed with the direct aid of the colonial Governments, while in the South American countries the Governments have, in a number of important cases, aided railway construction either by direct action or guarantees. In the United States, as is well known, the only aid given to railways by the National Government has been through land grants and the guarantees of the Pacific Railway bonds, which within the past few years have been so adjusted that the entire amount will be refunded to the Government.

A larger factor, however, in the increase of national indebtedness which has characterized the second half of the period under consideration is the expense incident to wars and the maintenance of armies and navies. This increase is especially marked in the case of the older and stronger Governments, while in the newer countries and the colonies the increase has been chiefly due to the development of transportation routes and other works of public utility. The enormous standing armies of the European countries have, during the past half-century, added greatly to their regular annual expenditures; while the frequently recurring wars, with their ever-increasing cost, have, as in the recent cases above referred to, compelled large and instant additions to national indebtedness. The great cost of modern engines of war, and the enormous outlay entailed by each day of their active use, now compel an enormous increase in the expenditures of a nation whenever it enters upon war. The Crimean war, the wars of France in con-

nection with her colonial undertakings, the Civil War in the United States, the war between France and Germany, the Russo-Turkish war, the war between China and Japan, the Spanish-American war, and the British war in South Africa, coupled with numerous less important events of this character, have been largely responsible for the enormous increase of national indebtedness in the closing half of the century. The Austrian debt, which at the middle of the century was $600,000,000, is now $1,700,000,000; that of Germany (exclusive of the State debts) has increased from $115,948,000 in 1870 to $557,000,000 in 1900; that of Italy, from $1,400,000,000 in 1869 to $2,583,000,000 in 1900; that of Russia, from $600,000,000 in 1853 to more than $3,000,000,000 in 1900, and that of France, from a little over a billion dollars in 1852 to $5,800,000,000 in 1900.

The English-speaking nations, the United Kingdom and the United States—omitting the English-speaking colonies for the moment—are the only ones which have shown, during the period under consideration, a disposition to decrease rather than increase their national debts. The British debt in 1857 was over $4,000,000,000 and by 1900 had been reduced to about $3,000,000,000, though the United Kingdom has, since March, 1900, increased her debt by nearly $450,000,000. The debt of the United States reached its highest figure in 1865, when it stood at $2,756,431,571, but by 1900 it had been reduced to $1,107,711,257, the figures in each case representing the "total debt less cash in the Treasury."

Bringing the study down to a shorter period, say from 1870 to 1900, it may be said, in general terms, that the debts of the Latin-American nations have increased during that period fifty per cent.; those of Europe, exclusive of the United Kingdom, one hundred per cent.; those of the Asiatic nations, whose debt statistics are available, two hundred per cent.; those of the British colonies, exclusive of India, from three to four hundred per cent.; while the United Kingdom, meantime, reduced her debt twenty-five per cent., and the United States reduced hers fifty per cent.

The above facts are somewhat suggestive of the debt habits of the various great ethnological groups of people which may be considered in conjunction with the national groups. The author of the latest edition of "Fenn on the Funds" calls attention somewhat pointedly to this characteristic by saying:

"It is impossible to examine the histories of national debts without being struck by the fact, that the conditions surrounding their creation are not only of great diversity, but in many cases incompatible with one recognizable common principle. There are nations who almost paraphrase a famous saying: 'It is a fine day; let us go out and increase our national debt;' and there are others—though they are few—which abstain from contracting obligations almost to a niggardly degree. . . . Another even more disquieting feature is the spirit of levity in which many nations—chiefly Latin nations—evidently treat their national debts. To all appearances, the present generation in many parts of the world merrily mortgages not only itself but its offspring; and, as is only to be expected, this light-hearted borrowing leads in many cases to collapse, and in many cases national insolvency seems to be as cheerfully accepted as loaning is indulged in."

This suggestion appears to be not altogether without justification, when we consider that the debt of Spain has more than doubled since 1874; that Italy's public debt has doubled since 1870; that the debt of Portugal is larger *per capita* than that of any other European country, and that the debt of France in 1900 was five times as much as in 1852. The group of European nations which may be termed Germanic show little change in their public indebtedness during recent years, though an analysis of their debts at the present time shows that the work of the past quarter-century has been devoted to the construction and acquisition of ownership of railways and other works of this character, and that these properties in many cases are considered as equivalent for, and producing in part at least the annual charges upon, the national indebtedness. In general terms, it may be said that the Germanic nations, while not materially reducing their indebtedness, have made but slight additions thereto in the last quarter-century, and have accumulated in most cases definite revenue-producing assets as an equivalent of the debts; that the Slav group, of which Russia is the distinct representative, with Austria-Hungary midway between that and the Germanic, have largely increased their indebtedness, but accumulated, meantime, railway and other assets as a partial equivalent; that the Latin nations have increased their indebtedness with a rapidity which might almost be characterized as reckless, and with less definite assets as an equivalent than in the case of the other groups mentioned; that in India and the British colonies generally the increase of indebtedness has been for the construction of railways, roads, irrigating canals, harbor improvements, public buildings and other works of this character; and that, in the case of the

United Kingdom and the United States, the debt increase, which has been chiefly on account of wars, has been met with a steady and persistent disposition to reduce in time of peace the indebtedness necessarily created in time of war.

As to the class of persons holding these enormous obligations incurred by the various nations, it may be said in general terms that those of the United Kingdom, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium are held almost entirely by their own citizens; while those of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Russia are held in part by their own citizens, the remainder being held chiefly in France and Germany; those of the Latin-American nations chiefly in England; those of China and Japan chiefly in England, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and France, and those of the British colonies chiefly in the United Kingdom.

A study of this kind would not be complete or satisfactory without some consideration of the relative debt-paying capacity of nations in 1900, as compared with the earlier years of the period under consideration. This is even more difficult to determine than the mere measurement of national indebtedness. True, the population at various dates during the century can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy, and the actual currency of the great nations can also be approximately determined; but in the matter of credit instruments, which now so largely take the place of currency, and in the matter of wealth, the measurement of growth or relative growth is extremely difficult. In general terms, it may be said that, while the world's national debts have increased tenfold during the century, the world's population has during that time increased but about one hundred and fifty per cent.; that gold and silver, which form the basis of the money with which debt payments are made, increased but three hundred per cent., although the proportion of those metals which is now turned into coin is much greater than at the beginning of the century. As to wealth and the various instruments of exchange which serve in fact as currency and vastly increase the availability of the stocks of actual money existing, it may be added that, while they cannot be accurately measured, there is reason to believe that they have increased at a ratio not essentially different from that which characterizes the increase of national debts. The United States, United Kingdom, France and Spain made some crude estimates of their national wealth in the

early part of the century, and the total of their wealth in 1800 has been estimated at $20,000,000,000, while Mulhall in 1895 estimated their wealth at $195,000,000,000, indicating that, at the end of the century, it was fully ten times as much as at the beginning of the century; and, if we assume that the development in other parts of the world has been at about the same proportion, it may without impropriety be said that the increase of national wealth during the century has been at about the same ratio as the increase of national indebtedness, while the great use which is now made of instruments of exchange, in international and in internal commerce, justifies the assumption that the actual increase which has taken place in circulating medium has been at fully as great a ratio as that of national indebtedness.

Another curious fact brought to the surface by a study of the methods of nations in regard to their national debts is the fact that, in a majority of cases, the securities issued represent a greater sum of money than that actually received by the nations issuing them. The recent loan issued by the British Government is a marked example of this characteristic of national debt management. Although nobody questions the entire solvency of the British Government and its ability and disposition to meet its national obligations and systematically reduce them, the recent issue was made at five and a half per cent. below par; so that the generation which redeems these securities will be compelled to refund to the holders of the securities practically six per cent. more of actual cash than the present generation received in borrowing, to say nothing of the annual interest payments which will be made meantime. This peculiarity of national borrowing, which is observable in a large proportion of the loans issued by National Governments during the past quarter-century, is especially emphasized by a study of the rates at which the French loans have been made. The author of "Fenn on the Funds" presents, in the latest edition of that valuable work, a table showing the issue price of French securities from 1816 to 1884, from which it is seen that during that entire period only three of the large number of loans issued were at par, and that the great loan of 1870 was issued at 60.6 per cent., those of 1871 and 1872 at 82.5 per cent. and 84.5 per cent., respectively, and the loan of 1881 at 83.2 per cent., thus obligating future generations for

sums from 18 to 66 per cent. in excess of the amounts actually received by the borrowers.

On the other hand, there are certain features of present conditions with regard to national indebtedness which are more encouraging and more hopeful. One of the marked characteristics of the century has been a reduction in interest rates, though this is, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated by the habit above referred to of issuing bonds at less than their par or face value, with the purpose of obtaining apparently lower interest rates. It may be said, however, in general terms, that the nominal rates of interest have fallen probably one-half, perhaps more, during the century. It will be remembered that the United States in 1865 was paying 7.3 per cent. interest on $830,000,000 of its securities, and that in 1900 it issued $300,000,000 at 2 per cent., thus enjoying the distinction of having not only reduced its interest rate enormously, but of having floated its loans at a lower interest rate than any other nation in the world. In doing so, it issued them actually at par; while, in many cases, those of other Governments bearing even a higher rate of interest are issued below par, as is illustrated by the recent British loan sold at 94½ with rates of interest at 2¾ per cent. for a short term, followed by a permanent rate of 2½ per cent. Considering the debts of the world to-day, it may be said that the bulk of them stand at an interest rate of from 2 to 3½ per cent., or probably about one-half that which the great nations were required to pay, under normal conditions, at the beginning of the century; though in case of exigencies, such as those of the United States referred to, the rate was much higher.

The total expenditures of the nations of the world on account of public debts in 1900, as nearly as can be estimated from their "Budget" statements, amounted to about $1,300,000,000, or slightly more than four per cent. upon the total indebtedness; but this included in some cases sums set aside, as sinking funds or otherwise, for the reduction or "amortization" of the debt.

This subject of sinking fund and debt amortization also presents, in many cases, a somewhat unsatisfactory aspect as to the general habit of many of the nations of the world in regard to debt reduction. In too many cases, apparently, there is little effort at a reduction of national indebtedness; and, in certain cases, especially those of France, Italy and Portugal, the debt has grown to such enormous proportions, and the indisposition to

make serious efforts for its reduction or cancellation has become so marked, that it is no longer measured by the actual amount of obligations outstanding, but only by the *"rentes,"* or annual interest requirement. This is especially true with reference to France and Italy, in which countries there has been apparently little effort at reduction of the principal, but a constant and steady increase in the total amount of their national obligations. The chief effort made seems to be in the line of interest reduction, and a number of loans issued during the past few years have been made at lower interest rates with the purpose of taking up and cancelling those issued at higher rates in earlier years.

It should not be inferred from the above statements that nations habitually omit to provide a sinking fund as a part of the act by which new loans are authorized; but the experience of those who have studied the history of national finances is, that

THE WORLD'S NATIONAL INDEBTEDNESS, BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES, AT VARIOUS DATES, FROM 1688 TO 1900.
(From latest official sources.)

DATES.	AUSTRIA. Dollars.	BELGIUM. Dollars.	FRANCE. Dollars.	GERMANY.[1] Dollars.	ITALY. Dollars.
1688	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1702	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1714	.....	.....	[2]389,320,000	.....	.....
1727	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1748	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1775	[3]72,997,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
1783	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1800	[4]170,327,500	.....	.....	25,549,125	.....
1820	480,323,500	.....	[5]689,923,705	150,861,500	.....
1850	[11]608,312,500	.....	[12]1,192,292,500	.....	[13]194,660,000
1870	[17]1,464,816,500	[18]133,147,440	2,676,575,000	[19]115,948,000	[18]1,386,952,500
1880	.....	[22]246,994,341	[23]4,065,946,151	.....	[24]2,218,861,209
1890	[27]1,485,282,500	[28]383,723,525	[28]5,031,119,096	[28]233,932,655	[29]2,459,237,110
1900	[30]1,697,255,140	[31]504,460,000	5,800,691,814	557,626,622	2,583,983,780

DATES.	NETHERLANDS. Dollars.	RUSSIA. Dollars.	UNITED KINGDOM. Dollars.	UNITED STATES. Dollars.	WORLD. Dollars.
1688	.....	.....	3,232,636	.....	.....
1702	.....	.....	62,131,700	.....	.....
1714	.....	.....	176,047,876	.....	.....
1727	.....	.....	257,198,404	.....	.....
1748	.....	.....	368,939,740	.....	.....
1775	.....	.....	618,835,883	.....	.....
1783	.....	.....	1,126,515,090	.....	.....
1800	[5]486,650,000	.....	[6]2,616,488,363	82,976,294	[7]2,433,250,000
1820	[9]700,776,000	.....	[10]4,381,975,906	91,015,566	7,299,750,000
1850	[14]498,621,590	[15]608,312,500	[16]4,082,596,603	63,452,774	[11]8,419,045,000
1870	[18]392,434,560	[18]1,459,950,000	3,896,606,550	[20]2,331,169,956	[21]22,410,232,000
1880	[22]390,823,749	[25]2,238,872,257	3,778,858,366	[20]1,919,326,748	[26]26,249,901,000
1890	[28]442,194,523	[28]2,827,684,692	3,361,115,568	[29]890,784,371	.....
1900	466,419,294	3,167,320,000	3,060,926,304	[30]1,107,711,257	31,201,750,000

[1]Prussia prior to 1870; figures for 1889 and 1900 are exclusive of State debt, which in 1900 aggregated $2,015,958,000.

[2]1716; [3]1763; [4]1789; [5]1810; [6]1802; [7]1793; [8]1830; [9]1814; [10]1815; [11]1848; [12]1852; [13]1847 (figures for Sardinia); [14]1851; [15]1853; [16]1857; [17]1868; [18]1869; [19]chiefly former debt of North German Confederation; [20]total debt less cash in the Treasury; [21]1872; [22]1879; [23]1883; [24]1885; [25]1876; [26]1882; [27]1888; [28]1889; [29]1894; [30]1898; [31]1899.

in most cases the provision for sinking fund is neglected or the fund created for this purpose is used in emergencies for other purposes. Probably more than half of the securities authorized by the various Governments are accompanied by a requirement that from one-half of one per cent. to one per cent. of the capital of the debt shall be annually set aside by the authorities for the purpose of reducing the indebtedness, this sum to be applied to the purchase of bonds, which are, in most cases, not to be immediately cancelled, but held as a part of the sinking funds and their interest earnings also applied to the increase of the sinking fund. Where this plan is rigidly followed, the result is a steady and permanent debt reduction; but frequently it is ignored, and in some cases, especially in France and Italy, a part of the debt is now designated as "permanent," no date being named for the payment of the bonds and no provision made for anything except the annual interest thereon.

TOTAL INDEBTEDNESS, INTEREST AND OTHER ANNUAL CHARGES, AND PER CAPITA DEBT AND INTEREST OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS IN 1900, OR NEAREST PRECEDING DATE.

Countries.	Debt.	Interest and other annual charges.	Per Capita—Debt.	Per Capita—Interest.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
France	5,800,691,814	241,762,029	150.61	6.28
Russia	3,167,320,000	141,519,000	24.56	1.10
United Kingdom	3,060,926,304	112,985,531	74.83	2.76
Italy	2,583,983,780	114,177,185	81.11	3.58
Spain	1,727,994,620	80,782,000	95.53	4.46
Australasia	1,183,055,000	45,458,000	263.90	10.14
Austria-Hungary	1,154,791,000	51,175,285	25.80	1.14
United States	1,107,711,257	33,545,130	14.52	.44
India	1,031,603,705	33,971,400	4.67	.15
Hungary	904,941,000	41,892,000	47.75	2.22
Turkey	726,511,195	28,419,600	29.25	1.14
Portugal	670,221,374	21,550,320	143.82	4.62
Austria	642,194,000	30,969,000	24.89	1.20
[1]German Empire	557,626,622	18,283,441	9.96	.33
Argentina	509,604,444	26,902,377	128.85	6.80
Belgium	504,459,540	19,536,811	75.63	2.93
Egypt	500,402,729	20,063,637	53.61	2.15
Brazil	480,985,000	21,500,000	33.56	1.50
Netherlands	466,419,294	14,117,838	90.74	2.74
China	287,123,500	12,000,000	.72	.03
Roumania	280,136,991	17,904,996	47.37	3.00
[2]British Colonies	265,541,000	10,500,000	26.43	1.04
Canada	265,494,000	13,392,000	50.59	2.55
Japan	206,799,994	18,126,702	4.73	.41
Mexico	168,771,428	10,699,689	13.36	.84
Greece	168,548,444	6,293,730	69.25	2.58
Uruguay	124,374,189	6,056,000	148.06	7.20
Chile	113,240,000	965,455	36.41	.31
Honduras	89,376,920	1,125,190	219.60	2.76
Sweden	85,154,320	3,173,388	16.71	.62
Denmark	55,795,724	1,891,812	24.15	.82
Other countries	2,309,960,086	14,131,958		
Total	31,201,749,274	1,214,871,504		

[1]In addition to the Imperial debt the individual German States have a total indebtedness of $2,015,958,000, chiefly incurred for works of public utility.
[2]Except Australasia, Canada and India.

The table printed at the foot of page 168 shows the debts of the principal nations at various periods since 1688. The table on page 169 presents the latest figures, available when this article was originally written, of the total national indebtedness of each of the principal nations of the world, the interest and other annual charges thereon, and the *per capita* of debt and annual interest charge.

Supplementing this table by figures since received, we find that France has the largest debt, the total being $5,808,650,000; that the United Kingdom is second, the total being $3,494,000,000; Russia third, $3,253,000,000; Italy fourth, $2,583,983,780. The German States are included in the list because of the fact that their obligations were largely created for railway and other works of public utility, and have been constantly included in the earlier statements of European national obligations, and to omit them would impair the value of the figures for comparative purposes. In the matter of *per capita* debt, the Australian colonies carry the heaviest burden, their *per capita* debt being $263.90 and their annual interest and amortization charge $10.14 *per capita,* which is also the highest *per capita* of interest charge recorded in the entire list of Governments. The fact, however, that they have valuable and profitable assets, such as railways and other public works, as an equivalent, makes the burden more apparent than real. It is gratifying, on the other hand, to note that the interest charge against the debt of the United States is but 44 cents *per capita,* as compared with very much higher figures for most of the other Governments, which are generally considered the most prosperous and well-managed as to their finances, the interest upon the debt of the Netherlands in 1900 amounting to $2.74 for each individual; that of Belgium, $2.93; that of the United Kingdom, $2.76, and that of France, $6.28.

O. P. Austin.

MR. FISKE AND THE HISTORY OF NEW YORK.

BY MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER.

MR. JOHN FISKE'S recently published book on the Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America is framed on the same lines as his Beginnings of New England and his Old Virginia and Her Neighbors. It is not specifically the story of one town, and it ends with the year 1735. Yet Mr. Fiske devotes three-fourths of his 650 pages to the colonies founded by the Dutch; any account of them must be chiefly the story of their capital, and one that comes down to 1735 covers the periods that have been most generally misunderstood.

In former numbers of this REVIEW I tried to show why the early story of the town that was destined to be the capital of the "pivot province" and the Empire State has been misconceived and miswritten. Ignorance in regard to it has, of course, worked against the right understanding of the broad story of American colonial development. It has blotted out the memory or distorted the significance of many interesting events, and has too narrowly concentrated upon the colonies planted by the English our gratitude for the building of the Republic. Nothing else in the domain of American history is so much needed to-day as a true and reasonably full account of the youthful years of the city on Manhattan. This is what we hoped that Mr. Fiske would write. He has never been one of those thorough investigators of fundamental data and ideas whose conclusions are accepted by historical scholars, even when unfamiliar and unwelcome. But the great popular vogue of his books has been based upon a belief that facts so well presented, with such clarity of statement and such attractiveness of style, must have been well considered. He has shown less narrowness of vision in dealing with New England than some of her other sons. And the knowledge that his new book was to form part of a comprehensive history of the ante-

cedents and the formation of the Republic, supported the belief that it would be sympathetically approached and carefully prepared. But these expectations have been disappointed.

Our lack of competent historians could for generations be excused by the inaccessibility of our early records. In recent years we have well atoned for our forefathers' indifference in this respect. We have now a great store of excellent raw materials from which the historian may gather accurate information, and of admirable monographs helpful at every stage of his work. Even if he wishes to write briefly, however, and for a popular audience, he must sift and arrange these materials for himself. Even if he desires to paint no more than the chief scenes and figures of the long and varied panorama in their true outlines, in just perspective, and with proper lights and shadows, nevertheless he must select his own point of view, draw his own design, and mix his own colors. Moreover, industry, conscientious accuracy, and a friendly open-mindedness are peculiarly needful to make plain a tale which has been told in such a fashion that those who figure in it have been greatly underestimated.

Evidently, Mr. Fiske did not recognize these truths. Evidently, he did not study those sources of knowledge which have not yet been incorporated into easily accessible books; and on scores of pages he shows that he was very careless even in the use of the narratives and documents that he did consult. His mistakes in matters of fact are frequent and sometimes very grave. Some of them are simple repetitions of current errors. Others are resurrections of errors long ago buried under a convincing weight of evidence. And others again are novelties.

Moreover, although Mr. Fiske's formally pronounced estimate of the significance of the tale he has to tell is more justly sympathetic than that of many writers on American history, it is but slenderly supported by the specific judgments and passing comments that one finds in the course of his narrative. Here are the concluding words of his book:

"In the cosmopolitanism which showed itself so early in New Amsterdam and has ever since been fully maintained, there was added to American national life the variety, the flexibility, the generous breadth of view, the spirit of compromise and conciliation needful to save the nation from rigid provincialism. Among the circumstances which prepared the way for a rich and varied American nation, the preliminary settlement of the geographical centre by Dutchmen was certainly one of the most fortunate."

These are intelligent words, and the story of New York, if

intelligently told, would amply prove them such; but Mr. Fiske's readers may not unnaturally wonder a little why he wrote them. Before I say more, however, about his lack of sympathy for his theme, it will be well to show, by a few examples out of many that might be given, how incorrectly he has recorded the facts.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in his book is the one called Verrazano and Hudson. But what may seem its most interesting portion must be taken with a good pinch of salt. Although Mr. Fiske confesses that the question does not admit of "dogmatic assurance," he is strongly tempted to believe that the "River of Norumbega" of the old geographers should be identified with the Hudson rather than the Penobscot, and that in 1540 there was a village of French fur-traders in Manhattan, probably, he thinks, on an island in the sheet of water that was afterwards so well known as the Collect Pond. For the reasons why these things should not be believed, his readers may turn to the chapter on Norumbega in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America. But a more definite word must here be said about the more important question whether or no an Englishman named Argall visited Manhattan in its earliest Dutch years.

If it were true that before New Amsterdam was founded Captain Argall and his companions warned the director of the Dutch fur-traders that they had a commission to expel him and "all alien intruders upon His Majesty's territories," and if it were true that by a letter forthwith sent to Virginia the director "submitted himself, company, and plantation to His Majesty and to the governor and government of Virginia," our judgment of the whole later history of New Netherland would be affected, for at every step it must concern itself with the question whether the Dutch or the English had a better right to New Netherland's soil. The words I have quoted, however, occur in a Description of the Province of New Albion, which professed to be the work of one Beauchamp Plantagenet of Belvil in New Albion, but, printed in 1648, was probably written by Plowden when the question of English rights to New Netherland had become a burning one, and he had found that his New Albion patent covered lands long possessed by the Dutch. Heylin and other early compilers paraphrased the so-called Plantagenet's tale, but it has no outside support. Fifty years ago Brodhead wrote that it seemed to him

fabulous, and its true—or, rather, its untrue—character has since been clearly and repeatedly demonstrated; for example, in a long note by Murphy, appended to De Vries's Voyages in the Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1857, and in the Winsor History. For many years no scholar or careful student has believed the story of Argall's visit. Yet Mr. Fiske repeats it without a question-mark, and, indeed, elaborates it, saying that Argall "scolded" the Dutch director and made him "haul down the Dutch flag and raise that of England."

The story of a similar visit paid to Manhattan in 1620 by another Englishman, Thomas Dermer, has more foundation. But Mr. Fiske's version of it rests only on second-hand or third-hand testimony; even this does not say that Dermer's interview with certain Hollanders took place on Manhattan itself; and neither there nor anywhere else in America could what Mr. Fiske calls "a multitude" of Dutch traders have been found in the year 1620.

In speaking of the patroonships to which the West Indian Company (the proprietors of New Netherland) granted almost feudal privileges, Mr. Fiske says that after the English conquest in 1664 "the patroons were confirmed in their estates, henceforth called manors." In fact, only one of the old patroonships had survived until this time—Rensselaerswyck, far up the Hudson River. The others had died a natural death or had been bought back by the West India Company. The survival of one, large and flourishing, undoubtedly prompted the erection of the manors that grew conspicuous in the eighteenth century. But the charters of these were framed after English patterns, and for the most part were not issued before the closing years of the seventeenth century.

In more than one semi-burlesque passage Mr. Fiske has taken Irving's Knickerbocker History as his guide. What should be said about the unfortunate influence of this book I tried to say in a former article. It is more than a pity—it is a misfortune—that Mr. Fiske should add himself to the long list of those who have incorporated its jests in professedly serious narratives. So interesting a writer does not need to enliven his pages with other people's caricatures; and, besides, the true story of the times of Van Twiller and Kieft is more picturesque than any travesty could be.

But Knickerbocker cannot be held responsible for Mr. Fiske's

statement that Domine Bogardus, who arrived with Governor Van Twiller in 1633, was New Amsterdam's first clergyman. Such appeared to be the case (for the official records of this period are scanty) until about fifty years ago, when Henry C. Murphy discovered in Holland a letter written from Manhattan in 1628 by one Domine Michaelius to a clerical friend at home. This letter is now one of the chief manuscript treasures of the Lenox Library, and translations of it have often been published—for example, in Miss Booth's History of New York, issued as long ago as 1859, and with annotations by Murphy in the Collections of the Historical Society for 1880. The fact that it identifies the first clergyman of New Amsterdam is the least of its claims to attention. It is a long letter and gives the only extant account, written by an eye witness, of the condition of the Dutch settlement in its earliest days. The original was bought by the Lenox Library in 1894. For half a century every one even superficially interested in the history of New York has known its value, and every writer has profited by it excepting Mr. Fiske.

In telling the often mistold story of Dutch and English rivalry on the banks of the Connecticut Mr. Fiske does not refer to the fact, now universally acknowledged, that the Say-and-Sele patent was a nullity, giving its holders no legal rights. He tells us that after English settlements had almost swamped the earlier Dutch fort on the site of Hartford, "the Dutch remained for some years unmolested there." They were not at once expelled, but molested they were at all times. Nor is it true that in America the Dutch and English people were "quite friendly inclined to one another," that their "antagonism and rivalry" sprang simply from "geographical necessity," and that their only available resource was a "game of bluff." Such a game the Dutch governors may seem to us to have played, but in their own eyes it was the best kind of earnestness that they could compass; and there was no bluff at all in the words and deeds of the New Englanders—there was a very practical aggressiveness, a steady determination to claim whatever lands they wanted, based on a consciousness of their superior strength and sharpened by a confessed dislike for those whom, partly on account of their liberality in matters of religion, they chose to call their "noxious neighbors." To read, for instance, how Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts wrote of the New Netherlanders in his famous diary, or how his son behaved

toward them when governor of Connecticut, is not to find that either was "friendly inclined" in their direction; and a very much stronger word than Mr. Fiske's "bickerings" ought to be applied to the troubles between the two peoples as they continued into Peter Stuyvesant's times.

In describing the terrible Indian war provoked by Governor Kieft, Mr. Fiske shows that he acted in despite of the prayers and warnings of certain conspicuous citizens, but does not make it plain that as a whole the people of Manhattan were blameless in the matter. Yet nothing in colonial literature is more impressive or more pathetic than the protests and explanations which they sent to Holland, and in which they deplore the sin and the shame as well as the material distress that their Governor's wicked rashness had brought upon them. Nor does Mr. Fiske clearly show how near these wars came to wiping out New Amsterdam, which had some 2,500 inhabitants when they began, but less than 1,000 when they ended, and, in spite of its prosperity during the latter part of Stuyvesant's term of rule, never recouped its losses until after the English arrived in 1664. Again, when Mr. Fiske speaks of Kieft's attempt to tax his people unjustly, he misses the really interesting point of the tale. In 1643 the Board of Eight Men—representatives of the people whose appointment Kieft had been forced by the perils of the war to sanction—had unwillingly agreed, provisionally and because of the dire distress of the moment, to the imposition of a direct tax on wine and beer; and this the people had paid. But when a heavy excise tax was again laid by the Governor's sole decree, the refusal to pay was not based simply on poverty or on the ground that the West India Company's right of taxation had not been delegated to their executive. The people objected to a direct tax as such when laid without their own consent, and the brewers and tapsters declared that if they paid it they would "offend the Eight Men and the whole Commonalty." This was New Amsterdam's first protest against "taxation without representation"; it was spoken when the first provocation was given, and it accurately foreshadowed the spirit of New York in Stamp Act days.

When Mr. Fiske approaches Peter Stuyvesant's times he lacks the courage to paint the governor's familiar figure in the veracious colors that would make it seem unfamiliar. Nothing in the singular story of the history-writing of New York is more

curious than the way in which Stuyvesant's memory has been guarded from the light of truth. It is the one and only point where we have shown that "filio-pietistic" spirit which, for generations, New England writers displayed toward the whole of their story. We have forgotten that "Father Stuyvesant" more than once narrowly escaped deposition by the home authorities and, as long as he bore rule in New Netherland, was generally, bitterly, and deservedly hated there. We forget that he was not called Father Stuyvesant then, but names of quite another kind—like "our old Muscovy wolf." We remember him with indulgent affection partly because his words and deeds dropped out of mind, but the long survival of his farm, his house, his church, and his pear-tree kept his figure definite when all other New Amsterdamers were fading into shadowy silhouettes, partly because Knickerbocker painted no other with any worthy qualities, and partly because of the mere picturesqueness of his violent temper and his wooden leg.

In speaking of Stuyvesant Mr. Fiske does just as many others have done. He is forced to cite words and deeds that reveal an unpleasing figure, and then he sums up its characteristics in very laudatory words. A "noble, honest, headstrong, opinionated, generous, kindly, conscientious, eager, lion-hearted old soldier," he writes, using adjectives almost identical with Knickerbocker's as quoted on another page. But there is no authority for the "generous," the "kindly," or the "noble"—not even in the tale that Mr. Fiske himself recites. It was not noble, generous, or kindly to declare that resistance to authority is always deeply criminal, no matter what the provocation may be, or so to manage the trial of adversaries that "with shameless disregard of evidence a prearranged verdict of guilty was rendered," or to instigate religious persecutions that "redound to the discredit, not of New Netherland, but of Stuyvesant." The words I cite are Mr. Fiske's; and if he had loyally interpreted the traits that he thus indicates he would not have spoken at all of nobleness or kindliness, and would have shown Stuyvesant's conscientiousness as that of a narrow-minded, conceited, ill-tempered, meddlesome, and not always straightforward tyrant, who was honest, indeed, in money matters, faithful to the material interests of his employers, and anxious for the welfare of his province, but who despised his provincials, wished them to prosper in such ways only as he

saw fit, and bitterly resented any sign of individual or corporate independence as treason to the Company and a personal insult to himself. To say that such a ruler as the voluminous papers of the time show Stuyvesant to have been was "none the less lovable and admirable because he stood for principles of government that have become discredited," is to speak in a way of which Mr. Fiske would hardly approve were the subject some "conscientious" exponent of the ideas of Philip II., James II., or George III. Moreover, it implies that the principles of government for which Stuyvesant stood were not discredited in his own days; and they were, of course, in his European fatherland and among his own New Netherlanders as well as in neighboring colonies. The Dutch Government interfered more than once to loosen the West India Company's despotic grasp upon its province; yet Stuyvesant's ideas were so much more despotic than the Company's that he disobeyed it with regard to the municipal privileges it was forced to grant to New Amsterdam, and was severely censured by it for his intolerance in matters of religion.

It is a great pity that Mr. Fiske did not throw Stuyvesant's character into true relief by contrasting it with that of Adrian Van der Donck, who was the true Father of New Amsterdam, but whose very name has been almost forgotten. Injustice is done to Van der Donck by the statement that he "is notoriously untrustworthy for matters outside of his own personal knowledge; he no more thinks of sifting his statements than any other old gossip." Of course, no one in that age sifted his statements as modern authors are supposed to do. But Van der Donck's writings are for their time exceptionally sober and restrained. They are much less like those of an old gossip than, for example, the more famous writings of John Josselyn, which tell us of New England barley that degenerated into oats and of frogs that sat on their haunches a foot in height. Nor do we find in them any sign of that appetite for the pathologically and diabolically marvellous which Governor Winthrop showed in more passages than the revolting ones about the deformed infant of the schismatic Anne Hutchinson.*

*One of the most interesting passages in Van der Donck's Description of New Netherland is probably the first plea for forest preservation that was framed in America. He says, writing about the year 1655: "There actually is such an abundance of wood in the New Netherlands that, with ordinary care, it will never be scarce there. There always are, however, in every country some people so improvident that even they may come short here; and for this reason we judge that it should not be destroyed needlessly." These are not the words of a man who

To say that the purposes of Stuyvesant in opposing and of Van der Donck in furthering the people's desire for some degree of self-government were "equally honorable," and that the struggle was "simply one theory of government contending against another," is, again, to confuse the mind of readers whom Mr. Fiske himself, in other books, has helped to inspire with the belief that such struggles have a right and a wrong side, and that our estimate of men should be affected by the question whether they fought for or against the progress of humanity. Moreover, such a summing-up detracts from the significance of Van der Donck's figure as representing his fellow-colonists.

But Mr. Fiske's lack of genuine interest in the facts and the meaning of this chapter in our annals is clearly shown by his careless mention of certain papers, protesting against the misgovernment of the West India Company, that were sent to the States-General of Holland in 1649 by the hands of Van der Donck and two colleagues.

Stuyvesant had unwillingly permitted a Board of Nine Men to be elected by the people, to aid him in his judicial duties, and to give him advice which he could accept or not as he chose. Mr. Fiske says that these Nine Men "prepared a memorial to the States-General," that "attached to this memorial was an eloquent *Vertoogh* or Remonstrance"; that in the course of the memorial "the Nine Men invite the attention of the States-General to the golden example set by their neighbors of New England" in political matters; and that "such is the kind of government they wish to imitate in New Netherland."

No paper called a memorial was prepared at this time; and none with any title was sent by the Nine Men in their own name excepting a brief letter introducing Van der Donck and his companions as the people's spokesmen. The documents in question were a Petition from the Commonalty of New Netherland, Additional Observations on the Preceding Petition, and a long explanatory dissertation called the Remonstrance of New Netherland and the Occurrences There by the People of New Netherland. All of these were signed, explicitly on behalf of the people, by eleven citizens, actual or former members of the Board of Nine Men. In

wrote in the spirit of an old gossip; and I commend to the attention of Mr. Fiske's readers Van der Donck's essay on the beaver (included in his Description), which, I think, is as good an example of scientific writing, in the seventeenth century sense of the term, as could easily be found.

none of them is the golden political example of New England mentioned. And, although such mention does occur in certain footnotes attached to the Additional Observations, it has not the meaning that Mr. Fiske reads into it. The nature of the New England governments is explained to show that colonies flourish better under free than under despotic institutions, and that the former may be well adapted to American conditions. But what the people ask for, in the Petition and in the Additional Observations, is very distinctly stated: "Suitable burgher *(borgerlycke)* government, such as your High Mightinesses shall consider adapted to the province, and somewhat resembling the laudable government of our Fatherland."

In making this radical mistake Mr. Fiske follows in the steps of Bancroft who, writing before the records of our early days were published, believed that New Netherland got its desire for self-government from the example set by New England and through the direct influence of the many New Englanders who had settled within its own borders. But this influx had barely begun when, in the time of Governor Kieft, New Amsterdam first demanded political rights. Then, and at every later step in the story, we read the same request—never for a copy or a paraphrase of New England's arrangements, but always for "suitable burgher government" of the pattern long known in Holland. And in this shape municipal liberties were finally granted to New Amsterdam and to neighboring towns.

"In a spirit of mistaken caution," Mr. Fiske writes again, "the West India Company had instructed the Director to give the public offices to none but Dutchmen." What the Company really said on this point, at the time when municipal freedom was granted, was that in filling offices, "Every attention must be paid to honest and respectable individuals, who, we hope, can be found among the burghers; and especially do we wish that those promoted thereto be as much as possible persons of this nation who, we suppose, will give the most satisfaction to the burghers and inhabitants."

Again, Mr. Fiske tells us that Stuyvesant "retained in his own hands" the appointment of these officials, although the West India Company had ordered that they should be elected. This is true; but it should also have been said that, a few years later, the people forced Stuyvesant to surrender the usurped rights.

These are only some of the most important points where Mr.

Fiske goes astray in his account of the Dutch period in New York; and he errs again in representing the people as so well content with the rule of Nicolls, their first English Governor, that "the four years of his governorship were long remembered as a kind of golden age in the history of the colony." Twice, at least, Nicolls's colonials bitterly resented his acts as infringements of definite promises—when he summoned only the people of Long Island and Westchester to consider his new code, called the Duke's Laws, and when he blotted out the municipal rights of New Amsterdam. Also, they objected to the establishment of trial by jury, which Mr. Fiske refers to as a benefit, preferring their own simpler ways of securing justice. And the eager welcome they gave to the Dutch squadron which recaptured New York in 1673 certainly does not indicate that they had "felt that their rights were better protected" during Nicolls's administration "than ever before."

But the most disappointing chapter in Mr. Fiske's book is, perhaps, the one called the Downfall of the Stuarts. It includes the story of Jacob Leisler, and with this, at least, Mr. Fiske should have taken pains, for in an earlier book he had referred to it as more full of human interest than any other of pre-Revolutionary times, excepting only the story of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. Materials for its right presentation abound, but are difficult to deal with on account of their confused and violently partisan character. Mr. Fiske seems to have shirked the task of examining and collating them; yet it was an imperative one, for their contents have never been set forth in detail, and seldom with fairness.

Mr. Fiske says, very sensibly, that "concerning Leisler's integrity of purpose there can be little doubt." He understands that in the spring of 1689—in the unsettled time when the crown of England was passing from the Catholic James to his Protestant daughter and her husband, and when the imprisonment of Sir Edmund Andros in Boston left New York in charge of a weak and distrusted Lieutenant-Governor—Leisler and his friends thought the province in imminent danger, and had some good reasons for their belief. He also understands that when this German merchant took control of the affairs of the province he felt that he was loyally serving the new sovereigns. He does not regard him as a vulgar usurper or a mere demagogue. But he does paint him as a very rash and stupid person who could not grasp the real facts of the situation, "a crank with his brain

dominated by a narrow group of morbid, fixed ideas," who, toward the end of his career, showed such "almost incredible fatuity" that our verdict must be "evidently the poor man's mind was dazed." The records of the time, if read in their entirety, reveal a very different figure. They show that, although Leisler had faults and fell into mistakes, his chief blunder was in underestimating the interest that William's government took in its province of New York, and the willingness of its appointees to deal fairly by all New Yorkers. They show that from beginning to end his course was consistent and logical, that he was in many ways more intelligent than most of his contemporaries, and that even toward the last he was not at all "dazed," but clearly understood that to hold any other attitude than the one he did hold would be to confess that all his acts for a space of more than two years had been unlawful. The impression given by any real study of the contemporary documents, although many of them are virulently anti-Leislerian, is that if this plain, untrained and passionate, but conscientious, patriotic, energetic, and in some ways broad-visioned German merchant had been the governor of a province under better conditions, he might have been one of the very best that our colonial times anywhere produced.

Mr. Fiske does not clearly show how large a part the people of New York played in putting Leisler into power; or how distinctly he based his right to power upon their support; or how hard he tried to respect the forms of law while forced into many arbitrary acts by the exigencies of his difficult task; or how this task was complicated and his arbitrariness was provoked by the opposition, very active and very selfish and unscrupulous, of that "aristocratic" party whose leaders had been officeholders under King James; or how frequently and insistently he wrote to England explaining all his acts, asking that they might be sanctioned, and begging that orders for the government of the province might be sent; or how long these orders were delayed; or how surely the province would have been given over to anarchy, distress, and danger if meanwhile Leisler had laid down his power.

Mr. Fiske tells us that Leisler was a German, married to a Dutch wife, and also that his letters are "those of a man with too little education to shape his sentences correctly"; but he does not add that these letters were written in English. He speaks of Leisler's fear and hatred of Papists, but does not explain that he

naturally imbibed these feelings, being the son of a clergyman who, when driven out of the Palatinate by the French wars, ministered to other refugees from Catholic persecution at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Then, "vague democratic ideas and hopes still hazier were in the air," is not a good description of the attitude of the people in a place where the democratic spirit had always prevailed, and where rights of assembly had long been desired, had recently been granted for a brief time, and then had been taken away. The New Yorkers of 1689 knew quite as well what they hoped for from William and Mary as what they dreaded at the hands of the French King and his Canadian subjects, and also at the hands of James II. should the French King restore him to the throne. This would have been made clearer if Mr. Fiske had even explained that, when King James cancelled the Charter of Liberties which he had permitted to take effect while he was still the Duke of York, it was chiefly because, as his advisers pointed out, this document (drawn up by the New Yorkers in their first provincial assembly) named "the people" as entitled to political rights, while so definite a term had not been used in any other colonial charter or patent.

Mr. Fiske dwells upon the signs of popular discontent with Leisler's government that gradually displayed themselves, but, mentioning none of an opposite kind, leaves us to wonder how Leisler retained his power, for he had no soldiers excepting volunteers who could have deserted him at any moment.

The most important incident in Leisler's story Mr. Fiske mentions only in a foot-note. This was the arrival, in December, 1689, of the first orders that William's government had sent to New York. Mr. Fiske says that the letter containing them "was not addressed to Nicholson by name, but to 'Our Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our Province of New York in America.'" The superscription may be found in Brodhead as well as in our Colonial Documents. It reads:

> "To our Trusty and wellbelovd Francis Nicholson Esqre our Lieut Governor and Commander in Chief of our Province in New York in America, and in his absence to such as for the time being take care for Preserving the Peace and administring the Lawes in our said Province of New York in America."

Nicholson was absent when the letter arrived; he had abandoned his post and returned to England, arriving there before the letter was sent, although not before it had been prepared. Only

three of the councillors appointed by King James had been in New York when he left; and his dilatoriness and theirs in recognizing the change of dynasty had been the prime cause why the people refused to recognize the authority he deputed to them, and put Leisler at the head of affairs. Therefore, although it may have been questionable logic, it was certainly not, as Mr. Fiske asserts, "crank logic" that led Leisler to claim the king's letter and to consider himself charged with the responsibilities conferred by its words, which declared:

> "We do hereby authorize and Impower you to take upon you the Government of the said Province, calling to your assistance in the administration thereof the Principal Freeholders and Inhabitants of the same or so many of them as you shall think fitt."

Moreover, the superscription on this letter closely resembled that on the orders previously sent to Massachusetts, and these had temporarily confirmed in their power the magistrates whom the people had installed when, with much more violence than the Leislerians used, they had thrown Governor Andros and his colleagues into jail. Leisler based all his subsequent words and deeds upon his belief that he had a right to receive this letter and to act upon its instructions, conjointly with his belief that the people had had a right to make him the guardian of their interest in a time of utter uncertainty, confusion, and peril. In reports sent to England he carefully explained how and why he had claimed the letter, not concealing the fact that two of the councillors of the deposed king had "pretended thereunto."

And when, in 1698, the parliament of England rehabilitated his memory, cancelling the judgments of the court in New York, it sustained his course, saying that he had been "confirmed" in the power that the people had bestowed upon him by His Majesty's letter of July 30th, 1689.

Excepting the vague and provisional instructions contained in this letter no orders whatever came from England between the breaking out of the troubles in the spring of 1689 and the beginning of the year 1691. Even when, in December, 1690, a new Governor, Henry Sloughter, set sail for New York, his advent had not been announced to the people he was to rule, although his commission had been issued more than a year before. His ship was driven by stress of weather to Bermuda, and one of his subordinates, Major Ingoldsby, reached Manhattan some weeks in advance of him. Mr. Fiske says that Leisler would not yield

the fort to Ingoldsby without a written order from the king or the governor, and "unfortunately Ingoldsby had no official documents with him." Ingoldsby could have had no documents entitling him to demand possession of the fort. His major's commission simply gave him command of a portion of the troops that had been sent out, and ordered him to submit himself to the ruler of the province. It did not authorize him under any conditions to represent the governor or to exercise his powers; these rights had been conferred on the governor's council. Both he and Leisler knew, of course, that to surrender the fort would be to hand over the civil power as well. Leisler understood that to make such a transfer, excepting to a properly accredited official, would mean a confession that from the first he had had no right to his power. And he also saw that it would involve him in great danger, for the local enemies who, from the first, had traduced as well as opposed him, had instantly gained Ingoldsby's ear.

Mr. Fiske's account of the events next in order is practically the same that has often been written before, but never by any one who had carefully examined the contemporary documents. These show that Leisler offered Ingoldsby and his soldiers courteous entertainment outside the fort; that the disorders that broke out before the governor arrived were much more the fault of Ingoldsby and the local "aristocrats" than of Leisler, and that the first of the shots exchanged between the fort and the king's troops were probably fired by the latter. Nor is "almost incredible fatuity" the term to apply to Leisler's conduct in not yielding up the fort as soon as Sloughter's arrival was announced to him. His course at this moment was still the logical outcome of the attitude he had held for almost two years, and it was still based upon the belief that William must have meant to sanction his course as that of a loyal and a lawfully appointed temporary guardian of the king's own interests. His next step is also incorrectly reported. He soon saw that he could expect no recognition whatever from Sloughter, and on the morning following the latter's arrival sent him a letter. Mr. Fiske says it was "a conciliatory letter—disclaiming any wish to withhold the fort from him, but asking further explanation on certain points." As any reader may see, for it is printed in the appendix to Mr. Fiske's book, it is really a letter of surrender, and it asks for no explanations but simply prays that the writer may be treated in the way

due to a person ready to give "an exact account of all his actions and conduct."

Mr. Fiske relates that at the trial of Leisler, of his chief supporter, Jacob Milborne, and of several of their adherents, the prisoners "were charged with treason and murder for refusing to surrender the fort upon Ingoldsby's arrival, and for firing upon his troops and thereby causing wanton and wicked destruction of life." In fact, the indictment confused dates in a seriously unjust way, making the case against the prisoners much stronger. It charged that the fort had been "forcibly held," not against Ingoldsby, but against Sloughter himself, and that shots had been fired from it after instead of before his arrival—an assertion made in no other contemporary document.

Seeing how Mr. Fiske has misunderstood the whole antecedent story, we are not surprised to find that he says, in regard to the tragic conclusion of the trial, that the execution of Leisler and Milborne "was, of course, entirely legal," although "it was afterward generally admitted" to have been "a great mistake." But a different judgment in regard to the legality of the execution has been passed by other modern writers; and at all events, Mr. Fiske should have shown that justice had been grievously outraged by the character of the trial, and was outraged again when Sloughter decided to hang Leisler and Milborne after permitting them to appeal to the King.

Sloughter had been distinctly charged to "examine strictly and impartially" into the state of affairs in New York and to render "a true and faithful account thereof." Instead, he refused to hear any explanations from Leisler or his friends, but opened his ears to their bitter enemies and assigned to these important parts in the legal proceedings—even the preliminary examination of the prisoners with a view to their commitment for trial. Again, it is an interesting point, which Mr. Fiske does not mention, that while some of their comrades were tried and condemned upon evidence, Leisler and Milborne denied the competency of the court, refused to plead, and were condemned as "mutes." And when Mr. Fiske writes that Leisler behaved on the scaffold with "Christian dignity," but Milborne "spoke in a tone of vindictive anger," his words should again be tested by reference to one of the documents he has placed in his appendix. This shows that in general Milborne spoke as piously and forgivingly as Leisler,

although, when he saw Robert Livingston, one of the anti-Leislerian leaders, in the gazing crowd, he exclaimed: "You have caused the King that I must now die, but before God's tribunal I will implead you for the same."

Only when we know all these facts, and many others that throw upon the whole story a very different light from the one that Mr. Fiske reads it by, can we understand why the Leislerian party retained its title and its vitality for many years, and was strong enough to regain the upper hand in local affairs. But although Mr. Fiske reprints a few of the best-known among contemporary documents, it is plain that he did not master them all; and he refers his readers for fuller information, not to them, but to certain modern novels, although they may be found in such easily accessible works as the Documentary History of New York, the Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York, and the Collections of the Historical Society.

We need not follow Mr. Fiske through the concluding portions of his story of New York. But another word must be said about the attitude of mind in which he approached his theme.

I think that the chief reason why he approached the story of New Netherland less sympathetically than those of Virginia and New England may be found in his tendency to make the political condition of a community almost the sole test of its temper, its ideals, and its social state in the broad meaning of the term. He is genuinely interested in the development of liberal ideas, the growth and consolidation of popular freedom—otherwise he would hardly spend his time upon the history of the United States. But he identifies the love and enjoyment of liberty too closely with the character of current political institutions. Of course, the latter most often bear truthful, if incomplete, witness to the existence or absence of the former. But sometimes they do not, and such was the case in New Netherland, where natives of the freest and most advanced country in Europe found themselves under the despotic hand of a selfish mercantile corporation. The fact that these people did not greatly interest Mr. Fiske is proved by the half-humorous or patronizing tone he often adopts, even when he is not quoting Knickerbocker. And I think he would have been more deeply interested if he had more fully digested the truth that, in spite of untoward political conditions, these people

were more liberal, more progressive, more democratic than any others in the America of their time.

A few among many possible proofs of this assertion may suffice us here, if my readers will contrast the social state they indicate with that of the other colonies during their first fifty years. In New Amsterdam class distinctions were not recognized, and such slight social eminence as could be compassed was earned on the spot, and was as well within the reach of the humbly as of the nobly born. Sumptuary laws were not thought of in New Amsterdam, nor mandates in regard to minor matters of conduct as supposedly right or wrong. The education of women was considered as essential as that of men, and they were granted an exceptionally independent place in family life, and freedom to engage on their own account in commercial life even in its most important branches. Rights of entail were not recognized, and daughters shared equally with sons in their parents' estates. Men of all nations were welcomed to the colony on equal terms; such political rights as existed were not limited by any facts of birth or of faith; and in no other way was liberty of conscience infringed upon. The privilege of free thought was unquestioned, and even the passionate efforts of Stuyvesant to suppress free speech proved unavailing. Excepting along the political path, individualism had a much freer chance to develop among the Dutch Americans than among the New Englanders, while the men of Massachusetts and New Haven were far from free even politically, for the value of their republican institutions was impaired by the narrow, undemocratic spirit in which they were administered. The more we study the condition of New Amsterdam the more convinced we are that, if a modern American could pay it a visit, he might feel quite comfortably at home. Can we say as much of any place in early New England?

A recognition of the peculiarly strong democratic spirit of seventeenth century New York puts into an historian's hand the thread upon which the events in its story should be strung. If Mr. Fiske had firmly grasped this thread he would have told his story better at many important points. He would have noticed the fact that the semi-feudal patroonships did not flourish in the neighborhood of New Amsterdam. He would have emphasized more strongly the way in which, during the Indian wars of Governor Kieft, the people seized their first slender chance to claim a share

in the management of their own concerns. He would have set in a truer light the stages of the struggle in which Van der Donck and Stuyvesant figured, accentuating the essentially Dutch character of the people's demands, and calling attention to the fact that the English among them did not help but deliberately hindered their efforts. He would have described more faithfully than he has done the temper of the province while it was ruled by its first English governor. He would have treated the events of Leisler's time more intelligently, showing how largely they were determined by the recent birth of an aristocratic party in New York. He would have seen something more than "what would have been a ludicrous farce if it had not been so execrably wicked" in the prosecution of Nicholas Bayard by the Leislerian party in 1702, and would not have called it a mere scheme of revenge for the execution of Leisler and Milborne. He would have noticed the trial of Francis Makemie in 1706, which settled the question of religious liberty for New York and struck the first direct blow at the royal prerogative. He would have mentioned the remarkable series of Resolutions passed by the Assembly in 1708, and sundry other bold legislative utterances and deeds which illustrated the steady intention of the royal province to widen its liberties. And thus he would have given a fine dramatic and a right historical effectiveness to his really excellent account of the Zenger trial in 1734.

This trial of a newspaper editor for libel and treason because he had criticised the government should have been set in its true light as the natural climax of a long conflict—as the natural result of New Amsterdam's liberal spirit and its belief in the right of free speech, persistent for a hundred years in spite of political conditions more unfavorable to their development than those of any other colony. And if Mr. Fiske had done this he would surely have completed his account of the Zenger trial with a word that now is lacking. He would not merely have said that it "deserves mention in every account of the development of political liberty." He would have underlined the fact that its result—the establishment of freedom of the press for all the colonies—was the greatest victory compassed in America by the democratic spirit before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the one that made all others possible.

M. G. Van Rensselaer.

HOW TRADE UNIONISM AFFECTS BRITISH INDUSTRIES.

BY BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

In a recent number of this Review,* the present writer endeavored to expose the fallacies on which is based the theory that British commerce has declined, and is now declining. The object then was to show that Britons need not yet prepare to write "Ichabod" over their Bourses, and to yield the palm of supremacy to their brothers across the Atlantic or to their cousins over the North Sea. The foreign trade of the United States and of Germany may go on growing larger without that of Great Britain necessarily becoming smaller. But I went on to say that, while British foreign commerce has not really suffered, as the pessimists assume, from the impact of American and German competition, and that, while British manufacturers and traders are not the fatuous beings that consular agents, globe-trotters and irresponsible writers generally would have the world imagine, British trade is really suffering from a malady of British origin. "It is Trade Unionism that cripples us by enhancing the costs of production, and by constantly restricting the output." Unfortunately, this is not so well understood as it ought to be—is not, indeed, recognized by many who address themselves to the discussion of Anglo-American industrial competition. That discussion proceeds on both sides of the Atlantic, but not always with consideration of how largely the competition is conditioned by labor. Let us look, then, for a little, at the incidence and effect of Trade Unionism on the industrial position of Great Britain.

In theory, the Trade Union is an organization for the protection of labor against the tyranny and oppression of capital.

*The North American Review, October, 1900.

In practice, the British Trade Union is an organization for the restraint of labor and the manacling of capital. It is quite a mistake to regard the modern Trade Union simply as the lineal descendant and living representative of the old Trade Guild. The old Trade Guilds were combinations of masters and workmen for the promotion and protection of a trade or craft as a whole. The modern Trade Union is a combination for the sole purpose of furthering the supposed interests of the workmen, without regard to the interests of the trade or craft as a whole. In the old system, there was the element of solidarity in the relations between capital and labor. In the new system, there is the element of antagonism. In the old system, the craftsman prospered according to his skill and industry. In the new system, skill and industry are reduced to one common denominator, called the Trade Union rate of wage. If American manufacturers are enabled to undersell their British rivals in some of their pet industries, it is not because the American workman is a better craftsman than the British—he is, indeed, often imported from Britain—but because he is an unfettered producer. That is to say, American labor is more productive than British.

Now, as to the theory of Trade Unionism I do not propose to say anything here. It is generally regarded as admirable, and although a fair case can be made out against it, we must accept Trade Unionism as a great social, economic and, I regret to say, political institution. Let the theory be as beautiful as you please, the practice is abominable. In one respect, however, the modern Trade Union may be regarded as the heir of the mediæval Trade Guild. They are both examples of close corporations; and, even as the old Guilds, by their exactions and limitations, drove away crafts from the cities into the small country towns, so may the Trade Unions drive industries away from the country altogether. That they have actually done so we shall presently see.

The great object in American production is the saving of labor. The great object in British Trade Union production is the dissipation of labor—which is waste. This is the central idea of the "machine question" among the engineers, of the eight-hours-day movement, of the miners' weekly "idle day." The less each man does for his wages, the more will there be for other men to do for the same wages—so they foolishly think, as

if there were a common wage fund into which every man can dip, share and share alike with his neighbor. This is why all labor-saving machinery is still hated by British workingmen, almost as much as it was in the days of the Luddites. Men do not smash machine-tools now-a-days, it is true; but they manage to get the minimum of work out of them, and to extract the maximum pay for attending to them. And that is why it has been computed that, if the numerals 1 to 1¼ be taken as representing the producing capacity of the British workman, 2¼ must be taken as representing the producing capacity (not the technical skill) of the American workman. The objects of the British Trade Unionist are—to equalize the wage of the mediocre or inferior and the capable workman; to restrict the amount of work done by each workman, so that there may be fewer unemployed; to restrict the total output, so that prices, and consequently wages, may not be borne down by the over-supply. In carrying out these objects, then, the British Trade Unions are neither more nor less than organizations for the restraint of labor and the curtailment of production.

Let me draw upon what I have written elsewhere, in illustration of what has just been said. I have been branded for denouncing Trade Unionism as a blight on our industrial system, as if I were something infinitely worse, even, than a person who could speak disrespectfully of the Equator. Without admitting that Trade Unionism has done all that is claimed for it in the raising of wages and the bettering of the condition of the working-class—changes which must have occurred in the natural order of things, as society developed—I do affirm that it has done much social and industrial harm. A workman, on joining one of these organizations, ceases to be a free agent; he becomes the slave of his society and the tool of its officials. Does that make for manliness, and individual energy, and social well-being? Individuality is submerged in the Union, which exists not for the good of each member, but for the society's own power and glory. For this reason, the officials and leaders discourage every form of effort and enterprise—such as piece-work and profit-sharing—which might have the effect of weakening the bond between the worker and the Union; and they encourage the inferior workman by establishing a maximum standard of work, so as to increase the membership and the power of the Union.

By insisting on a uniform rate of wages in an industry, they exact the highest pay for the lowest merit, and thus make inefficient labor dear. They have eliminated the spirit of emulation from the workshop, and have severed the old personal bond of sympathy and respect between the employer and his craftsmen. How can an operative be a faithful servant, when his first duty is not to his employer but to his society? The real creed of the Trade Unions is, that it is the right and duty of every workingman to get as much money as he can out of his employer, and to do as little for it as possible. Of course, no such creed is formulated, or even admitted; but what are the facts? That, upon the Trade Union scales of time-wages, the incompetent man is paid as highly as the competent man, which does not encourage the bad workman to become better, but does induce the good workman to become less efficient. What encouragement has the capable man to do his best, when he sees the "duffer" alongside of him earning as much money by idling and bungling as he does by good work? But do not think that the Trade Unions could have been referred to by the Psalmist when he said:

> "Behold how good a thing it is
> And how becoming well,
> Together, such as brethren are,
> In unity to dwell,"

for, often and often, employers have to be called in to arbitrate in disputes between the several societies quarrelling among themselves. The Unionists do not always accept the awards; indeed, they sometimes "strike" against them, even when the arbitrator is one of their own choosing, and of their own class. A curious illustration of the latter point has been afforded by the Joiners and Shipwrights' Societies on the Tyne, Unions which are continually squabbling over the "demarcation" of work. In one furious quarrel, a few years ago, reference was made to arbiters who could not agree. They called in, as umpire, Mr. Thomas Burt, one of the most respected Labor Members of Parliament. He decided in favor of the Shipwrights, but the Joiners refused to accept the award in an arbitration to which they had consented, and they struck work, remaining on strike for several months, to the serious loss of the employers, who had nothing to do with the dispute. The year after this dispute, and also on the Tyne, occurred a collision between the Society of Machinists,

known as the A. S. E.,* and the Society of Plumbers, also concerning the "demarcation" of work. The engineers struck, and for two months rejected all proposals of conciliation or arbitration, until the employers threatened to lock out twenty-five per cent. of all members of the A. S. E. (the largest Union in the world) if this matter were not at once arranged. Then a conference was agreed to, but the engineers broke away from the settlement and renewed the strike, whereupon all the employers in the district locked out all the A. S. E. men in their employ, and there was idleness in the shipyards for several months. Nothing whatever was gained by either Society from this dispute, but it threw another heavy loss upon the whole industry, and upon persons in no way responsible for it.

The contests have been legion in which the members of the A. S. E. have sought to obtain a monopoly of the labor, and a fixing of the rates of wages, in connection with the operation of all machine-tools in an engine-shop, no matter how simple and automatic such machines may be. By a succession of strikes at various places, the A. S. E. tried to compel the engineering employers to refuse to give employment to members of the Association of Machine Workers—an organization that refused to be absorbed in the A. S. E. These struggles, which led up to and culminated in the great strike of 1897-98, were of a twofold character. They were both against a rival Union, and for a monopoly of unskilled labor at the price of skilled labor; and the point of interest in what is known as the Machine Question, with reference to the subject of this article, is that the design was to limit the labor of each machine man to one machine, though it might be such as a child could supervise, and to limit the output of each machine to what the Trade Union officials, not the employers, should specify as the maximum. Over and over again, before this question was settled by the Employers' Federation taking up a determined front and bringing the A. S. E. to its knees, engine-shops were "struck" on the demand that obnoxious members of the Machine Workers' Association should be dismissed. But the Machine Workers retaliated when they could, and have, in turn, been known to "strike" a shop in which they were numerically strong, until an A. S. E. man was dismissed from employment at a machine-tool.

*Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

These same machine workers have themselves afforded a curious illustration of the demoralizing effects of Trade Unionism. They are usually men who have been raised from the ranks of engine-shop laborers—that is to say, unskilled men taught by skilled foremen how to attend to machines. Yet these men, after promotion and organization in a Trade Union of their own, have been known to protest against the employment of other men promoted in the same way—afraid, of course, of having the ranks of machine-tenders overcrowded! Still another curious instance may be mentioned. In all shipyards there is a large employment of men of all sorts for general purposes apart from the skilled workers. The men employed ordinarily in this nondescript work have a Laborers' Union of their own; but in dull times, when employment is slack and a skilled artisan cannot obtain work at his own particular craft, he may be willing to take a temporary job as laborer until the clouds roll by. But taking a leaf out of the book of the A. S. E., the Laborers' Union have sometimes attempted to prevent this, by insisting that employers should not take on skilled operatives as laborers to the prejudice of their Union! Unskilled labor, however, is too plentiful for this design to succeed, as a rule.

In the evidence laid before the Senate Committee on the Shipping Subsidy Bill, and elsewhere in the public discussion of this measure, it has been stated that, notwithstanding the lower price of material, it costs from fifteen per cent. to twenty-five per cent. more to build a first-class steel steamer in the United States than in Great Britain. And this difference is generally ascribed to the cost of labor. The estimates on which these statements are based are very much questioned by British shipbuilders, and the theory as to wages is difficult for those to accept who know what Trade Unionism has done in British shipyards. For instance, the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders' Society—not quite so large in membership as the A. S. E., but better managed and wealthier—has managed to absorb practically every workman engaged in the iron work of a shipyard and boiler-shop. In the structural work of an iron or steel ship, the principal laborers are the riveters, who work in squads and whose work is manual and muscular only, requiring a minimum of technical skill. These men, under the protection of their Union, obtain wages exceeding those of the most highly-skilled

artisans in other industries, wages extravagantly out of proportion to the character and value of their work, wages so large that the recipients can afford to spend half a week in idleness and drink after every fortnightly pay. It is not conceivable that any class of workers in the United States receive such high pay for such low-grade work as do these riveters, or that in the United States they would be allowed to work so intermittently. There is no doubt that the extravagant wages and expensive methods of working established in the British shipyards by Trade Unionism have been the main cause of the diversion of many orders to German shipbuilders. If the wage-bill of the American shipbuilder is heavier than that of the British, in proportion to results, then is there small hope of shipbuilding becoming a great industry in the United States. For there is a day of reckoning and reform coming in Britain.

In an earlier part of this article, it was said that Trade Unions may drive an industry away from the country altogether. They have already done so to a large extent, and in many instances they have driven an industry out of a district. It was, for example, the exactions and limitations of the Thames shipbuilders that drove the great shipbuilding industry from London to the northern rivers, where it has flourished ever since, while the Thames has now only one shipyard of any importance. It was the exactions and limitations of the Trade Unions that drove lace-making from Nottingham to Scotland. It was the exactions and limitations of Trade Unions that drove flint glass-making from England to Germany, and bottle-making from Scotland to Belgium.

The story of the flint-glass trade is a very instructive one. This used to be a very extensive and lucrative business in Great Britain, affording highly-paid employment to many thousands of workers. These workers had, of course, their Trade Union. The Union waxed fat, and kicked on the question of apprentices. And it succeeded in enforcing a strict limitation to the number of boys to be allowed to enter the trade in any one year or in any one factory. Having secured this, they put the screw on wages until they raised the pay of an ordinary journeyman to between three pounds ten shillings and four pounds a week. The monopoly of labor was complete, but not the monopoly of supply. The Germans stepped in and took the trade bodily from

under the nose of the Flint-glass Makers' Union, which now does not, in the whole United Kingdom, contain as many members as there are workers in many a single factory in Germany. The industry has gone, save two or three high-class concerns making costly tableware for the wealthy; and with it the workers, who either emigrated to America, or sought employment in other overcrowded avenues. Much the same kind of thing happened in the bottle-making industry. Apprentices and production were kept down, and wages were forced up, until bottles became so dear that Belgium sailed in and "scooped the market." German table-glass and Belgian bottles now tell the tale, in every British household, of what aggressive and tyrannical Trade Unionism can do for the industries of the country. Let it be noted that the initial cause of the ruin of these industries was the limitation placed on apprenticeship, for that is one of the most dangerous and lamentable features of Trade Unionist policy as still pursued.

I have written elsewhere that, while Trade Unionism has not raised the rewards of honest labor, it has put a premium on inefficiency, by insisting that the idle and incompetent worker shall be placed on a wage-level with the most skilful and most industrious. Those who support the demand of Trade Unions for a minimum wage, and those politicians who contend for what is known as the "Fair Wage" clause in public contracts, do not stop to consider the demoralizing character of these demands. Instead of honest toil, it means the "Trade Union Stroke;" and the "Trade Union Stroke" means compelling the most highly-gifted artisan to slow down to the pace of the most slovenly. It means yielding the smallest possible amount of real labor for the largest possible day wage. And the insertion of the so-called "Fair Wage" clause in State and Municipal contracts is designed to make the Trade Unions masters of the situation wherever public work is concerned—the endeavor being to maintain that fair wages are the standard rates, and the standard rates must be approved by the Trade Societies.

The extent to which Trade Union influences may curtail production and demoralize the workmen was very conclusively shown by the instances collected by the Federated Engineering Employers during the great strike of 1897-98. Let us note a few. One firm had been compelled by the A. S. E., before the strike, to turn over a couple of simple copying-lathes to two

members of the A. S. E. at thirty-five shillings per week each, the cost of attending the two machines being thus seventy shillings a week. After the strike, a laborer was trained and put in charge of both machines at a wage of twenty-four shillings per week, which was a large increase on his previous wage; and he, singly, got more work out of the two machines than had both the A. S. E. men.

In another case, a promoted laborer, replacing an A. S. E. man on strike, did in 135 hours certain work on a planing-machine over which the Union man had always taken 190 hours.

In another case, a man who resigned from the Society at the time of the strike, and retained his job, did daily, as a free worker, twice the amount of work he had previously done as a member of the Union.

In other cases, the statements are so startling that we will quote the exact words of the report authenticated by the Employers' Federation:

"A. reports that, when making ammunition boxes for six-pounder cartridges some years ago, it was found that, in finishing up the hinges, any member of the society employed on the job used always to do exactly eight in a day. The foreman in charge knew that this was not a day's work, and he changed the men; but, in every case, notwithstanding that considerable changes were made, the union men made exactly eight per day. A young Swiss (non-Unionist), who did not speak English, was then put on the job, and the first day he did fifty. The same firm report that, in filing up the outside handles of machine-guns, it was found that any member of the society working on the job generally did one a day. The firm knew that this was not a day's work, but were unable to get a society man to do more. The work was then given to a gun-filer not belonging to any society, and he did twelve a day."

Dozens of instances might be cited, did space permit, from this remarkable report, showing the deadly effect of Trade Unionism on the energy, morality and capability of the workers, and also the efforts of Trade Unionists to demoralize and restrain the industry of apprentices. Each case is supported by documentary evidence, and the whole black record is one to make every honest workingman sick with shame. Yet the men referred to are not common laborers; they are skilled and clever artisans, men of some education, to whom the term "respectable" would be generally applied. And their Society is the largest and most assertive Trade Union in the world, with ramifications in both Hemispheres and at the Antipodes. Let it not be forgotten

that, in these mechanical trades, the British workman has for thirty years had the nine-hours day for which his American colleague, as competitor, is only now striving. And if the Trade Unionist had had his way, it would have been reduced to eight hours three years ago, with amplified restrictions on piece-work, apprentices, over-time, machine-tools, and so forth. If he had had his way, how much work would have been left to him by this time?

Not to dwell too much on one branch of industry, let us look around. In a recent number of *The Nineteenth Century*, Mr. William Woodward threw a flood of light upon the operation of Trade Unionism in the trades with which he, as an architect, is in the habit of coming in contact. These trades are rather of domestic than of international interest; but we turn to Mr. Woodward for further illustration of the methods of British workmen generally.

Mr. Woodward says that under the new working rules which were agreed upon last year between the representatives of the London Master Builders' Association and, respectively, the Operative Bricklayers, the Operative Stonemasons and the Carpenters and Joiners' Societies, the working hours of these trades in summer are fifty per week for forty weeks; during twelve weeks of winter, the working hours are, for the first three weeks and the last three weeks, forty-seven hours per week; and during the six middle weeks, forty-four hours per week. The rate of wages was to be advanced one halfpenny per hour, from certain dates in 1900 and 1901. Supposing that the men worked on Saturdays the same number of hours as on other days, this would give eight hours as the average length of the working day for the six days in the week; or, in other words, about one-third of the six days and nights of a working week devoted to labor, the other two-thirds, plus the whole of Sunday, being devoted to rest, study and pleasure. How much of that time is given to pleasure? Hear Mr. Woodward:

"It might be reasonably assumed that the decrease in the hours of labor, and the increase in wages, must result in improvement to the minds of the workmen, the laying up of a little store for future old age, and in extra comforts for the wives and children. We know that the men are paid at noon on Saturday, and that many of them are not seen again on the building till the Tuesday morning following. It may be that they have been studying the handiwork of their predecessors in the South Kensington Museum, or that they have been

giving the benefit of their practical knowledge to some of the pupils of the technical schools, or have been doing a little work in the garden. That I do not know; but I do know that, at the dinner-hour on the Tuesday, some of the men who have taken three pounds or so on the Saturday cannot get their dinner till they have borrowed the price of it from the foreman, so that the increase of wage has resulted in loss of work to the master (itself of the utmost importance), and has conferred no benefit whatever upon the workman or upon his family."

This, of course, is well enough known to employers of labor and to the leaders of such Trade Unions as the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders' Society, against whose members it is a standing complaint that they lose half a week in drinking after every fortnightly pay-day. This is no invention of the employers. The members of this Society have been slated and rated repeatedly by their own officials for their intemperance and irregularities.

Let us now notice a few restrictive peculiarities in the building trades to which Mr. Woodward refers:

"A bricklayer in some kind of work can well lay 1,200 bricks a day, but in the ordinary run of work he can easily lay, on the average, 750. Rules, however, step in which absolutely fix him not to exceed 500. If the bricklayer catches a plasterer fixing a wall-tile nine inches by three inches, he is again at the foreman to stop it, not however, if the tile is six inches by six inches. Bricklayers have recently made up their minds that roof-tiling is their work, and not that of the regular tiler who thoroughly knows his work. So, unless this work, which they do not understand, is given over to the bricklayers, and the tilers dismissed, the bricklayers strike the job. If the eagle eye of the plasterer observes a man fixing a fireproof plaster material—that is to say, a man sent off by the manufacturer of the material, and who is a unionist—off that man has to go, notwithstanding the important fact that he thoroughly understands his particular work, and that the ordinary plasterer does not. The resulting defective work has to be ultimately made good, at the cost of the master or building owner. This same plasterer has also prevented, by his Society, any superfluity of apprentices. The present race of plasterers mean to have plenty of work in their time; let the future of the trade take care of itself. The mason, too, also on the lookout, sees a bricklayer fixing a piece of stone to take the end of a girder; that is soon stopped; and the mason leaves his legitimate work to come and set this piece of stone, whilst the bricklayer looks on and perhaps smokes his cigarette—and so on."

Is this the dignity of labor, or sheer tom-foolery? The amiable inventor of the Busy Bee of the nursery world informs us that hands were made for honest labor. How are we to characterize the labor of men who do not give more than four hours'

real work for the eight hours for which they are paid, who idle openly and who take pride in being paid for work which they do not do? One of the great problems of the day is how to provide decent dwellings for the poor at rents within their precarious means. The social reformers do not seem to be aware how that problem has been intensified by the action of the Bricklayers' and other Trade Unions. By the prevailing system of organized idleness, and incessant interference with the employer, the cost of building workmen's dwellings has been increased about one-third within the last fifteen years. And yet all the talk is not how to teach these men morality and common-sense, but how to provide them with Technical Education! Great Heavens! as if Technical Colleges will enable us to preserve our industries, if our workmen will not work!

Not only will a Trade Unionist not work more than his Union will permit him to do, but the Trade Unionist will not allow any other man to work, if he can prevent it. Away from his Union, the British operative is as good a fellow and as keen and capable a worker as you can find the world over. Under the blight of Trade Unionism, he is shrivelled and demoralized—alike the slave, the scout and the pander of his Union—ready to hurl forth with curses any outsider who dares to lay a hand upon the sacred Ark in a "Union Shop."

Contrast with all that has been said about the restrictions of labor by machinists and of the output of machine-tools in Great Britain, the following from a statement by Mr. George O. Draper, secretary of one of the largest manufacturing companies in the United States, concerning labor in the American cotton industry:

> "In spinning, the product of the machine has practically doubled in the last thirty years, and the capacity of the operative has not only doubled with the machine, but has trebled or even quadrupled. The improvement has been of such a nature that the increase in speed has been attended with benefit to the product. In weaving, the product per operative has easily trebled; it is certain that the product per operative in other departments of a cotton mill has at least doubled. Formerly, a weaver tended but one loom, and that at a moderate speed. To-day weavers on the Northrop looms often tend twenty-four machines, running at a speed nearly double that of the original power looms."

In Great Britain, a machinist in an engine-shop who dares attempt to drive more than one machine is hauled up before his

District Committee, sternly reprimanded and heavily fined. If he offends again, he may be summarily dismissed from the Society, with forfeiture of all the benefits for which he has been contributing all his life.

A good deal of emotional nonsense has been written about the compulsory Arbitration Law of New Zealand, and its effect in eliminating strikes. It is practically a law for the glorification of Trade Unionism, since it affords protection only to workmen who are members of some Trade Union; though, to be sure, it recognizes any perfunctory and loose-jointed combination of men as a Union. The following are the leading features of this remarkable law which both Great Britain and the United States are called upon to imitate:

1. Under it individual employees cannot invoke arbitration. 2. Employees can secure legal standing only through a Trade Union. 3. Trade Unions must be incorporated and registered for the purposes of the law. 4. The decisions of the arbitration courts are final and binding for specified periods, and under penalty of fines. 5. No strike or lockout can be declared for the purpose of defeating a contemplated recourse to arbitration by either party. 6. When a strike or lockout occurs, the arbitration court may, at the request of either party, and within a given time, order a return to work pending a formal trial of the dispute. 7. Employees cannot leave their Unions during arbitration, or while a decision is in force, for the purpose of evading its terms, except upon giving three months' notice. 8. Employees may be discharged at any time, for any reason other than that of defeating an award. 9. Rulings of the courts upon hours, wages, employment of Trade Unionists, and other conditions of trade, although rendered at the instance of a single body, may be declared applicable to all employees within any given area. 10. Legal counsel is not allowable, except by consent of both parties. 11. The court of arbitration, at any time during an award, reserves the right to adjudge obnoxious any act of either party, and may punish it by the usual proceedings of committal and attachment. 12. The awards of the courts cannot be set aside for any informality, or challenged, appealed against, reviewed, quashed or called in question by any court of judicature, on any account whatever. 13. The court of arbitration consists of three members, appointed by the Governor, one of whom is

recommended by the employers and one by the employees, while the third must be a judge of the Supreme Court.

All this sounds well; but one searches in vain for evidence of that perfect satisfaction with the results of which one has heard from the pamphleteers and platformers. As for the new *régime* which the laws were to institute, from which distrust and discord were to be banished, and in which there was to be a spirit of mutual confidence between employers and employed, it simply has not arrived. Mr. Dillingham, the United States Consul at Auckland, New Zealand, has made that clear enough in his official report on the subject. The abuses which the Labor Laws were designed to check have not been prevented. The lives of the working-classes in the Colony have not been made fuller and healthier. One need not ask why, when one learns that the Supreme Court has decided that non-Unionists are altogether outside the Act, and that, in fact, non-associated workmen have no legal status. In effect, with regard to such men, the Act abolishes contract, and decrees that Trade Unionists shall have preference over all other workmen at all times and in all circumstances. Such a law is unjust and iniquitous. A non-Unionist can only sell his labor at his own peril, if he can find an employer who will take the risk of having legal proceedings raised against him by a Trade Union. Is it conceivable that such a law can conduce to the preservation of the principle of mutuality and to the maintenance of perfect relations between masters and men? Yet glorification of the Trade Unionists would be precisely the effect (if it were rigidly carried out) of the "Fair Wages Resolution" of the House of Commons, to which reference will presently be made.

Mr. Brooks Adams recently called attention to what he characterized as a very curious phenomenon, in that in earlier days the manufactures of Great Britain were sold in America; the proceeds remitted to Lancashire or Yorkshire were, for the most part, spent in wages, and by the wage-earner expended for food; the sale of food paid the gentry's rent, and the gentry's accumulations either found their way back to Lancashire in the form of loans, or were invested in American stocks. Such was the condition, he says, when Bagehot wrote "Lombard Street," and then he goes on to describe what happened in the next two decades:

"The acreage under wheat in England, Scotland and Wales fell

from 3,490,000 acres, in 1873, to 1,897,000, in 1893; while imports of wheat rose from 43,863,000 hundred weight, in 1873, to 65,461,000, in 1893. Meanwhile, the population of the United Kingdom had only grown from 32,000,000 to 38,000,000. In other words, the imports of wheat had increased 50 per cent., and the population 20 per cent.; and this leaves out purchases of flour, which had swelled from 6,000,000 to 20,000,000 hundred weight."

Yes, but why did the acreage under wheat decline, and the imports under foodstuffs increase? For the same reason that the shipping industry of the United States declined in the same period—that is to say, Capital and Labor found more profitable employment. It has paid us better to turn our energies on to iron, steel, textile, and other manufactures, than on to corn; but we did not, as a nation, become less industrious or less prosperous. And now America, having founded her prosperity on farming, is looking for other lines of development. Naturally, she has developed most along the line of least resistance; but as, year by year, her economic condition approaches more near to that of Europe, so, year by year, will she find the resistance gathering. Mr. Brooks Adams makes the remarkable statement that "Carnegie achieved the new industrial revolution in March, 1897." He may have inaugurated, but he certainly did not "achieve" it any more than Mirabeau "achieved" the French Revolution. And an industrial revolution may have, as its *sequelae,* a Laborist reign of terror and a Capitalist despotism.

Organization on the part of the employers of labor has never been so complete and general in Great Britain as organization of workers. No doubt, trade jealousy has had something to do with this; but even trade jealousy has to give way before the necessities of self-protection. The Associations of Coal-owners in Wales, in the Midlands and in the North of England have served fairly well in checking the aggressions of the coal-miners; but these Associations are local in character and have not the cohesion of the Miners' Federation of Trade Unions on the other side. And in recent disputes in the cotton industries of Lancashire and the building trades of London, the combinations of employers broke down and went under. The only thoroughly successful combinations of employers on a large scale are the Shipping Federation, which has completely routed the New Unionism in its effort to obtain control over both ships and docks, and the Engineering Employers' Federation, which de-

feated the attempt of the allied Trade Unions in 1897 to obtain the management of all the engine-shops in the country, the allocation of work, the limitation of hours and the appraisement of labor. The last-named organization leaves each district Association of employers to manage its own local affairs, but conjoins all the districts to assist any one district or firm that may be assailed by the Unions. Thus, when in 1897 the engineers of the London district ("machinists," as they are called in America) went out on strike in order nominally to obtain an eight-hours day, but really to become the masters of their own employers, all the federated employers throughout the country locked out their men until the London strikers resumed work and submitted their demands for consideration and discussion. The strike was prolonged for six months, and cost both masters and men an enormous amount of money. But, from one point of view, it was one of the best things that have happened in modern industrial England, for it taught employers what they can do for the preservation of their industries and their independence by thorough organization against aggressive Trade Unionism; and it showed the Trade Unions that, far as they have gone, there is a point beyond which they will not be allowed to go, and that they are practically powerless against vigorous combinations of employers in any industry. It is only when defensive combinations of employers have lacked vigor and loyalty and a directing head that they have been defeated.

The tendency among employers now, therefore, is to draw together in groups for mutual support against a common foe—by which is meant not their own workmen, but those who would make the workmen only the pawns in the game. The movement will not be accelerated and strengthened, however, without war. Joint Boards of Conciliation, sliding-scale committees, and the like, are instruments for peace up to a certain point. They are powerless when a dispute becomes a struggle for mastery. In industrial as in political affairs, a display of strength is the best preservative of peace. There are, however, admirable schemes for the federation of masters and workmen on a national and patriotic basis, one of the most attractive of which is fathered by Mr. John Lockie. His great design is to bring about a Federation of all concerned in trade and trade questions, for educational purposes, for the promotion and advancement of the trade and

commerce of the country, and for the opening up and cultivation of foreign markets by Bagman Missions composed of both employers and employed. Mr. Lockie's design, perhaps, goes further than is practicable or may be desirable; but there is certainly something fascinating in the idea of "a Federation where employers and employed can meet on all occasions on the same plane," and be enabled to "bring about a prompt and satisfactory settlement of disputes or strikes, whether affecting national or merely local interests." The proposed "Federated Council of all Employers' Associations and Trade Unions" is something like a Federation of Federations. But the country is not ripe for it. Employers in all trades have not yet learned the power for good of co-operation. And the law has not till now sufficiently defined and delimited the functions and responsibilities of Trade Unions. At present, no law can bind them to a common agreement, and they have more frequent and more bitter quarrels with each other than with their employers. The "Solidarity of Labor" is conspicuous by its absence, when one Trade Union is found trenching on the preserves of another.

As bearing on this, however, note the following resolution carried unanimously at the annual conference of the Labor Representation Committee (of Trade Unions, Trade Councils and Socialist Societies) held at Manchester in February, 1901:

"That this conference declares that, in view of the combinations of capital and federations of employers, it is necessary for the Trade Unions of the country to use their political power to defend their existence and secure their demands; and, while it deprecates the introduction of mere party politics into the Trade Union movement, it urges upon Trade Unionists the necessity of combining on an independent platform for the following purposes: (1) The defence of the legal rights of combination; (2) The passing of such laws as will put an end to a system under which the producer of wealth has to bear an enormous burden, in the shape of rents and profits which go to maintain large classes of non-producers."

Observe the repetition of the old fallacies that labor is the sole source of wealth, and that only manual workers are producers!

But probably enough has been said to demonstrate the baneful action of Trade Unionism upon the national industrial life. It is difficult, of course, for the politician who has learned to pay tribute to Trade Unionism as a political force, and for the economist who has been taught to regard combinations of labor as institutions for promoting the greatest good of the greatest num-

ber, to acknowledge all this. We might show that Trade Unionism has failed on every one of the points on which its existence was justified and praised by the old Political Economists, but that is not the present purpose. A writer in *The Spectator* the other day said that "our artisans are, it cannot be doubted, in the great number of cases restrained from doing their best because their Trade Union has set a limit on individual production." This is putting it too mildly, for when one has a stern truth to face one need not mince phrases. And I affirm, unhesitatingly, that whatever may be the theory of Trade Unionism, it is working altogether on a false principle in Great Britain—that of restricting production. The application of this principle is increasing our costs and handicapping us in the industrial race. It springs from the fallacy that there is just a certain amount of work to be done in the world, which, spread out thin, will go all round the army of manual workers. It ignores the fact that work creates work, and that the more cheaply work can be done, the more there will be to do. It opposes the teaching of experience that, as machine-tools displace labor in one direction, they create more labor in another direction. If Great Britain fails in the industrial race, it will not be because her workmen cannot create as well as others, but that they will not. And we do not need to go much further than this in search of an explanation of the pressure of foreign competition—that a German or American workman will give equal attention simultaneously to three, four or six machines or tools, whilst the British workman is compelled by his Trade Union to limit his attention to one, so that employment may be given to half a dozen other men who ought to be busy elsewhere.

Britain's greatest national danger lies in the destruction of free-trade in labor. It threatens not only British industries, but also British defences, as has been seen in delays in the construction of warships caused by Trade Union obstructions. It is not so much technical education that is required as the awakening of the working-man to the fact that he becomes his own worst enemy when he joins a Trade Union. Meanwhile, the conditions of international competition will not be equalized until in America Trade Unionism has developed as it has done in Britain. And such development, if one may read the signs of the times, has already begun.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

THE KATIPUNAN OF THE PHILIPPINES.

BY COLONEL L. W. V. KENNON, U. S. A.

It has been, perhaps, a matter of surprise to people in America that the insurrection in the Philippines should so long have been able to continue its existence, and many have attributed this to the valor of the Philippine soldiery. There could hardly be a greater mistake. The Philippine soldiery have not been able at any point to oppose even nominal resistance to the American occupation of every town and village in the Islands, and yet peace has not existed. The warlike conditions which have prevailed have been due, not to Philippine valor, but to the Katipunan, a powerful, all pervading, secret organization, nominally working for liberty, appealing to native ignorance and racial prejudice, dedicated to assassination, and bold and avowedly unscrupulous in the methods by which it attains its ends; a society which, without sanction of law or authority other than its own rules, assumed and freely exercised the power of punishing by death any person who disobeyed its mandates or otherwise incurred its displeasure, and which vested this power in the ignorant, local chiefs of its lodges throughout the Islands.

The object of the following pages is to trace briefly the history, purposes and work of this society. The facts presented have been obtained from native Philippine sources, or have come directly under the personal observation of the writer.

Until the advent of the Americans, the conditions which existed in the Philippines, outside of Manila, were truly mediæval in character. The Church and the State held joint authority; the sole duty of the people was obedience; of recognized rights, they had none. The towns were presided over by a municipal captain who received his orders from the provincial governor,

usually a soldier. The municipal captain was a native appointed, it would seem, on the recommendation of the curate, who was ordinarily a member of the regular clergy, or, as he was commonly termed, a friar. In later years, so-called elections were held, but the result was the same; the person selected by the friars was duly returned by the subservient voters, who comprised only the officials and property-owners of the town. The great mass of the people were dependent upon the proprietors, who were their feudal lords, they being obedient slaves.*

The real power in the eyes of the people was the friar, and he is charged with all manner of extortion and outrage. He is said to have been greedy of land and money, and to have lived in comparative splendor, at the expense of the people, in magnificent "convents," built for him by the forced labor and contributions of parishioners. He is charged with assuming the reins of civil government, while neglecting his proper duties of instructing the people, who were taught merely the formulas of the Roman Catholic Church and obedience to the priests.

General ignorance prevailed. Some learned the Spanish language, but ambition to study seems to have been repressed, and the reading of books not approved by the friars was, in practice, ground for deportation, the writing of them a capital offense. The way to a profession was made long and difficult; twelve years of study, at least, were required before a diploma would be granted which would enable a Filipino to practise a profession.

Since the opening of the Suez Canal, a few Filipinos, by favor, or as exiles, have been educated in Europe. Generally, however, the education of the people was discouraged.

For more than three centuries, these conditions obtained in the Islands, and a feeling of bitterness against the government at length arose, taking the form of opposition to the friars, and protests were made against their exactions; the power of the Church, however, was greater than that of Governors-General, and no heed was paid to the protests of the people.

The Tagals are, probably, the dominating tribe among the Philippine natives. Their home is the country around Manila and in the neighboring provinces. They have been, for this reason, brought more in contact with the Spaniards, and have

*The conditions existing in the Philippines from a native viewpoint may be studied in the novel, "Noli me Tangere," by Dr. José Rizal, a Filipino educated in Europe. The reading of this book was prohibited.

seen more of a civilization of which they had little part. It was natural that the contrast between Spaniards and natives should be noted there, that the discontent of the latter should be greater, and that there first should be found an organized opposition to their rulers.

It was in Manila, on the 7th of July, 1892, that the Katipunan Society of the Philippines was organized under the name of the "Supreme and Venerable Association of the Sons of the People," the word "katipunan" meaning association or society.

The founder and "soul of the society" was Andrés Bonifacio, an employee in a brick-yard. The purposes of the organization were stated to be the political, social and moral elevation of the Tagal race. The society grew rapidly in Manila and the Tagal provinces; and in July, 1896, the number of members was variously reported to be from 12,000 to 15,000. In the beginning, the formulas of Masonry were employed, but these were simplified to adapt them to the grade of intelligence of its members, who belonged to the lowest classes, and who are stated to have been "copyists, common soldiers, washermen, wood-gatherers, shoemakers and laborers"; the only person of education connected with the society was Dr. Pio Valensuela, who was initiated in 1895.*

When a new lodge was opened, a triangle was formed called "*Hasik,*" or seed plot; and an equilateral triangle and three K's were the distinctive symbols of the Society. There were three degrees; a simple cipher and secret signs were adopted. The initiation ceremonies were made solemn and terrifying, to impress the candidate and to test his valor. He was first questioned in a cabinet, and then introduced into a dimly lighted room, where, upon a table draped in black, were a human skull, a loaded revolver, a bolo, or short native sword, and a paper upon which were written questions which he was required to answer. After this, various other tests were applied, followed by the administering of the oath, which was signed with blood taken from the left forearm of the candidate, who was then declared a member of the lowest degree.

The Supreme Council consisted of a President, Secretary,

*Much information concerning the early history of the Katipunan may be found in "La Religión del Katipunan," Madrid, 1900, by Isabelo de los Reyes, a Filipino, whose work has been largely consulted in the foregoing account.

Syndic, Treasurer and six members. This Council and the presidents of local lodges formed the Assembly.

Twenty-five women were admitted, to quiet their suspicions of the nocturnal excursions of their husbands. They were told that the object of the society was simply mutual aid. The Katipunan did, in fact, aid its sick and bury its dead, paying the expenses of funerals, "but always at the lowest rates, so as not to enrich the priests." The moral objects of the society were the teaching of democratic ideas, and an opposition to religious fanaticism as expressed in the teaching of the friars, "who obscured rather than explained religious truths." The political objects were the securing for the Philippines the reforms granted to Cuba, and the limiting of the power of the friars.

Copies of the "Rights of Man," and a history of the French Revolution, as well as other works, including treatises on military tactics and on the manufacture of powder and dynamite, were circulated among the members.

A secret society of supposed Masonic tendencies and origin, which distributed incendiary literature, and which organized large numbers of the lowest elements of the native population into a coherent body in opposition to the existing government, could not fail to be obnoxious to the Spanish authorities. Efforts were made to suppress it, and the mark of initiation was ground for the imprisonment of the person bearing it.

This was the situation in 1896. Andrés Bonifacio was the President, elected on the 1st of January, and Emilio Aguinaldo presided over the lodge at Cavite. Aguinaldo was then twenty-six years of age, and municipal captain of Cavite Viejo. Having occasion to visit Cavite to receive the orders of the Provincial Governor, he learned that a list of the members of the Katipunan had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and that the priest at Cavite Viejo was endeavoring to cause his arrest. He hastened back to his town, and, with the aid of his lieutenants, called together the members, explained to them their danger, and with them took up arms against the Spaniards. This was on the 26th of August, 1896. Within five days, Aguinaldo and his adherents had taken possession of nearly every town in the province, surprising the small garrisons and securing their arms. The insurrection spread rapidly throughout the Tagal provinces, where the Katipunan had been established. Andrés Bonifacio was killed,

it is believed, at the instigation of Aguinaldo, and the latter assumed control of the society and of the forces in the field.*

The Spaniards sent a large force against the insurgents, and in eight months, or by May, 1897, had utterly routed them and driven their chief and a remnant of his forces to seek refuge in the mountains of the eastern coast. Here, after his defeat, and while a fugitive in the inaccessible fastnesses of wild and unknown mountains, Aguinaldo states that he proclaimed a Philippine Republic, and opened up negotiations with the Spanish Governor-General, Primo de Rivera. As a result, the "Treaty of Biak-na-Bató" was signed on the 14th of December, 1897, by the terms of which Aguinaldo and those who wished to follow him were "free to live on foreign soil," and were to receive $800,000 as "indemnity," the money to be delivered personally to Aguinaldo. All arms were to be delivered to the Spanish authorities, who were to place two Generals in Aguinaldo's hands as hostages for the delivery of the first installment ($400,000) of the indemnity. Aguinaldo also avers that by this treaty Rivera agreed to suppress religious orders in the Islands and to grant autonomy, though these provisions were not reduced to writing.

More than one thousand rifles were delivered to the Spanish authorities, and the first installment of the indemnity was turned over to Aguinaldo; the second was never paid. The insurrection was at an end; the *Te Deum* was sung in the churches and normal conditions prevailed throughout the Philippines.†

So began and ended the insurrection of 1896. It lasted about fourteen months, and the operations on both sides seem to have been conducted with great cruelty. The insurgents burnt and sacked churches and convents, and many friars were murdered. The insurrection "was begun without any definite political object" whatever,‡ but was merely a desperate and successful effort on the part of Aguinaldo and his fellow members of the Katipunan to escape imprisonment by the Spanish Government. It ended by the buying off of the leaders, as above stated, and the society which gave rise to it was, for the time being, suppressed.

*"I do not now care to inquire into the death of Andrés Bonifacio, for, in truth, I know nothing of the facts in the case, and I am glad of it, since, perhaps, all that might be said of it would be in derogation of one or the other of the two gigantic figures of our revolution." "Religión del Katipunan," p. 40.

†This account of the insurrection and the treaty is taken from the "Religión del Katipunan," and from the "Reseña Veridica de la Revolución Filipina," by Emilio Aguinaldo, Tarlac, 1899.

‡Circular addressed to Spaniards, Cavite, **June 30, 1898.**

On the outbreak of war between the United States and Spain, Aguinaldo and his exiled companions saw an opportunity by which they might secure a prize which hitherto had never entered their wildest dreams. Pending the outbreak of hostilities, they had been interviewed by the naval and civil officers of our government, for the purpose of securing information as to conditions then existing in the Philippines, and ascertaining whether the natives would be friendly or hostile to the Americans. With the enthusiasm of youth, they thought that they might perhaps get control of the Philippines; their imagination carried them still further, and they dreamed of a general Malay Empire, wherein all of that race should be subject to Tagals of Luzon.

As a first step, they decided, in a meeting held in Hong-Kong on May 4th, 1898, to aid the Americans, to secure arms from them, and then, if the Islands were not delivered to themselves, to use those arms to drive the Americans into the sea.

Aguinaldo accordingly returned to the Philippines, and landing at Cavite under American protection, proceeded to gather his adherents about him. Arms were furnished them, and they moved against the outlying Spanish garrisons, most of which surrendered after a slight resistance, for want of ammunition. On the 24th of May, Aguinaldo declared himself Dictator of the Islands, and on the 12th of June he proclaimed the independence of the Philippines.

The first troops from America arrived on June 30th; these were followed by others, and by August 1st the Americans numbered about 10,000 men. Manila surrendered to the forces of the United States on the 13th of August. Aguinaldo desired to loot the city, claiming that his troops were entitled to a share of the booty, but he was informed that the town would not be sacked, and compelled to move his troops outside its limits.

Pending the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, no move was made by the American troops. On January 4th, General Otis proclaimed the sovereignty of the United States over the Islands. On the 26th, Aguinaldo announced a Philippine Republic, with himself as President.

Since his arrival, he had worked unremittingly toward the accomplishment of the purposes and plans mapped out in Hong-Kong. At the suggestion of Sandico, the author of the plan to slay without mercy and spare no person of white skin in the

Philippines, the Katipunan was revived; Aguinaldo announced that all Filipinos were members of the society, whether they wished or not, and a new Katipunan was formed, whose objects were the expulsion of the Americans and the "liberty of the country." Its emissaries, backed by military force, were sent to all parts of the Islands. The natives, who but recently were enthusiastic in their reception of the Americans, were turned against them, the ready credulity of an ignorant people accepting without hesitancy the wildest tales of Yankee treachery, cruelty and savagery which were told them. Prominent men who declined to join the movement were put to death, "to encourage the others." It was announced that all who were not with the proposed insurrection were traitors and should die. The newly appointed presidents of towns were required to take an oath that they would never serve any but the government declared by Aguinaldo. Head men and proprietors who were forced or induced to join, initiated their people. By every means in their power, the leaders endeavored to cultivate a national sentiment. Some even proposed a national religion, Bathalism, an idealized form of the primitive religion of the Islands, and the worship of God under the ancient name of Bathala.

A numerous army was raised and equipped and every preparation made for attacking the Americans, who with their small force occupied Manila and the immediately surrounding country. Open hostilities were begun on February 4th, 1899. The self-restraint previously exercised by the American soldiery had been misunderstood by the Filipinos, who had taken it for a sign of fear; they were undeceived at the first battle, and were driven back at all points; in the brief campaign that followed, they were pushed as far as the small number of our troops would with safety allow. The necessity for the return of the volunteers, who had enlisted only for the war with Spain, prevented the immediate termination of the struggle, and much of the ground gained had to be relinquished in order to protect the vitally important positions about Manila. On the arrival of the new volunteers in October, 1899, active operations were at once resumed; the organized armies of the insurrection were speedily dispersed, and every inhabited part of the Islands occupied by our troops. Aguinaldo was a fugitive, hiding in the mountains of the north, and his so-called Government completely destroyed. The stake played for

by the Hong-Kong conspirators, who represented nobody but themselves, was evidently lost. To all reasoning men, the futile wickedness of continuing the struggle was apparent, but whether in the hope of making another profitable treaty with the Americans, or encouraged to a vain hope of ultimate success by the false assurances of their representatives, who were enjoying life in foreign capitals, and by the utterances of some people in America, with a childish inability to grasp the facts of the situation the native leaders determined upon a species of warfare which is denounced and outlawed by all civilized nations. The so-called guerrilla tactics adopted consisted mainly of assassination. Our soldiers were avoided. A few small and scattered bands remained under arms, more as personal guards for the chiefs and a means of terrorizing the natives than as effective units for the conduct of military operations. They hid in mountain retreats and in the recesses of the dense forests of the plains, attacking only when the chances were overwhelmingly in their favor. The great majority of the insurgents dispersed to their homes, hid their arms and resumed the appearance and pursuits of peaceful life in towns occupied by American troops. In a strictly military sense the war was over, but neither peace nor tranquillity had been restored. The insurrection continued, its forces being now directed, not against the Americans, but against the natives.

It has been stated that the Katipunan was revived, and that all Filipinos had been declared members of the fraternity whether they wished or not. The President of the society was also President of the so-called Republic, and the Captain-General of its armies. The Government and the Katipunan were practically one, and the symbols of the latter appeared on the seals and stamps of the former. Military operations had failed, the Government had fallen, and its armies were dispersed. The end now sought was to prevent the people from accepting the government of the United States, and the Katipunan was entrusted with this task. The Tagal leaders had, by this time, realized that they were too weak to accomplish alone the designs with which they had started out. In the first days of their power they had ruthlessly overridden the other tribes and had committed numerous outrages, murders and robberies upon them. The feeling of hostility against the Tagals had caused the Americans to be warmly

welcomed in many parts of the Islands. The Katipunan now appealed to all Filipinos, took for its motto the words, "Union, Equality and Fraternity," declaring that it took no regard of "pride of position and dialect, by which a person being rich sets himself above the poor, or being Tagal, above the Ilocano, Pangasinan, Visayano," etc. The tribes mentioned are those which had probably suffered most under the brief Tagal rule.

After American occupation was complete throughout the Archipelago, the Katipunan, aided by secrecy, by force and by the character of the people, spread throughout the country, pervading every town and hamlet, and striking terror into every native household. The people were forbidden, under pain of death, to accept any office under the Americans; or, accepting it, were compelled also to subscribe to an agreement to obey the orders of the Katipunan, or the military chiefs hiding in their neighborhood, and to collect contributions of money and supplies for them. Every town and province had its dual set of officers, those elected under the American laws, and the secret appointees of the Katipunan. Often the elections held under American auspices were controlled by the society and its agents elected to office. Over all floated the American flag, but the real power recognized and feared by the people was the Katipunan.

The oath of the society, sealed with the "pact of blood," required members to keep secrets of the society and to comply blindly with its laws. The laws punished with death those who failed to obey the orders of the chiefs or to give warning if the society were endangered, or those who should betray any of its secrets, or who declined to execute a punishment ordered. These were no idle threats, nor dead letter laws. The society was brotherly and benignant toward those who complied with its rules, but inexorable toward offenders, and halted not at the means of punishment. They spared neither sex nor age. Men who aided the Americans were murdered. Three native policemen of Laoag, for accepting such positions, were enticed to an adjoining town, bound hand and foot, dropped head foremost into a well and buried alive. Three women and an old man, falsely accused of being American spies, were cut to pieces with bolos, and buried still alive in an old well. A prominent Ilocano, accused of being friendly to the Americans, and eight of his companions, were shot near Puncan. A man of Taytay, accused

of "going to be an American spy," and his companion, were placed bound and kneeling beside their open grave, knocked into it with a bar of iron, and buried alive, one on top of the other as they fell. Five more were murdered in the same town for suspected friendliness to the Americans. That the people might see the results of disobedience, these murders were not infrequently committed in open day before numerous witnesses. Sometimes, tortures were added to make the lesson more impressive. This list of murders may be almost indefinitely multiplied. Friendly natives were slain by hundreds, perhaps thousands: no town probably but had its list of murders by the Katipunan. Usually, their work was done at night; the hidden arms were brought forth, and an armed band would seize its victim and execute the punishment. The natives dreaded the secret, swift and sure retribution which overtook those who expressed sympathy with the American cause, or were merely suspected of such sympathy. On every side flowed the blood of Katipunan victims; the natives, terror-stricken, huddled in the towns, but even there, under the very eyes of the military authorities, the vengeance of the society would seek out and follow those who had been marked for "punishment." Not only offenders against the society were amenable, but its "justice" threatened their families, parents, brothers, sisters and children. It was a reign of blood and terror.

It is difficult for one accustomed to the conditions which obtain in civilized America to understand how a people could allow themselves to be so dominated by such a society; how such a society, whose existence was manifest to outsiders only by murders, extortions, and robberies, could continue to exist.

Even in the United States, it is true, a secret organization may for a time terrorize the people. Many will recall the effect of the Ku-Klux Klan upon the negroes of the South; the terror spread by the Molly Maguires in Pennsylvania, or by the Mafia in Louisiana. These were harmless and innocent organizations compared with the Philippine society. The victims of the Katipunan have been exclusively natives; it has not sought to resist our military forces; it has not fought, nor have its members attempted or desired to fight at any risk to themselves. American military operations have been mostly confined to long tramps in search of an elusive foe hidden in mountain or forest, and

protected by a people afraid to give the slightest information concerning him.

An ignorant people, the Filipinos have been governed by soldiers or friars through their fears or their superstitions. A government of law is unknown to them. They obey those they fear most, and they know no other law. In each town were the military chief and the friar; under these were the municipal captains, and the head men or *"principalia."* To these the people rendered blind, unquestioning obedience. Neither man nor woman would marry, engage in service, or do any act out of the ordinary, without consulting and obtaining the consent of the head men. The laborers of a proprietor, often hundreds in number, were his obedient slaves. In some parts of the Islands, a tangible ground of opposition to the American sovereignty was that proprietors would lose their hold on their peons.*

The great majority of the people, the ordinary *"hombres,"* are but slightly removed from savagery. They are traditional liars; they lie freely and fluently whenever their interests or fears are involved, and usually when they are ignorant of the questioner's motives.† They are densely, almost inconceivably, ignorant. Felipe Agoncillo placed the number of Filipinos who can read and write at sixty-three per cent. of the population. It is possible that these figures might apply in Manila. In the provinces they most certainly do not. In a census of two towns, it was found that less than three per cent. could read and write Spanish; less than fourteen per cent. could read and write their own dialect. These towns were both in a Tagal province where opportunities were equal to or above the average. There is no Tagal literature. A few books of plays representing struggles between Christians and Moors have been translated by the friars. A knowledge of Spanish may be taken as a liberal measure of the culture of the people, although many who speak Spanish have never read a book in their lives. Many natives are so ignorant that they do not know their own names, their own ages, or the names of their parents.‡

*The writer knew of a case where for a debt of ten dollars in Mexican money, the man worked for the proprietor some years, and until his death. The man's son took the place of his father, and worked until he died. A daughter grew up to be eight years of age, when the proprietor thought she could be made useful, and called for her services also. Such service is practically for life.

†See "Religión del Katipunan," pp. 12 and 13.

‡"Many persons of both sexes and all classes not only did not know how to read and write, but they were ignorant of their surnames, their

Murder is scarcely regarded as a crime; familiarity with it has bred contempt. A native will frankly confess that he has killed so many men, but will plead that "he was ordered to do it." He will state that he murdered a man hostile to you or to your party solely to ingratiate himself in your favor. He will, with tears in his eyes, kill a member of his own family because ordered by the *Presidente* of the town so to do; he would kill his own child if required to do so by the *Presidente.* Another will squat beside a grave in which his companions are burying alive two of his fellow creatures, hear the muffled cries of the latter as the earth falls upon them growing fainter and fainter as its depth increases, and greedily devour meanwhile a mess of rice rejected by one of the victims of Katipunan "justice."* Such people are little above brutes, but of such is the bulk of the membership of the Katipunan, credulous recipients of its teachings, and mere unthinking instruments for the carrying out of whatever infamy may be directed by the leaders.†

Many of the leaders are ignorant men, scarcely a grade above their followers in intelligence or education, especially the local leaders of towns. Each of these is an irresponsible "chief," with absolute power of life or death, not only over his own members, but over any native upon whom he may see fit to visit the vengeance of the society, or his own. He must likewise execute, or cause to be executed, any order from authority higher than his own.

In every *barrio* are the agents of the society; the people are ever under the watchful eyes of its spies, quick to detect any act of hostility toward themselves, or of friendship toward the Americans. An accusation of either was equivalent to death, for there was no trial and no punishment but death.

It should be easy to imagine the effect of the Katipunan "punishments" on an ignorant and timorous people. For fear of their own lives they dare not refuse to obey Katipunan mandates; under compulsion, many have lent service as soldiers, and have contributed supplies and money to the insurgents; tongue-tied by

ages, the names of their fathers and mothers, and some could not tell their own surnames." Extract from address of Filipino councilman in January, 1901, advocating extension of the public school system.

*All the foregoing and many more are actual cases, of official record, in the Division of the Philippines.

†"From every point of view it is seen that the Katipunan is a terrible association for the very reason that it is composed of plebeian and ignorant people." "Religión del Katipunan," p. 37.

fear, they have not dared to denounce the perpetrators of crimes to the American authorities, for Katipunan vengeance is swift and certain. American justice is slow and tempered with mercy. It is far better to offend the Americans than the Katipunan.

Such has been the effective weapon of the insurgent leaders. By its aid an appearance of general hostility to America has been secured, which in point of fact by no means exists.

It may be granted that, in one sense, the motive of the society is patriotic, in that its stated object is the "liberty of the country"; but such methods cannot result in any real liberty. There are, perhaps, a few disinterested patriots in their ranks, but the leaders surely desire not liberty, but dominion—not freedom, but, for the masses, servitude. They desire not the day when Filipinos shall govern themselves, but that "in which Filipinos shall govern their Philippine children."* The writer has yet to meet a Filipino who understands what liberty is, as we know and understand liberty in America.

The power of the Katipunan is waning. When it falls, the insurrection will be at an end. The active military pursuit of its armed members, the legal trial and punishment of many for brutal murders and other crimes, the liberality of the American Government, which has granted to the Filipinos rights and privileges hitherto unknown to them, the high character of the work of the Philippine Commission, and the natural revolt against so dread an agency as the Katipunan, have all had effect in bringing thinking Filipinos to the American side.

In spite of encouragement from misguided American allies, and ill-considered resolutions of sympathy by the Legislatures of some American states, the inevitable result cannot long be postponed, and the bloody work of the Katipunan is nearing its end. When its dark shadow shall have passed from the land, the people may learn, in the sunlight of real freedom, that a government of law is liberty, and may fit themselves for the transfer of power, even now begun, from potentate to people.

L. W. V. KENNON.

*Address of Emilio Aguinaldo, Cavite Viejo, August 3d, 1898.

FORMER ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN GERMANY.

BY SIDNEY WHITMAN.

THE influence of England and English ideas has been a potent factor in Germany. Indeed, it were impossible within the space at my disposal to give more than a short summary, a bare reference to certain names and phases of thought, many of which might well, each by itself, form the theme of a separate work devoted to the subject.

The rise of the German Empire and its self-assertive, though strictly peaceful, character, have somewhat dimmed the memory of those times in which foreign, and particularly English, political influence was very powerful in that country. England and English policy played a great part in the affairs of Germany during the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century. England allied herself with Prussia during the Seven Years' War, in which the Landgrave of Hesse also took a share, not as an independent German potentate, but as the ally of England. In fact, so heavy was the hand of England in German affairs that the death of George the Second, and the consequent desertion of Frederick the Great by England, brought that monarch to the verge of ruin. From this he was only saved by the simultaneous change of Russia, till then his most powerful enemy, into a friend, in consequence of the death of the Empress Elizabeth and the accession to the Russian throne of Frederick's great admirer, the Emperor Peter the Third.

Few people realize to-day that, during a period of one hundred and twenty-three years (1714-1837), a good slice of North Germany—part of Prussia to-day—was, by virtue of the personal union of the Electorate of Hanover with the English Crown, as much a *dépendance* of Great Britain as any Swiss villa is the

dépendance of the principal hotel of the place. The business manager, as well as the proprietor, resided in the larger centre—London. In those days, the Hanoverian Ambassador in London was practically the ruler of a German sovereign principality. The interests of Hanover were naturally subordinated to those of Great Britain, whose wars and general policy became in due course those of her Continental dependency. That this state of things was sometimes fraught with inconvenient consequences to British home interests, and that the Hanoverian incubus was more often cursed than blessed in Parliament and Palace, may readily be believed. On the other hand, there can be no doubt about the ruinous results of this personal union to the Hanoverians themselves. Witness the disastrous campaign in the Netherlands (Battle of Hastenbeck, 1757), the ignominous Convention of Kloster Zeven; and, later on, during the Napoleonic War, the invasion of Hanover, French occupation, extortionate contributions—ending with the incorporation of the Electorate into Napoleon's creation, the Kingdom of Westphalia. However, even here it is only fair to assume that, had Hanover been totally disconnected with the British Crown, forming a purely German sovereign part of the shadowy German Empire, her lot would in all probability have been hardly more enviable. On the other hand, there was a certain sentimental satisfaction in belonging to a World-Empire, the victorious sway of which, during the reign of George the Second, embraced in the East the almost mythical plains of India, and in the West reached from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Virginia and the Mississippi.

But the political ascendancy of England on the Continent is seen in its most potent form during the closing scenes of the European coalition against the First Napoleon. At the Congress of Vienna, England and Russia had the last word in the division of the spoil of the victors. Owing to the dominant position of England, the fact that a large majority of the troops engaged, under Wellington, in the decisive battle of Waterloo, were not English, did not attract attention, and in course of time has entirely lapsed out of the memory of after generations.

In 1815, the English Prince Regent, in addition to being lord of Hanover, as guardian of the young Duke of Brunswick, whose father fell at Quatre-Bras, was virtual ruler of the Duchy of Brunswick as well. Nor must it be supposed that this dominant

position of England was resented as an intrusion; rather the contrary. Hitherto, the different, conflicting German interests had eagerly sought English support of their rival pretensions. And if such a state of things was not resented in days when poets still asked in vain whether there was such a thing as a German Fatherland, it is easy to understand that English statesmen, as well as the English people at large, were long accustomed to look upon Germany as little better than a big allied Protectorate, in which England had a dominating voice. No wonder that they found some difficulty in relinquishing this conception when, later on, German unity came to alter the dependent conditions of the past.

And if Germany to-day resents the slightest sign of English influence upon her political action, as an encroachment savoring of past tutelage, it is only fair to bear in mind that English statesmen have a record of tradition to look back upon which extends over a period four times longer than the existence of the present German Empire, and that during the whole of that time England was a *bona fide* and most influential German power. Also, in Germany itself, and notably in Hanover, there has always been a strong Anglophile party down to our own days. Even up to the year 1866, the officers' mess of a crack Hanoverian cavalry regiment, which shall be nameless, was proud of its affinity to similar bodies in England, and looked down with disdain upon the Spartan but dignified conditions of life which were customary in the Prussian service.

But England has exercised a further influence in Germany of a more subtle and lasting kind than that wielded in camp or cabinet. Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood first established physiology on a scientific basis in Germany. Sir Isaac Newton supplied the mathematical definition of the power which governs the relation of the celestial bodies, as laid down by Copernicus and Keppler. As the discoverer of the law of gravitation, he stood alone. The adverse decision of the English Royal Society on the claims of Leibnitz to priority over Newton in connection with the discovery of the differential calculus, embittered the last days of the German scientist's life.

The influence of the English Deists upon Rationalism in Germany is one of the most striking features of intellectual development in Europe during the eighteenth century. The conten-

tion of Hobbes, that the Church should have no share in shaping the political world, stiffened the backs of those Germans who were eager for emancipation from every form of clerical tutelage in the state. He, as well as John Locke, remained one of the most notable pillars of German empiric thought throughout *das Zeitalter der deutschen Aufklärung.*

About the time (1776-84) in which a German prince, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel—to his everlasting shame—was selling 22,000 of his subjects to England, to fight her battles in America, for a cash payment of 21,276,778 thalers* (over three million pounds, sterling), the Prussian Government was paying the travelling expenses of eager German students to go to Königsberg to hear Immanuel Kant discourse, *inter alia,* upon Newton, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Berkeley, and other eminent Englishmen.

The German University *cathedrae*—not only that of Königsberg—were deeply imbued with English thought, whilst almost all the German Courts, that of Frederick the Great included, were French in thought and diction, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was engaged in the nefarious cash transaction above referred to. England long remained to intellectual Germany much what Protestant Switzerland was to France, before the Revolution—a source of mental stimulation and instruction. Compared to this far-reaching English influence in Germany (and philosophy was but the concentrated, abstract form of far more widely distributed agencies), no foreign intellectual force of any kind, or of all kinds combined, has, ever since the Reformation, attained a similar footing in England. It is, possibly, this partiality for English thought which earned for Germany the doubtful distinction of being looked upon as the land of idealists and dreamers.

The extraordinary importance attached in Germany to English speculative thought is best exemplified by the fact that the works of the foremost English thinkers were translated and published in various centres of Germany during the whole of the eighteenth century.† Some of them before that period, such as

*After the battle of Jena, the then Elector of Hesse-Cassel, obliged to leave his country, intrusted the management of this large sum of money, which he had inherited from his father, to the care of the founder of the house of Rothschild in Frankfort-on-the-Main. When he came back in 1813, he made Rothschild a present of the interest which had accrued in the interval. Thus, a portion of this ill-gotten gain eventually found its way back to England, as part of the fortune of the Rothschild family.

†The relative significance of this wide permeation of English philosophic thought in Germany during the eighteenth century may be, perhaps, better understood when we remember that no complete uniform edition of Herbert

More, Hobbes, Locke and Newton, were current in the Latin tongue. For instance, over twenty distinct editions in Latin and German of Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" have been printed in different parts of Germany between 1518 and the present day. And, if translation was so general, it will readily be understood that German comment on English thought must have been voluminous and widespread in due proportion.

The universal appreciation of Shakespeare in Germany may be summed up in the words of Paul de St. Victor: *"L'Allemagne est Shakespearisée: pour employer un barbarisme de Emerson, 'Il l'a reflaite à son image.'"** The German treatises dealing with Shakespeare may be counted by the thousand. The study of his plays is as much a part of general education as that of any German playwriter; and passages from them are quoted in conversation by the educated with the familiarity due to a home classic.

By far the greater number of Shakespeare's works belong to the regular repertory of every German theatre of any standing. His bust or portrait or emblazoned name is to be seen wherever decorative work or monuments in connection with the Drama are to be met with. In other words, Shakespeare is one of the heroes of the Teuton world.

Translations of Milton's "Paradise Lost" were published in Zurich in 1732, in Brunswick in 1793, and again in 1823. Oliver Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield" appeared in Leipzig in 1776; Fielding's "Tom Jones" in 1786. Laurence Sterne's "Tristram Shandy" is cited by German writers in the latter part of the last century, as familiarly as we are accustomed to cite Horace. One of the most extraordinary instances of British literary influence in Germany is supplied by Macpherson's "Songs of Ossian." Not only did Herder and Goethe try their hand at its translation, but separate and distinct German translations of the book appeared in 1768, 1775, 1782, 1801, 1806 and 1808.

Coming nearer to our own time, we find a widespread familiarity with Byron, Keats and Shelley, Sir Walter Scott, Bulwer, and lastly Charles Dickens—some of whose books have become classics in Germany. The outbreak of the Franco-German War found Count Moltke deep in the study of "David Copperfield."

Spencer's works exists in England. A German friend of mine, whose wife recently wished to present such an edition to him, was obliged to order it from America.

*Les Deux Masques, Vol. III. Paul de St. Victor, Paris.

The poetical works of Shakespeare or Byron still attract the attention of German translators to-day. To cite some of the most recent instances: Herr Otto Gildemeister, a well-known German Shakespearian scholar and for many years a senator of the town of Bremen, has published a German translation of Byron's complete works, as well as a German rendering of Shakespeare's Sonnets. The late Friedrich Bodenstaedt, whose own original poetical works have passed through innumerable editions, also translated Shakespeare's Sonnets and a number of his plays. Shelley is still the theme of enthusiastic German biographers and translators at the present time.

But infinitely more interesting than the mere enumeration of the names of English authors who have been translated and read by millions of German readers during the last two centuries, is the influence which some of their writings have exercised over the greatest of German poets and dramatists. No nation and no period in the world's history has produced a group of men of such broad cosmopolitan and humanistic sympathies as Germany possessed in Herder, Lessing, Schiller and Goethe. These men were entirely free from national envy and bias. The plot of Lessing's first dramatic essay—the tragedy of Miss Sara Sampson —was drawn from an English source. The charming story of Goethe's courtship of Fredericke Brion is interspersed by frequent references to the "Vicar of Wakefield." His veneration for Shakespeare may be summed up in his own words, that the contemplation of the greatness of the English bard was enough to discourage him from any attempt to do original work of his own. Goethe's familiarity with and partiality for Byron and Sir Walter Scott is well known. Schiller, the greatest dramatic genius Germany has produced, translated "Macbeth" into German; also two of his own original dramatic works, "The Maid of Orleans" and "Maria Stuart," are taken from English history. German dramatists, down to the present time, have taken their subjects from English history and English life in many instances. This was before the present Emperor had bestowed his patronage on dramatic works dealing exclusively with the history and glorification of the House of Hohenzollern.

To turn to a wider survey, the Peace of 1815, as already indicated, had left England as an exceedingly influential, *bona fide* German power. The extraordinary success of Great Britain, both

as a colonial and naval power, her military prowess in Spain and finally at Waterloo, had lit up a halo round the very name of England in the mind of Germany, which had only just issued from the agony of a Napoleonic nightmare prolonged through an entire generation. If we add to the situation the traditions inherited from previous generations of British ascendancy in philosophy, science, and particularly in literature, it is scarcely surprising to learn that the English had come to be regarded by many people in Germany with feelings of exceptional deference. Hard-headed old Schopenhauer, notwithstanding his intense dislike for some English institutions, notably the English Church, was much impressed by the individual Englishman—the fellow-countryman of Locke and Hobbes, both of whom he devoutly venerated. Schopenhauer's North German, practical spirit also enabled him to appreciate the commercial, the money-getting, aptitude of England. If I am not greatly mistaken, the great pessimist philosopher once expressed himself to the effect that, if he had had his choice, he would have preferred to have been born an Englishman. Many Germans of less eminence and strong individuality were highly flattered if they were mistaken for Englishmen when travelling. This flattering *méprise* once occurred to Prince Bismarck, as he himself related to me. As a young man he was travelling in a French diligence on the northern road from Paris to Holland, and sat beside the driver. The latter suddenly apostrophised him thus: *"Il y a diablement de vos compatriotes en France à présent."*

"Comment donc, mes compatriotes?" replied Bismarck.

"Mais oui," rejoined the other. *"Vous êtes donc Anglais?"*

The sea-borne commerce of the world was nearly a monopoly in English hands; the seaport towns of North Germany—Lubeck, Bremen, Hamburg and Danzig—were principally visited by English ships, bringing the produce of England's colonies, as well as endless stores of high-priced, but invariably excellent, English home manufactures to German shores. In these German seaport towns more especially, all things English, no less than Englishmen individually, were eagerly welcomed and regarded as types of excellence. The era of the "cheap and nasty" had scarcely dawned. In other words, the recognition of England was a tribute paid to exceptional capacity and a high standard of character.

The English aristocracy, after having been cut off from personal contact with the Continent of Europe for the best part of a generation, made the grand tour in their luxurious carriages, the like of which were only to be found in the stables of royal personages in Germany. They were received with distinction at the different German Courts, where even the more middle-class element—the less imposing captain in the militia, for instance—was readily accepted as first cousin to an English peer. But, one and all, they created an impression of English affluence, were it only by the elaborate cut of their clothes, representative of the doubtful dignity of Wealth, wherever they passed through a country which was still plunged in poverty. It is probable that the German tradition of *"der reiche Engländer"*—one of whom is popularly represented to have killed a waiter and asked the host to put him down in the bill—owed its origin to those days when wealthy Englishmen scoured the Continent in search of pleasure and the excitement of travel.

However, the prestige of England in Germany was not to rest for long upon the glamour of wealth or the renown of past successful achievement, which is so often the case in connection with national reputation or so-called *prestige*. The supremacy of England was shortly to be brought home to the German nation in a manner even more striking than before by her prowess in arms, in diplomacy, in the Senate, in literature, science and abstract thought. English parliamentary institutions were tacitly accepted as models to be recognized as supreme, and devoutly to be envied, if not worshipped. The forensic efforts of a Pitt or a Fox excited unbounded admiration among the educated in Germany. English art, strange to say, although it had attained its highest development in Reynolds and Gainsborough, was unknown. Adam Smith's great work, "The Wealth of Nations," had already attracted the attention of the thinker; it had long been known that James Watt had solved the problem of utilizing steam power in manufacture—Stephenson had constructed his first locomotive in the year 1812. But it was only gradually that the practical results of all this epoch-making mass of British energy and ingenuity came home to the German nation at large, and impressed them even more with the all-round superiority of the Englishman. The triumph of English individualism, from the field of pure scientific research to that of practical mechanics,

engineering, etc., was complete. It produced an awe-inspiring effect—on a nation which even to-day bows down, sometimes extravagantly, to the academically trained and officially hall-marked doctor, professor and privy councillor—to witness the solution of great problems, in many instances by comparatively uneducated Englishmen who had risen from the humblest walks of life, which had baffled the learned of past generations in all Europe.

In order to understand the vast nature of English intellectual position and influence in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century, we need only glance again at the diversity of its character, and the number of channels through which, by means of the high state of efficiency and honesty of national education in Germany, it permeated the whole country through the twenty German Universities, the various scientific polytechnica, as well as the thousands of schools of the Fatherland. In almost every branch of human thought and effort, we find English names pre-eminent and impartially put before the German student and pupil in that light. To mention only the greatest: in physiology, Harvey and Jenner*; in physics, Newton, Faraday and Sir Humphry Davy; in philosophy, Locke, Hobbes, Hume and many others; in literature, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Sir Walter Scott; in political economy, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Mill; in mechanics, Watt and Stephenson. Surely, never in history has the youth of a nation been systematically trained to recognize with unstinted admiration so vast an embodiment of foreign excellence as an incentive to emulation. Nor has the world, perhaps, ever witnessed so widespread a movement, free from depreciating envy, in the honest pursuit of the highest standards of truth and human knowledge, regardless of the country from which they came. For it must be borne in mind that, although England was admittedly foremost, due recognition of the pioneers of thought in other countries has never been neglected in the German scholastic curriculum. But Germany had not yet become a political nation to the extent that national bias warps the vision to foreign excellence and degenerates into national conceit.

* The old story of the prophet and the difficulty of his acceptance in his own country is aptly illustrated in the case of Jenner, whose discovery of vaccination was hailed with enthusiasm in Germany. When he told a friend that he proposed to place the results of his experiments in vaccination before the Royal Society, the latter dissuaded him, and begged him not to jeopardize the reputation he had already gained by his great work on the cuckoo.

The effect of this general distribution of knowledge concerning the great part which England and Englishmen were playing in every walk of life, did not stop short at the threshold of school or college. The German nobility, engaged in agriculture, the career of arms and the service of the state in general, it is true, took comparatively little heed of England's great scientific and industrial progress. The aristocratic land owners on the shores of the Baltic and the German Ocean were well content to ship their produce to England at remunerative prices; and, at most, English political history and literature found diligent students among them. Thus we see Helmuth von Moltke, as a young officer, endeavoring to earn a little pocket money by the translation of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." On a summer day, young Bismarck could be seen basking in the sun at Schoenhausen reading "Hamlet." But, among the German middle classes, the desire became general to study and visit a country in which so much energy was successfully devoted to commerce and industry. Germans in every walk of life came to England with a desire to learn practical lessons from what they saw; and it is on record that there was much to see and to learn from factories, breweries, shipping yards, which were found to exist in England on a scale entirely unknown on the Continent. For, during the time in which the Germans had been engaged in war—that is, during the best part of the eighteenth century—England had shot ahead, and an entirely new class of people had come into being—the class of the great manufacturers. Germany's manufactures were still in the primitive stage of petty, so-called house industry, whereas England had already a century of industrial production on a large scale to her credit. This advantage was, naturally, visible everywhere and in everything. English railways, engineering enterprise, as well as post-office organization, were in a far more advanced and efficient state in those days than elsewhere. German visitors saw and noted all this. In fact, there can be no doubt that this close study of industrial England, as well as the emulation which it called forth, were powerful incentives toward the later developments of German production. The close study of English methods had also another and scarcely sufficiently known result, and this was its influence on German political thought and its share in the formation of the German Liberal party. The English were ahead of

the Germans in everything. English individualism—reflected in politics as well as elsewhere—was the subject of general admiration. English methods were the only ones which could possibly show Germany the way to success. In politics, this admiration of English methods in due course produced a school of Patent-Medicine men—eager for blind imitation; whereas, in every other domain, the study of English effort stimulated to excel and has tended toward emulation and improvement. England has been the source of inspiration, the parent of much German original work in our time.

The year 1848, with its political upheavals all over Europe, only tended to throw into yet stronger relief the generally accepted superiority of English methods—notably the political stability of the English institution of constitutional monarchy and parliamentary government, which the liberal elements of half Europe vociferously demanded for themselves. German princes were obliged to capitulate to the mob or fly for their lives. The Continent was ablaze with revolution, at the very time when Queen Victoria was being cheered to the echo by an enthusiastic crowd in front of Buckingham Palace. It was on such an occasion that Prince William of Prussia—afterward German Emperor, but at that time a vilified refugee from his own country—stood by the side of the Queen. Although unable to forget his own deplorable position, he heartily congratulated her on this outburst of loyalty. And it is said that Her Majesty, in her endeavor to console her guest, prophetically replied that he too would live to be acclaimed some day in a similar manner by the German people.

This scene may well mark the apogee of England's ascendancy over Germany. It marks, too, the lowest ebb in the story of Germany's political humiliation.

SIDNEY WHITMAN.

THE SIMPLE LOGIC OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY W. D. McCRACKAN, OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

"At that time Jesus answered and said; I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes."

Matt. xi., 25.

THE writer of an article on Christian Science in the July number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, after describing certain qualifications which he possesses for writing upon the subject, adds the following words:

"If, therefore, I am without some measure of understanding of the personal equation and of the theory and practice of Christian Science, want of opportunity cannot be pleaded in my defense, should injustice be done here in the treatment of the founder and the foundations and what has been built thereon."

Christian Scientists have been accustomed, for several years past, to see the signature of this writer affixed to various articles about Christian Science. They have not attributed the injustice which he has done to the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science and to Christian Science itself, in those articles, to "want of opportunity" on his part; but they have been conscious that he has always approached the subject in a purely critical vein, and that for this reason he has always missed the real significance of Christian Science, and has constantly remained "without some measure of understanding" of his subject. While he has written a great deal *about* Christian Science, he has never been able to write of Christian Science itself.

The door of spiritual understanding will open only to those who knock, and they who are not thirsty cannot drink. If the learned writer sees an "absurd paradox" in Christian Science, it is because he has attempted to understand a spiritual truth through the so-called wisdom of this world. Paul warned the Corinthians against this mistake when he wrote:

"But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of

God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."

But it is not only the manner of the writer's approach which militates against his ability to treat of Christian Science. He has not demonstrated the Science which he attempts to criticise. He has never practised Christian Science. He cannot reform the sinner or heal the sick through Christian Science. From this standpoint, many a Christian Science child, which has learned to use its slight understanding of God, in order to heal its own bruises, or those of its playmates, is better fitted to speak of Christian Science with authority than this learned theologian. At the age of twelve, the young boy Jesus was so far advanced that he astonished the doctors in the temple.

When the writer in the July number has obtained more than a merely theoretical knowledge of Christian Science, so that he can reform the sinner and heal the sick by its methods, then I have no doubt he will be glad to write another article setting forth its marvellous results. These words are not, in any sense, intended to question the sincerity of the writer of the July article. On the contrary, no one could have pursued the subject for years, as he has, without being moved by a distinct purpose. The lack of a proper understanding of the subject is all that is charged against him, due to his purely critical attitude and to his want of practical experience. And because his spirit of sincerity is not questioned, I will take pains, later in this article, to point out in detail wherein the distinguished theologian has done an injustice to his subject, both in his quotations from the Bible and from "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures," as well as in the deductions which he has drawn from these quotations.

For the present, I beg to set over against the concept of an "absurd paradox," which he professes to see in Christian Science, the statement that Christian Science is deduced by simple logic from a proper comprehension of the nature of God and man, as revealed in the Scriptures. Step by step the conclusions unravel themselves, inevitably and securely, from established premises. The following is a portion of the excellent definition of Christian Science contained in the Standard Dictionary:

"Christian Science is based on the teachings of Scripture, which it interprets, giving the Christ principle and rule, in Divine metaphysics, which heals the sick and sinner. It explains all cause and effect as mental, and shows the scientific relation of man to God."

All men have deeply implanted in their nature a faith in some first Cause, or some controlling Power. This is what the deist calls God. Now, it has been the misfortune of many orthodox Christian denominations that they have allowed an illogical concept of this God to survive among them. God has been represented as Infinite, Ever-present and Perfect, and yet subject to limitations of outline and form, and in some cases He has even been made capable of anger and hate. In other words, a man-made God has been manufactured to satisfy a limited, human concept. But when all is said and done, what definition of God will alone satisfy the demands of Infinity, Ever-presence and Perfection? Is there any concept except that of Spirit, or Mind, which fulfills these requirements?

Christian Science, then, teaches that God is Spirit, or Mind. But if God is infinite and perfect, He must also be Infinite Good, and this Infinite Good is what we term Love. The idea of a God knowing good and evil, capable of love and hate, rewarding and punishing His children at will, gives place in Christian Science to a new concept. "God is divine Principle, supreme incorporeal Being, Mind, Spirit, Soul, Life, Truth, Love."*

If God is Spirit, and He made man in His image and likeness, then man must be spiritual, and must reflect God's nature, as the creature reflects the Creator. Everything, therefore, which seems unlike God, or Good, in man must be the result of some false belief, and cannot form a part of the real and indestructible Creation.

The teachings of Christian Science concerning matter and its discordant manifestations in disease are easily distorted by careless critics. Even sincere searchers may misinterpret them unintentionally. Christian Scientists in their attitude towards matter keep abreast of the foremost natural scientists of the day, who have declared that matter can no longer be defined satisfactorily except in terms of mind.

Professor Huxley writes:

"After all, what do we know of this terrible matter except as the name for the unknown hypothetical cause of states of our own consciousness."

Grant Allen, the well-known author, in the course of an article on the late Professor Tyndall, thus speaks of matter:

*"Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures," by Mary Baker G. Eddy, page 461.

"The charge of materialism could only be brought against such a man by those abject materialists who have never had a glimpse of the profounder fact, that the universe, as known to us, consists wholly of Mind, and that matter is a doubtful and uncertain inference of the human intelligence."

Professor Wilhelm Müller, the German scientist, said in a recent article:

"The study of chemical combinations led to the establishment of the atomistic theory. The latter is, undoubtedly, ingenious and apparently perfectly logical, but, if we follow it out in its consequences, we soon find ourselves in a dilemma. If the atom is indivisible, it cannot occupy any space, for everything that fills space, no matter how small, can be thought divisible, and must be divisible *ad infinitum*. But, on the other hand, if the atom is really indivisible and does, therefore, occupy no space, it can never be a part, however small, of matter. 0 plus 0 plus 0 plus 0 . . . to infinity would always be equal to 0. The total is equal to the sum of its components. Inasmuch as the total, in this case matter, occupies space, that equality must essentially pertain to every part, however small, of the whole. The logical deduction would be that matter is composed of parts which are not matter, a theory which is obviously unsound."

The view which Christian Scientists take of disease may well be illustrated by the relation which darkness holds to light, or black to the various colors. Darkness is not an entity or a reality, but merely the absence of light; black is not a color, but rather the negation of all color. So disease is viewed in Christian Science as the absence or negation of health, and not as a positive quantity. This is far from calling disease imaginary, for it is just as real as any negation can be. Humanly speaking, disease is distressingly real while it lasts; but when it is entirely gone, destroyed, by whatever means, where is its reality? It might be termed, paradoxically, a temporary reality; but, in point of fact, the real is the eternal and indestructible, and disease certainly does not belong to such a category.

Viewed merely as a therapeutic agent, Christian Science goes one step beyond homeopathy. The latter, in its high potency phase, administers medicine, in which the drug can no longer be detected, even by the subtlest chemical test. As a foremost homeopathic physician once said of such medicines: "There is nothing left but mind."

Now, Christian Science heals by an understanding of Mind—not of the human mind, which modern psychologists have laid bare with such pitiless perseverance—but of the One Mind, or Spirit, which is God. The results are truly marvellous. There

is hardly a known disease which has not yielded to the blessed realization which comes from knowing God, even a little. Herein lies the justification for the title of Christian Science, that it is Christian because it explains the life and works of Christ; and it is scientific, because it produces definite, ascertainable results; and those who attempt to prevent the sick, who cannot find help in any material remedy, from coming to Christian Science are taking a very great responsibility upon themselves.

There is no "absurd paradox" in Christian Science. It starts with Spirit; it holds to Spirit, and ends with Spirit. God and man and the universe are thereby linked together in a logical chain of reasoning. An "absurd paradox," however, does appear in the views concerning God and man and the universe, of which the writer of the July article is a representative. How is it possible to understand logically a God who is Infinite, and yet admits the presence of His opposite, evil? For the term Infinite means All, and there can be nothing more than All. If God is Infinite, and is harmonious, how is it possible to admit the presence of discord, or disease?

The writer of the July article, instead of placing the concept of an "absurd paradox" upon Christian Science, must first explain the "absurd paradox" in his own views. He cannot do this. There is no way out of the dilemma in which he finds himself, except through a realization of the essential unreality of evil and of disease, as taught in Christian Science. Either God knows and permits evil, in which case He cannot be Infinite Good; or He knows no evil, and every concept which falls under that head must be outside of His creation. But God created all things; therefore, if evil exists, God, Infinite Good, must have created it. Is the writer of the July number willing to hold God responsible for all the evil, disease, suffering and crime to which mortals believe themselves to be subject?

Christian Science offers the only logical explanation of the nature of evil which the world has had presented to it since the days of Jesus and his disciples. It uncovers the mystery of evil. Evil is not part of God's Creation. It is illusion and delusion—nothingness—outlawed by common sense. It is a lie, to be branded as such. It is no more real than the horizon line on the sea, which seems to be and is not, and which a traveller might pursue around the earth forever, and never find.

This brief exposition of the logical structure of Christian Science, though inadequate as an explanation of its teachings, will suffice to prepare the reader to see wherein the criticisms of the writer of the July article lack foundation.

Some of the writer's remarks seem to be directed against supposed assertions which are not stated. For instance, it is not clear what authority the writer has for saying that the verse on the fly leaf of "Science and Health" is a "characterization of the Infinite Ego;" no such explanation accompanies the text, but even if this interpretation be correct, he does not tell us what conclusions he draws therefrom.

A quotation from Mrs. Eddy's writings, which he designates as drawn from "elsewhere," is an incorrect rendering from "Miscellaneous Writings," pp. 361-2. Here the word "elucidates" has been changed to "eliminates"—totally changing the sense of Mrs. Eddy's words. Owing to a certain similarity in the appearance of these printed words, and to the fact that they contain the same number of letters, I think this mistake must be ascribed to a typographical error.

The statement that "Mrs. Eddy acts as if she had no peculiar theory of God, man and the universe," is true, in the sense that her theory is as old as Christianity, and her actions are in conformity therewith.

The writer's references to certain souvenir spoons and the supposed "profits" derived from them is on a par with some of the more gossipy insinuations which he has allowed himself to retail in times past. The actual facts concerning these souvenir spoons have been repeatedly stated in the press, and it is to be hoped that the learned divine has now written his last references to them. Upon the request of a citizen of Concord, N. H., and for his benefit solely, Mrs. Eddy gave permission to have her head engraved upon some souvenir spoons. She even recommended her students to buy them, in order to assist the citizen in question, but she herself has never received a cent from the sale of them.

In quoting from page 31 of Mrs. Eddy's work, entitled "No and Yes," the writer of the July article makes an entirely unwarranted insertion of his own into the body of the text, which is calculated to prejudice and deceive the minds of readers. He introduces the name of "Science and Health" after "the Word of

Truth," in such a way as to give the impression that Mrs. Eddy considers these two expressions synonymous. It is evident to any sincere student of Mrs. Eddy's works that she considers the Scriptures to be the Word of Truth, and "Science and Health" merely a "Key to the Scriptures," as its full title indicates.

The critic expresses his inability to understand that matter cannot suffer in and of itself, and yet it is easy to show that all sensation is mental. Surely, no one claims that inorganic matter suffers; then why believe that so-called organic matter does? What is it which distinguishes organic from inorganic matter, except the presence of mind in the first, and its absence in the second? It follows, then, that it is mind, the human, mortal mind, which suffers, and not matter at all; and this mortal mind is not "a species of trick," as the critic implies, but is the same as the carnal mind, spoken of by St. Paul, when he wrote:

> "The carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be."

The five physical senses all have a mental origin, according to the testimony of the natural scientists themselves. There is nothing more puzzling to investigators in the whole field of research than the process by which man sees, hears, touches, tastes and smells. The investigator can examine the material mechanisms which seem to perform these functions; he can trace the optic nerves, auditory nerves, olfactory nerves, and the nerves that seem to feel and taste, on their way to the brain; and, just as he thinks he has solved the riddle, he finds himself face to face with an imponderable, immaterial something, which defies his material instruments, something which he calls mind. It baffles his own five physical senses, and yet he knows that it is in control of matter. He locates this mind in the brain. So popular belief places the soul in the organ called the heart; although the Chinese, who wrote treatises on the soul before our ancestors knew how to read and write, place the soul in the liver.

When rightly understood, "Science and Health" agrees with and interprets the Bible, and thus proves to be a veritable "Key to the Scriptures." It has been singularly successful in this task. The heart of the critic would rejoice if he could talk personally with many of the men and women who have become enthusiastic and regular Bible readers through the study of "Science and Health;" they are people who had once searched the Scriptures

in vain for an explanation of the problem of Being, or were indifferent to the Word of God, or even directly hostile to it.

Speaking before the Episcopal Congress in Providence last November, the Rev. E. Winchester Donald, successor to Phillips Brooks as rector of Trinity Church in Boston, said:

"Is Christian Science leading men out of the darkness of unbelief into the light of God? Yes, it is, it is; there can be no doubt about that. You and I know too many Christian Scientists whose lives are blameless, to doubt that."

More recently still, the Rev. Percy S. Grant, rector of the Church of the Ascension in New York, wrote:

"I wish every church member were as spiritually alive, and willing to sacrifice as much for their principles and for their soul development, as are many of the Christian Scientists I know of. It is spiritual life. Every church member ought to practise Christian Science. The more Christian Scientists that I can have in my church, the better I shall like it. When I meet a Christian Scientist, I find a person who is religiously alive and striving after spiritual advancement."

The critic's numerous quotations from the Old Testament, to show that the Hebrews had a system of sanitation and suffered from various diseases, and even his references to medicine, used in a figurative sense, do not carry conviction, for Christian Science is not Judaism, but Christianity. The Master himself never taught sanitation. He healed through Mind, and showed that man was not dependent upon material remedies, and he did this so effectually that he closed the era of fleshly sacrifices for the remission of sins. It was he who said:

"Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on."

Jesus was progressive. He was radical in his teachings. But even taking the events of the Old Testament into consideration, as marking the gradual advance of the Hebrews from materialism to a clearer realization of spirituality, the arguments in favor of healing through Mind instead of matter abound. Many cases of healing without material remedies are recorded from Genesis to Malachi.

Moreover, in place of the writer's enumeration of the mortal, material beliefs of the Hebrews, let me call the attention of the reader to the marvellous prophecy of Isaiah:

"The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them."

This verse, and the succeeding ones, clearly show that Isaiah

looked for a time when the ferocity of wild beasts and the poison of venomous serpents would be proved unreal.

Surely, the writer of the July article, if he interprets the Scriptures in a mere material sense, would not take upon himself the responsibility of giving the advice which he quotes from Proverbs: "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy heart. Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." Many men have followed this advice materially with sad results. But if the word "wine" be used in its spiritual sense of "inspiration," the case is different. Nor can the fact that Jesus uses the words "physician" and "sick" be taken as proving either that he believed in using drugs, or that he acknowledged sickness to be anything more than a false concept of the human mind. He was called the Great Physician, and yet he never used a single drug. On the contrary, his knowledge that sickness was mental is amply proved by his treatment of the man sick of the palsy. He said to him first: "Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee." That was the real healing of the man; then followed the after-effect, the material manifestation of the spiritual regeneration, when Jesus said: "Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house."

Paul's prescription to Timothy, of "a little wine for his stomach's sake," seems to have been a concession to material methods, but it was not in conformity with the practice or the advice of Jesus, and here again I question whether the learned divine would repeat the advice. Moreover, what authority has he for affirming that "wherever illness was mentioned by Christ or any of His Apostles, it was spoken of as a reality." Nowhere is this stated explicitly. If illness was a reality then, and is a reality now, and was the work of God, and therefore part of His Creation, what right had Christ or any of His Apostles to destroy it?

When the critic takes exception to the payments made to Christian Scientists for their services, he places himself in a curious position. I have no desire to be in the least personal in refuting his misrepresentations, but the question naturally obtrudes itself as to whether the learned divine would consider it wrong to receive a stipend for his own ministrations? As a matter of fact, both the clergy and the medical profession accept pay-

ment for their services, and rightly, too; then why should not Christian Scientists, who combine in a measure the avocations of both? Jesus and the Apostles did not charge a fee, it is true, for that was not in accordance with the custom of the time and country in which they lived. They accepted hospitality, however; they were provided with board and lodging, and Jesus said expressly that "the laborer is worthy of his hire," and enjoined the Apostles not to carry purse or scrip, implying that they were to live from the grateful gifts of those whom they healed physically and mentally. It is not so long since the country schoolmasters of our pioneer States taught without money payments, but were "kept" by the families of the pupils.

Furthermore, no service can be said to be a strictly complete action until it has produced a corresponding sense of gratitude; and this sense will naturally express itself in material things among men, who are still subject to material beliefs. As a matter of practical experience, giving without receiving tends to pauperize the recipient, as all those who have any experience in charity work have long since discovered. No one, therefore, need cavil at the small remuneration given to Christian Scientists for their work. Patients are often helped who pay nothing at all, or only a mere trifle. But, when all is said and done, no adequate money return can ever be made for the glorious spiritual awakening, and the freedom from fleshly ills, which mark the true healing in Christian Science. Such blessings are beyond price, and this is the tenor of the testimonies of all those who have been thus healed.

So, too, when the critic quotes Jesus' command to the seventy, "Heal the sick," another question arises spontaneously, and that is: Why do not all Christians obey this explicit command of Jesus? Jesus' injunction was for all his followers and for all time. If humble Christians who make no claims to great learning are able to heal the physically sick, what excuse can learned divines have for disobeying the Master's command?

According to my comprehension, when Jesus said to his disciples, "Handle me and see, a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have," he was not arguing for the reality of matter, but he was rather rebuking them for their belief in spirits or apparitions.

Far from disparaging "faith," or calling it antagonistic to

"understanding," Mrs. Eddy shows conclusively in her writings the necessity for faith as a stepping stone toward a higher understanding. It is mere blind belief, unsustained by any understanding of the Truth, which Mrs. Eddy declares to be insufficient. Moreover, she deprecates petitioning an All-knowing God for special favors. In Christian Science, prayer rises beyond mere asking, into a realm of realization where God's omnipotence and omnipresence are not questioned. The warning of James must not be disregarded: "Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss."

It is perfectly true that Christ never suffered on the cross and never died; but Jesus did. Christian Science makes a vital distinction between the man Jesus and his title of the Christ. Mrs. Eddy writes:

"The word *Christ* is not properly a synonym for Jesus, though it is commonly so used. Jesus was a human name, which belonged to him in common with other Hebrew boys and men—for it is identical with the name of Joshua, the renowned Hebrew leader. On the other hand, Christ is not a name so much as a title, and belongs to our Master exclusively. Christ expresses God's spiritual, eternal idea. The name is synonymous with Messiah, and alludes to the spirituality which was taught, illustrated and demonstrated in the Life whereof Christ Jesus was the embodiment. The proper name of our Master, in the Greek, was Jesus the Christ; but Christ Jesus better signifies the God like."*

This distinction has helped many a Christian Scientist to understand the Incarnation and the Resurrection.

It is generally conceded that the cures effected by Christian Science are not always instantaneous; and that many of the surgical cases have been turned over to surgeons. But this does not prove that the cures in Christian Science differ in quality from those performed by Jesus and his disciples. Christian Scientists are only beginners in this wonderful work; they have barely entered upon their demonstrations of the healing power of Mind, and they are still learning their A B C at the feet of the Master. They will accomplish better results later on. It may be of interest to recall, in this connection, the fact that even Jesus was not able to do many mighty works in his own country, "because of their unbelief," and that his healing of the blind man of Bethsaida, as related in Mark 8, 22-27, was not instantaneous, but gradual; for, after Jesus had put his hands upon the man for the first time, the latter only saw dimly, and said, "I see men

*"Science and Health," p. 228.

as trees walking." It was not until Jesus had put his hands again upon his eyes that he "saw every man clearly." Nor is there any Biblical authority for saying, as our critic does, that the disciples "lost no patients," or that "those whom they healed suffered no relapses." There was no record kept of these cases, as far as we know.

Whatever Mrs. Eddy has written concerning the effects of diet and dirt can be readily proved to be correct by actual experience, and the truth of her teachings is being demonstrated daily by hundreds of thousands. It is the beliefs which accompany our eating, drinking and bathing which make these acts beneficial or otherwise to health. Concerning exercise, I find Mrs. Eddy's words wonderfully corroborated in I. Timothy 4, 8, where Paul writes:

> "For bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

All of these criticisms, on the part of the writer of the July article, result from a grossly materialistic view of Man. If Man is, indeed, a piece of matter-mechanism, then the critic's objections are valid enough, but when Man is understood to be made in the image and likeness of Spirit, and to be a spiritual or mental being, all seeming opposition to Christian Science vanishes in an understanding of its blessed truth.

As for the accuracy of the testimonies offered by those who have been healed by Christian Science, I need only say that these testimonies depend almost invariably upon the reports of physicians. The patients themselves have no professional knowledge of their own diseases. If, therefore, "the number and diversity of diseases from which those whom they heal were suffering" seem great to the critic, he must recognize from this fact how far-reaching the results of Christian Science have really become.

No person of average intelligence any longer denies that cures are performed by Christian Science. In a recent article, T. J. Hudson, the psychologist, gives it as his opinion that Christian Scientists "have healed the sick by hundreds of thousands," and "have poured the balm of religious consolation into many a stricken heart."

Professor G. T. Ladd, of Yale University, testifies to the same fact in another article. He asks himself the question con-

cerning Christian Scientists: "Do they not perform cures? Undoubtedly they do."

The use of the word "incantations" is calculated to deceive. Christian Science treatments are no more incantations than are the prayers of any devout Christian. The critic does not state upon what diseases Christian Scientists show the same inability "to exert the least influence" "which Mormons, anti-medicine faith-healers, spiritualists and occult healers of all kinds encounter." Christian Science has already healed virtually every disease known to the medical profession, but if there are any more to be encountered, I have no doubt that Christian Science will overcome them also.

The failures of Christian Scientists are relatively rare. A very high percentage of cures is effected. While the failures of *materia medica* fill the obituary columns of our newspapers, without attracting any attention, a single failure to apply Christian Science successfully is exploited by sensational methods of all kinds. As a matter of fact, the great majority of failures ascribed to Christian Science in the press have no connection whatever with Christian Science itself. Most of them can be traced to the practices of people who are not Christian Scientists, but who do not employ medical aid for various reasons.

The attitude of Christian Scientists toward the medical profession is one of kindliness and appreciation. The physicians are rapidly growing further away from drugs, and are paying increased attention to mental symptoms. Their self-sacrifice and devotion is gratefully recognized.

Those who carelessly criticise Christian Science would find it hard to account for the fact, that more than a million sensible, sober, and successful men and women, all over the world, hold to it in loving devotion. There are no sermons preached in Christian Science Churches to attract crowds, and nobody is obliged to frequent them. If the denomination is growing with amazing rapidity, it is because it gives those who come to it a wonderful return for their faith.

One of the chief merits of Christian Science is the manner in which it clears away the occultism or mysticism which is commonly supposed to pervade spiritual matters. Christian Scientists are not trifling with contagious diseases, but are law-abiding citizens, and the burden of proof lies with those who

assert the contrary, to show where a single person has been infected by carelessness on the part of Christian Scientists. They are as scrupulous toward other people's beliefs, as they would have others be toward their own faith. Health is a thousandfold more contagious than disease, and it is hazarding nothing to say that the many groups of Christian Scientists throughout this country and Europe are centres of a new health-giving influence. For all this, the world is indebted to Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy, and all fair-minded persons rejoice to hear that her comfortable, though moderate, fortune is but the well-earned wage of a hard-working woman.

The writer of the July article has been pursuing for years a false fabrication of his own making, which he has called Christian Science. And while he has been busy with the false, the real Christian Science has been growing to noble proportions at his side, unperceived. It cannot be fully apprehended by the human, mortal mind. Mortal mind is limited by its very nature. It thinks of man only as a mortal, included between birth and death. It can know nothing of an immortal Being—of Spirit. The life of Jesus is foolishness to mortal mind; it understands neither his conception, nor his healing of sin and sickness, nor his conquest over death, nor his resurrection and ascension. But Christian Science, the Science of Christ, proclaims that sin, sickness and death are not real; that righteousness, health and Eternal Life are real; that the Truth is Good, not evil; that it is Light, not darkness; Principle, not accident; Mind, not matter. Whoever relies exclusively upon what is known as the intellectual faculty, which is only another name for mortal mind, will be disappointed and deceived. Pride of intellect is often a stumbling block. We must become like little children, as single-minded, open-minded, and pure-minded as they, and as trustful of our Heavenly Father as they.

History repeats itself. We read of Jesus that "the common people heard him gladly." To-day the common people, those who are not weighed down with the pride of profession or of place, are once more listening gladly to his Gospel, to Christian Science, which is the Science of his life and teachings.

Jesus said: "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another."

W. D. McCrackan.

LIFE IN THE SEA.

BY CHARLES MINOR BLACKFORD, JR., M. D.

SHOULD some observant savage be placed where, at one glance, he might take in the luxuriant growth of a tropical forest and the restless sweep of the ocean, it is likely that the contrast between the teeming life of the one and the apparent desolation of the other would produce a profound impression on his mind, and that he would wonder that each inch of earth, every ray of sunlight, should be fought for on land while the great expanse of the sea lies vacant and idle. He would watch the gaily decked birds flit from branch to branch, the iridescent gleams from serpents as they glide through leafy coverts, or the gorgeous coloring of butterflies that flash through the dense shade of the jungle, and he would doubtless deride the suggestion that the sullen waters could vie with earth either in numbers or in the tints and shades of its inhabitants. The dark waves seem a fitting abode only for strange, mis-shapen monsters.

Such was the opinion that prevailed for centuries; and it has been only in recent years that it has undergone a change. Startling as it may appear, it is none the less true that in regard to population the land deserves the reproach of barrenness rather than the sea, for the latter contains a flora and fauna of a richness that the land cannot rival. To suit peculiar conditions of environment, marine organisms, like their terrestrial relatives, undergo many modifications of shape and function, and cause the natural history of the sea to be as replete with interest, and to present as wide a range for study, as that of earth and air. At first glance, such would not seem to be the case, for the conditions of marine life are apparently extremely uniform; but closer study shows that the uniformity is superficial, and the most trifling ex-

amination reveals differences in genera, in species and in individuals that are bewildering in their numbers.

In the light of our present knowledge, it seems probable that life on our earth originated in the sea, when and how we know not. Weismann* states it succinctly when he says: "The sea is the birthplace of all animal and plant life; from it animals and plants have spread themselves on the land and into the fresh waters." The condition of the sea at the early period at which life appeared gives strength to this supposition. The vast body of tepid water rolled its sluggish waves under masses of cloud, and in the same water, rich with the washings of the land, life came into being. It was a very low grade of life, merely a mass of jelly-like protoplasm, but it possessed the power of producing young and of undergoing changes that fitted it for higher things than simple existence. In time, organisms came about that were better adapted to securing food than certain others, or that were stronger and so captured and devoured the weaker species. As the seas grew more crowded, the struggle for food became more and more bitter, till the feebler forms of life were in danger of extermination unless they could find a refuge. These asylums were ready, but the fugitives had to undergo some changes before the promised safety was attainable. They probably advanced into the fresh water by slow degrees, each generation being forced further from the ocean by the struggle for food; but being freed from many natural enemies, the increase in numbers went on rapidly, until the weaker again became the prey of the stronger, and the bitter fight for existence became as keen as before. The scale, however, is smaller, and the rivers are still safer than the open sea for many organisms. For this reason, the shad, salmon and some other sea fish seek the upper reaches of the streams as a spawning ground, so that their young may attain a fair degree of maturity before being exposed to the numberless dangers that beset them in the ocean. The young fry have difficulties to overcome that suffice to eliminate the weaklings and teach the survivors to care for themselves; but it is more than likely that, in the migration of the spawning fish, we have but the repetition of the flight that populated our streams.

Another retreat was the bottom of the sea, and this was sought

* "*Das Thierleben im Bodensee.*" S. 5, Lindau, Stettner, 1877.

by those organisms that lacked the strength or the energy to stem the streams. More marked differentiation and modification are needed to enable an organism to live on the bottom than to exist in fresh water, for the conditions are widely different from those of the surface. Profound darkness prevails; for even the clearest water rapidly extinguishes the sun's rays, and a depth of a few hundred feet will bring eternal night. In the Lake of Geneva, photographic paper exposed at thirty fathoms below the surface was not affected, and Moseley * states that the "Challenger" expedition dredged up blind crustacea from 120 fathoms. Such is not always the case, however; for crustacea with well developed eyes have been found 2,500 feet below the surface, and this seems to point to an illumination of some sort.

In going from the shallow waters found on the continental plateaux to the great depths of thousands of fathoms, it must be remembered, the organisms have not fallen down, but have slowly and deliberately gone to the bottom. It has been a true emigration and has required a steady process of adaptation. The lack of light has made eyes unnecessary, so most deep sea forms are blind. This phenomenon is seen in the fish and crustacea that live in caves, and among them the same device is employed to replace vision as among the denizens of the oceanic depths. The other senses, especially touch, smell and hearing, are developed excessively, even new organs being formed for them. Along the head of the eyeless fish are papillæ consisting of new terminals that constitute an exquisite organ of touch; and the "Challenger" dredged from very deep water an organism, the *Astacus Zalencus,* closely allied to the common fresh water crayfish, which is eyeless, but has a long, delicate "nipper" that is its means of touch.

But all deep sea organisms are not blind. Some have very large eyes, and, under the law of functional development, these eyes must receive light. Since sunlight is absent, the illumination must come from another source, and this is the phosphorescence of many of the animals themselves. Every one is familiar with the phosphorescence of sea water at night, which is well known to be caused by myriads of minute organisms, but these are by no means the only luminiferous organisms. The profound depths have many inhabitants that shed a "hospitable ray,"

* H. N. Moseley, F. R. S., "Friday Evening Lecture," March 5, 1880, in "Nature," April 8, 1880.

which lightens to some degree the gloom of these realms of darkness.

Vision is not the only function that must be modified to adapt organizations to darkness, for the assimilative apparatus must also undergo change. Since light is essential to vegetation, plant life is absent, and the organisms are entirely carniverous. No seaweed exists below some thirty-five fathoms, but the surface is rich in organic *débris*. Vast quantities of vegetable matter are washed from the land, and the amount of seaweed growing along the coast is incalculable. Torn from its site, and rent into fragments by storms and cyclones, this mass is gathered into great bodies at some points, as in the Sargasso Sea and furnishes an unfailing food supply to many kinds of organisms. These vegetarians, in turn, become a prey to animals at a lower level, and vegetable food sufficient to supply the demand may thus be handed down through the bodies of successive layers of organisms.

A difficulty that appears to be more serious than any other is the enormous pressure of deep water. This amounts to about a ton to a thousand fathoms for every square inch of surface, but the deep sea organisms become as habituated to it as are the terrestrial ones to the weight of the atmosphere, and their tissues being permeated by water under the same pressure, they are not inconvenienced by it. They are exposed, however, to a danger that is very grave. They may "fall upward" into regions of diminished pressure, where their viscera distend and where they may even burst; a phenomenon similar to that experienced by mountain climbers, but greater in degree. That the normal pressure of the abysmal depths does not prohibit life is shown by the fact that living forms have been dredged from depths of over three statute miles.

The water of the bottom is intensely cold and perfectly still, save in so far as it may be affected by tides; for it is doubtful if currents extend below 100 fathoms. A temperature of 0°C. has been found at 500 fathoms at the Equator, while in deeper water the bottom temperature is two or three degrees lower, being kept from freezing by salt and pressure. In this still, cold water animals acquire the power of appropriating food by mere absorption from the nutrient fluid in which they lie, and the water supplies lime salts to globigerina and crustaceans from which past and future beds of chalk, limestone and marble have been

or are being formed, silicon to diatoms and foods of many kinds to the infinite oceanic fauna.

This abundant supply of food, gathered without effort, leads to indolence; and animals living in the security of the bottom grow more and more inclined to remain stationary. They seek sites to which they may affix themselves, and in time settle down to a vegetative existence, from which neither love nor ambition can tempt them. Enclosed in a protecting shell, encased in a tube or buried in ooze, these organisms have ceased to make the slightest exertion, and, save for a brief period in early youth, are as inert and motionless as a piece of stone. Haeckel has shown that the life of each individual is an epitome of the history of its race, and, viewed in this light, the brief swimming stage of an oyster, for instance, acquires a melancholy interest as a relic of an earlier and higher existence, to which the race clings as a memento of former greatness.

Not content with sheer inaction, some marine animals have sunk to yet a deeper stage of degradation and have become pure parasites, borne about and nourished by more vigorous hosts. Some of these guests select strange places of residence. Crustacea are found in the pharynx of Salpa and in the mouths of menhaden; many protozoa live on the mantles of molluscs, and they may be responsible for some of the cases of poisoning that are reported from time to time. The whales and large turtles bear many sucking fish, as well as barnacles; and few of the active animals are free from some such incumbrance. At times, the relation is merely the extension of protection to the smaller. There is a tiny fish that lies between the poison curtains of the Physalia, or "Portuguese man-o'war," from whence it darts forth after its prey, but soon returns to shelter. As the poison of the Physalia is extremely irritating, sharks and the like rarely molest it; so these little fish have learned that under its dangerous mantle they can rest in safety.

Life on the bottom exists in its greatest beauty and profusion in water that is free from sediment and shifting sands. On our Atlantic seaboard the conditions are not very favorable, and, though annelids, molluscs and crustaceans abound, the more beautiful forms are scarce. The delicate sea-pen lives on the mud banks, and forms of great symmetry are found; but this is nothing compared with the wealth of a coral lagoon. The vertical

rays of the sun reflected from the bottom make the water as transparent as air; and, as the boat floats slowly across, one can gaze through the glass in the bottom of the boat on a scene of indescribable beauty. Great branching masses of coral of varying hue look like shrubs or even trees. Wonderful anthozoa, or flower animals, and the zoophytes, strange animal-plants, are distributed freely over the bottom. In other places, great lichen-covered rocks seem to be spangled with red, star-shaped flowers: and through and about it all the parrot fish flit, nibbling and browsing on the buds. No garden can equal these oceanic paradises in richness or variety of color; yet they are filled with animals almost to the exclusion of plant life. The lichen is a hydroid coral, the starlike flowers are but the vermilion ends of boring annelids, and the parrot fish do not nibble the stony coral but seek gorgonias, madrepores or small crustaceans. "Strange world in which the animal kingdom blossoms and the vegetable does not."

Such a lagoon would seem an ideal hunting field for pelagic organisms, yet the water yields little to the most persistent hauling. The reason is not far to seek. The sides and bottom are so lined with living animals that they constitute one gigantic mouth into which any unfortunate pelagic organism must fall. On coral reefs the nets will often be well filled on the side against which the surf thunders, and be empty on the lee; for the force of wind and wave is less destructive than the deceitful peace of the calm lagoon.

But marine life is by no means confined to the bottom. From the surface downward the ocean teems with life, to such a degree that naturalists stand aghast as they contemplate its infinite variety. First of all, stand the tiny protozoa, almost microscopic in size, yet on them the bulk of the other organisms subsist. The mass of animal and vegetable life existing in a body of water, and incapable of materially altering position by individual effort, is called the "plankton," and on its amount and character depends the ability of a sea, lake or stream to support life. Fish and other active animals are not included in the plankton, but their ova or larvæ do make part of it. This plankton varies in character in different parts of the sea, and some of its constituents form interesting objects of study. One of them is of great economic importance, as it is the source of marble, chalk and limestone.

This is the globigerina, an animal made famous by Huxley's lecture on "A Piece of Chalk." This tiny creature begins life as a naked bit of protoplasm, but soon covers itself by a coat of lime, through which are fine perforations for threads of protoplasm to extrude. As growth proceeds and the chalk jacket becomes too small, a knob protrudes from the original protoplasm and, in turn, is covered by a layer of chalk. This is repeated until the mature animal seems to be made up of a number of spheres, each opening into a central chamber by a minute aperture. From this opening the group has received the name *foraminifera.* The surface of each sphere is pierced by fine holes, and through each hole a thread of protoplasm extends into the water for nourishment. After death, these sink to the bottom and make the "globigerina ooze," the future limestone and marble beds. The greater part of the bed of the Atlantic is composed of this ooze, and yet infinite numbers fall victims to the needs of more powerful neighbors.

The foraminifera are not the only organisms in which the sea is prolific, for the numbers of some of its groups surpass the most extravagant calculations. The British exploring steamer "Challenger" once steamed for two days through one species of Copepod; and the number of tiny creatures necessary to produce the phosphorescence of sea water may be imagined more readily than estimated. Other varieties are at times so abundant as to color the water for miles, a phenomenon that has produced many superstitions among sailors.

The scope of this paper will not permit an extended notice of individuals or even of families of marine organisms. The results of the past thirty years have shown the wealth of material yet to be investigated. The sea is an inexhaustible object of study, whether from a geographical, physical, geological or biological point of view. As yet only a few glimpses are available, because of the practical difficulties that block the way. Suppose some explorer from another planet, to whose vision our atmosphere was impenetrable, should float his air-ship some four or five miles from the earth's surface, and drop a hollow rod or a small net through the darkness. The chances are that he would fail to capture a single bird or animal; snakes, butterflies and almost every familiar animal would elude so obvious a danger, and the traveller would return to report the earth a desert. Yet, this is

practically what is done in deep-sea sounding and dredging, and on such data conclusions must be based. From time to time, some forcible reminder of the incompleteness of our knowledge comes to light. In the stomach of a red snapper a fish was found belonging to an otherwise unknown species and one that probably would have remained undiscovered for years but for a lucky accident. The fate of the shad after it returns to the sea is a mystery. Another example is the common fresh water eel, whose mode of reproduction has been a matter for speculation since the days of Aristotle. An old idea in regard to it was that the young eels sprang from mud. Later, it was thought that eels are hermaphrodite; but Dr. Theodore Gill of Washington and an Italian named Gassi have at last solved the problem. The eel that frequents the rivers is the female; and at the breeding time she descends to the sea to meet the male. When her destination is reached the dark dress is doffed and one of silver gray assumed. She then seeks a depth of some three thousand feet, where her mate awaits her. His coat is always silvery and his eyes are much larger than those of the female, so that few would suspect him of being allied to our common eel. The young were not recognized as such but were classed as a family of fish under the generic name of *Leptocephalus,* the *L. brevirostris* being the young of the common eel. Dr. Gill first showed the truth in the case of the conger eel, but this illustration, taken from so familiar an animal, shows how much still remains to be discovered.

In every civilized country numerous workers are eagerly studying the natural history of the sea. Something has been done; but more remains to be accomplished before we shall have solved the mysteries of the deep.

CHARLES MINOR BLACKFORD, JR.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE NEW SUPPLIES OF GOLD.

BY GEORGE E. ROBERTS, DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

THE low point in gold production, since the discovery in California, was touched about 1885, before the opening of the Transvaal field, and before the decline in silver had gone so far as to divert enterprise from silver mining to gold mining. For the five years from 1881 to 1885, inclusive, the average annual production of gold in the world was about $100,000,000. For the year 1890, the world's production was about $118,000,000. The output of the United States for 1890 was $32,000,000; for 1900, it was $78,000,000. The output of Australia for 1890 was $30,000,000; for 1900 it was $75,000,000. The output of South Africa for 1890 was about $8,000,000; in 1900, but for the war, it would have been over $100,000,000. With the restoration of peace in South Africa and the resumption of mining operations there, the yield of gold in the world may be expected to speedily reach $400,000,000 a year. Indeed, it is likely that the production of new gold from the mines in the next twelve years will equal the entire stock of gold held for monetary use in the world at the present moment.

The figures are startling, and even suggest the possibility of a new disturbance of values. Some very eminent geologists are now predicting that the flood has only begun, and some economists of great repute are already saying that the coming economic problem is: What shall be done with the new gold? Certain it is that the new supplies will be an important factor in business conditions in the next ten years.

When the South African War is finally ended, the mines that were producing at the rate of $100,000,000 a year at the time the war broke out will be speedily reopened; and, as the field is very

regular and well-defined, the output will probably be increased. The Cripple Creek district of the United States, Alaska and British Columbia all give assurance of increased production, to say nothing of many other promising districts in this country. In great degree, the new output is due to discoveries which have lowered the cost of treating ores and make deposits of low grade productive, which formerly could not be treated with profit. There are problems of this character yet to be worked out, and it is possible that production may be largely increased from known fields which up to this time have not been available. The yield from placers in this country, at present, is comparatively small; but great results are predicted from these deposits in the future by those who have confidence in the dredges and other mechanical devices which have been invented for the working of such properties. On the other hand, some of the most skillful and experienced mining engineers are of the opinion that the yield from river beds and placers will not be an important factor in the product for at least many years to come.

Without speculating upon new sources of supply, such as placers and ores of a grade not yet available, it is apparent that the reappearance of South Africa as a regular shipper to London and to the Continent of Europe at the rate of $2,000,000 per week will mean a powerful reinforcement of the money supply, and will exert an inffuence upon speculation and enterprise that will be felt in every market of the world and react upon every industry. Those who are calculating upon the time when the present era of confidence and enterprise will exhaust itself must take account of the stimulus which will be due to this circumstance and of the steady accessions of new supplies of gold for an indefinite period.

There is no more interesting subject for speculation or studious inquiry than the effect of this golden stream upon the markets, upon all the varied relations of individuals and classes, and upon the social life of the people. In so far as an enlargement of the money stock, with the expansion of credits which accompanies it, furnishes support to growing industries and promotes a natural and orderly development of the world's resources, it is a good thing. But when every man is at work, when all the productive forces of society are in full action, you cannot make the world richer by pouring money into it. You reach the point then where addition means dilution, where the new supply can find employ-

ment only by a decrease in the value of the old stock. When this occurs, all business relations based upon terms of money are disturbed; speculation, instead of industry, is promoted; economic waste and adventure run riot, and end in a collapse that disorganizes the whole industrial system. There are cities in the Mississippi Valley that have not yet covered the land that was laid out and sold as town lots in 1857, when the new gold from California and excessive issues of unregulated bank paper stimulated a bubble-like prosperity.

Additions to the money supply find their way first to the banks, and the immediate effect is to reduce the interest rate. A reduction in the rate of interest upon loans naturally increases the demand for and value of investments which yield a better return, and real estate, stocks and securities are thus forced to higher prices. When interest rates drop from six to four per cent., a security that is deemed safe to pay six per cent. rises from par to 150. The advance stimulates purchases not merely for investment, but for selling again, and thus a period of speculation is inaugurated. Speculation, like a great fire, creates its own currents, and fans itself into uncontrollable fury.

There are only two periods in the history of the money metals that can be compared to the present, and to which we may look for any experimental light upon the subject. One of these was the period following the discovery of America and the exploitation of the treasures of Mexico and Peru, and the other the period following the discoveries in California and Australia. In the period of one hundred and fifty years following the discovery of America, the depreciation of the metals was about two-thirds of their value; that is, in 1650 a given amount of gold or silver bought only about one-third as much as in 1500. The result, naturally, was extreme confusion in affairs, great suffering among wage-earners, and embarrassment to all whose incomes were fixed in terms of money. The "poor laws" of Queen Elizabeth's time have been attributed to the distress caused by the rise of food without equivalent compensation to the wage-earning class. The quarrel of Charles the First with Parliament was, undoubtedly, aggravated by the necessity for new taxes to overcome the declining value of the revenues; and some historians hold that it was the deadly money question, the bane of politicians in all ages, that cost him his head.

Gold was discovered in California in 1848, and in Australia in 1851; and by 1852 these new fields were producing together over $100,000,000 a year. The first sign of the influx of the new gold into Europe was seen in the holdings of the Bank of England. They went up from about $40,000,000 in 1847 to $110,000,000 in June, 1853. To get this idle money into use, the bank reduced its regular rate of discount to two per cent.; and the market rate, for a considerable time, was reported at one and one-half per cent. The belief that the new supplies of gold would effect a permanent reduction of the rate of interest was so general that Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed in Parliament a scheme to refund the consols below three per cent., and fixed the rate on exchequer bills at one and one-half per cent.

The conclusion that an increase in the stock of money will permanently affect interest rates is, however, a mistake, due to a confusion of ideas. An increase in the stock of money will eventually find expression in a depreciation of the value of money, as compared with commodities; but interest is a payment in kind, and suffers the same depreciation in value as the principal, without any reduction in the rate. The interest rate depends upon the supply of capital, which may be quite different from the supply of money. The first effect of an increase in the money supply is, however, clearly upon the interest rate. The new stock swells the bank reserves, rates are put down to encourage borrowing, and eventually the new stock is absorbed either by the actual growth of industries, or by a rise of prices, when a larger amount finds employment in doing the same work.

This occurred in the early fifties. There was a general revival of trade and industry in England, and on the Continent, due less, probably, to the fact that more money was available than to the new energy imparted by heavy emigration to the gold fields, the expenditures connected therewith and the growth of trade with the United States, which was then on the high tide of prosperity. The famine, the hard times and the political troubles of 1848 had already started emigration and depleted the labor supply. Then came the revival of the shipping trade and the ship-building industry, a new demand for manufactures, and a revival of building operations in the cities. The price of building materials went up fifty per cent. in London, every idle man was in demand, wages were raised from twelve to twenty-five per cent., and a

general advance in all commodities took place. How much of this activity was due to the new gold, and how much to the natural reaction from the hard times that had lasted from 1846 to 1850, has always been in dispute. Then came the additional stimulus of war—the war in the Crimea—between Russia, on one side, and England, France, Turkey and Sardinia, on the other. This war drained heavy supplies of specie to the seat of operations in the East. England and France not only had to support their own troops there, but they bore, by means of subsidies, the expenses of their allies. And as the region in which the disbursements were made was poor in cash, and as commerce with it was small, bills of exchange were unavailable, and the remittances were made in coin. Under the two influences, expansion at home and the war exports, and another to be mentioned further on, the bank reserves rapidly disappeared. The rate of discount went up to five, six and seven per cent., and finally, in 1857, came the commercial crisis in Europe and America. The specie holdings in the bank of England were practically exhausted, the discount rate was ten per cent., and the Government had to intervene to save the bank.

Some of the most eminent statesmen and economists of the day, regarding the causes which brought about the collapse as temporary, still viewed the heavy gold output with concern. Chevalier, the French economist, published a book in which he carefully reviewed the situation and reached the conclusion that a heavy decline in the value of gold was inevitable, and he, therefore, recommended that France demonetize it. Holland, as early as 1854, took action on the safe side by demonetizing gold, and in 1857 Belgium followed her example.

But almost simultaneously with the war there sprang up a new demand for specie which proved to be the most potent of all influences in nullifying the effect of the new supplies, and that was the demand occasioned by the measures then begun for developing the resources of India.

In 1855-6 began the construction of the railway system of India, and immense sums of British capital were actually conveyed to India for that work. The result of furnishing cheap transportation from the interior to the coast was to increase greatly the exports of the country and pile up a larger trade balance in its favor, which had to be paid in silver. Prior to 1855, the exports of silver to India did not exceed $10,000,000 a year. In 1857,

they were about $100,000,000. This silver, to a great extent, was taken from the money stock of France and replaced with new gold from the mines. It was this sluice-way for silver to the East and the ability of France to take gold and give silver for it that prevented a further depreciation of gold at that time. For the eleven years, from 1855 to 1865, inclusive, the exports to India absorbed an amount of specie equal to eighty-five per cent. of the product of the new fields, which afforded a very satisfactory explanation for the failure of Mr. Chevalier's predictions. Chevalier's predictions might have come true, if something had not happened. The market value of predictions is greatly diminished by the fact that something usually does happen, and Chevalier's experience seems to suggest the wisdom of avoiding forecasts at this time. Notwithstanding the drain to India, Professor Stanley Jevons, writing in 1863 and reviewing the effect of the gold discoveries, reached the conclusion that gold had depreciated not less than nine per cent.—in his judgment nearer fifteen per cent., and perhaps more.

It seems reasonable to anticipate that what happened in the fifties will, to some extent, be repeated in this period. The times were never so favorable as now for the industrial development of the hitherto backward nations. In all the advanced countries, fully equipped with modern machinery, the production and accumulation of wealth is going on at a rate not only unprecedented, but almost beyond comparison with that of any other period. It is difficult in these countries to find opportunities to invest the annual savings of the people. This new capital is continually forced into occupations in which the returns are lower and lower as compared with the investments of the past, and the competition of this ever-coming stream forces down the return upon old investments as well. The result of this has been seen, first, in the destructive severity of competition, with a wasteful duplication of investments, a state that has not unfitly been called industrial anarchy; and, second, in the general organization of the industries which is the feature of to-day. But the same forces still exist, and they will continue to operate. There is no suppressing the competition of capital with capital, while new supplies continue to come on the market. Capital increases faster than population, and it follows that the only way in which the surplus can find employment is by competing with the existing stock.

There is but one avenue of relief for capital in all these wealthy countries, and that is emigration. We have heard a good deal about the struggle for life in densely populated countries, and the relief afforded by emigration. That never was truer of population than it is of capital. If all of the capital owned in New England had to find investment at home and in the service of the people of those States, what would the return be? If all the capital owned in England had to find investment at home and in the service of the people at home, what would the return be? And if we ask the same question as to Germany, France and the Netherlands, we come to realize the pressure there is upon capital in all of these countries to emigrate. The United States in the past has been the great field of investment for Europe, but home capital is now abundant in every part of this country and must either accept lower returns or look abroad for employment. Of course, this is not saying that there is no more employment for capital in this country, but simply that capital here must be subject to the law of diminishing returns. It will be like cultivating the hills of New England when the prairies of the West were open.

This condition furnishes an impulse behind the latter day efforts to secure colonies. It is to find new and virgin fields for development. Some of the richest portions of the globe lie with their stores of natural wealth untouched, ready to be poured upon the world. South America, Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe are great fields for enterprise and capital. Their resources are to be opened by the modern machinery of production; their populations, in some degree at least, are to be organized and incorporated in the modern industrial system. An obstacle to investment in these countries in the past has been the instability or hostility of their governments; but that obstacle is being rapidly removed either by the pervading influence of progress, as in the case of Japan, or by the overshadowing influence and control of the civilized powers, as is inevitable with China. The time has come when all conditions seem to unite for the establishment of order, the investment of capital and the organization of industry in the hitherto neglected countries. The transfer of capital is facilitated and stimulated by a plentitude of money, the most liquid form of capital; and the progress of these new countries will create new channels which may be expected to draw and hold a large propor-

tion of the new supply. The foreign trade of Japan is eight times as large as it was twenty years ago; and in the last half of that period the scale of living expenditures, wages and commercial transactions generally has risen one hundred per cent. The loans and discounts of the banks of Japan have quadrupled in the last eight years. All of that means, of necessity, more money held in circulation and more in the reserves and hoards. Whenever a country enters fairly into the community of nations, and becomes an open field for investment, the industrial and financial conditions tend, more or less rapidly, to approximate those in other countries. And so, in the spread of industrial activity and the overflow of capital from the fields in which it has been pent up, we may expect to see something of a levelling of monetary stocks.

There is a great difference in the stocks of money held by even the countries of Western and Eastern Europe. Belgium and the Netherlands use about $24 *per capita;* Germany, over $20 *per capita;* Russia, less than $7 *per capita;* Roumania, Bulgaria and Turkey, some $3 or $4 *per capita;* and even Italy and Austria-Hungary, less than $10 *per capita.* These figures reveal the poverty, the low industrial development, the incomplete equipment of the populations in Eastern Europe.

Japan is making every effort to attract foreign capital; and, if she succeeds, she will absorb more money. Her present stock is between $3 and $4 per head. What China will require, when her industrious millions are equipped with machinery, we can only vaguely conjecture. Her present monetary stock is less than $2 per head.

At first thought, the new demand would seem likely to be for silver rather than gold, as silver is the natural currency of countries in which wages are low and transactions small in amount. There cannot be much use of gold for current transactions in any country where a five-dollar coin more than covers the average monthly wage. But the experience of Japan demonstrates how rapidly the scale of transactions rises, when a country has felt the stimulus of modern industrial life. Russia has recently put a large amount of gold into circulation. Gold will be the standard coin everywhere, and the money of reserves and hoards.

If the new supplies should at first be wholly taken up in the circulation of the principal commercial countries, and a general rise in prices is forced, that fact in itself will add to the induce-

ments to develop the backward countries, where the costs of production remain low. Again, if the depreciation of gold becomes important, another influence will be felt, and that is the increased cost of mining. It will tend to discourage and check mining investments, as has been the case with silver in the last eight years. Professor Jevons in 1863 calculated that the depreciation of gold could not go beyond thirty per cent., for the reason that the loss in value would automatically diminish production. A very large proportion of the new yield is from low grade ores, the entire product from the Transvaal being from rock which yields only about ten dollars a ton. It would seem, therefore, that any depreciation of the metal as compared with the actual costs of production, would affect the output more widely now than at any time in the past. Upon this, as upon other phases of the subject, however, it is impossible to speak with any assurance, for the efforts of producers to overcome adverse conditions often yield extraordinary results.

The whole subject is, manifestly, one for speculation rather than calculation, so many and varied are the contingencies that will influence the final outcome. Speaking broadly, it seems safe to say that present conditions and probabilities favor the owner of real estate, fixed property and commodities, as against the owner of money and securities which yield a fixed return, or the salaried and wage-earning class. That there are corrective, compensating and reactionary influences goes without saying.

GEORGE E. ROBERTS.

ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—III.

BY H. G. WELLS.

V. The Passing of Democracy.

In the preceding papers, in a clumsy, laborious way, there has been developed a smudgy, imperfect picture of the generalized, civilized state of the coming century. In terms vague enough at times, but never absolutely indefinite, the general distribution of the population in this state has been discussed, and its natural development into four great, but in practice intimately diffused, classes. It has been shown—I know not how convincingly—that, as the result of forces that are practically irresistible, a world-wide process of social and moral deliquescence is in progress, and that a really functional social body of engineering, managing men, scientifically trained and having common ideals and interests, is likely to segregate and disentangle itself from our present confusion of aimless and ill-directed lives. It has been pointed out that life is presenting an unprecedented and increasing variety of morals, *ménages,* occupations and types, at present so mingled as to give a general effect of greyness, but containing the promise of local concentration that may presently change that greyness into kaleidoscopic effects. We have permitted ourselves to take a few concrete glimpses of households, costumes, conveyances and conveniences of the coming time, but only as incidental realizations of points in this general thesis. And now we may consider how the existing arrangements for the ostensible government of the state are likely to develop through their own inherent forces, and how they are likely to be affected by the processes we have forecast.

So far, this has been a speculation upon the probable development of a civilized society *in vacuo.* Attention has been almost

exclusively given to the forces of development, and not to the forces of conflict and restraint. We have ignored the boundaries of language that are flung athwart the great lines of modern communication; we have disregarded the friction of tariffs, the peculiar groups of prejudices and irrational instincts that inspire one miscellany of shareholders, workers, financiers and superfluous poor, such as the English, to hate, exasperate, lie about and injure another similar miscellany, such as the French or the Germans. Moreover, we have taken very little account of the fact, that, quite apart from nationality, each individual case of the new social order is developing within the form of a legal government based on conceptions of a society that had been superseded by the advent of mechanism. It is this last matter that we are now about to take into consideration.

Now, this age is being constantly described as a "Democratic" age; "Democracy" is alleged to have affected art, literature, trade and religion alike in the most remarkable ways. It is not only tacitly present in the great bulk of contemporary thought that this "Democracy" is now dominant, but that it is becoming more and more overwhelmingly predominant as the years pass. Allusions to Democracy are so abundant, deductions from its influence so confident and universal, that it is worth while to point out what a large, hollow thing the word, in most cases, really is—a large, empty object in thought of the most vague and faded associations and the most attenuated contents; and to enquire just exactly what the original implications and present realities of "Democracy" may be. The enquiry will, I fancy, leave us with a very different conception of the nature and future of political arrangement from that generally assumed. We have already seen, in the discussion of the growth of great cities, that an analytical process may absolutely invert the expectation based on the gross results up to date;* and I believe it will be equally possible to show cause for believing that the development of Democracy also is, after all, not the opening phase of a world-wide movement which is to go on unbendingly in its present direction, but the

*No longer up to date now; for, since these articles were written, the English census returns for 1901 have come to hand, with a very complete endorsement of my fairly obvious inductions. A general attenuation of the more central urban districts has already begun, a steady transfer of population to outer and yet outer suburbs is already in progress. In this matter, I find another prophet, Mr. Sidney Low, made a prior forecast to the same effect as mine quite nine years ago in the Contemporary Review ("The Rise of the Suburbs.").

first impulse of forces that will finally sweep round into a quite different path.

One may, I suppose, take the Rights of Man, as they are embodied in the French Declaration, as the ostentations of Democracy; our present Democratic state may be regarded as a practical realization of those claims. As far as the individual goes, the realization takes the form of an untrammelled liberty in matters that have heretofore been considered a part of social procedure, in the lifting of religious and positive moral compulsions, in the recognition of absolute property, and in the abolition of special privileges and special restrictions. Politically, modern Democracy takes the form of denying that any specific person or persons shall act, as a matter of intrinsic right or capacity, on behalf of the community as a whole. Its root idea is representation. Government is based primarily on election; every ruler is, in theory at least, a delegate and the servant of the popular will. It is implicit in the democratic theory that there is such a thing as a popular will, and this is supposed to be the net sum of the wills of all the citizens in the state, so far as public affairs are concerned. Its fundamental assumption, indeed, appears to be an ideal average citizen, modestly omniscient and amply posted and interested in all public affairs; it admits the possibility of individual error, but insists upon the collective moral and intellectual superiority to any producible superior individual. In its less perfect and more usual state, the democratic theory is advanced either as an ethical theory, which postulates an absence of formal acquiescence on the part of the governed as injustice, or as the least objectionable of all possible methods of public control, because it will suffer the minimum of general unhappiness. This ostensibly is Democracy. I know of no case for the elective democratic government of modern states that cannot be knocked to pieces in five minutes. It is manifest that upon countless, important, public issues there is no collective will and nothing in the mind of the average man except blank indifference, that an electoral system simply places power in the hands of the most skilful electioneers, that neither men nor their rights are identically equal but vary with every individual, and that the minimum or maximum general happiness is only so indirectly related to the public control that people will suffer great miseries from their governments unresistingly, and change their rulers out of sheer

lightness of heart. The case against all the prolusions of ostensible Democracy is, indeed, so strong that it is impossible to consider the present wide establishment of democratic institutions as being the outcome of any process of intellectual conviction; it arouses suspicion even whether ostensible Democracy may not be a mere rhetorical garment for essentially different facts, and upon that suspicion we will now enquire.

Democracy of the modern type, manhood suffrage and so forth, became a conspicuous phenomenon in the world only in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Its genesis is so closely connected with the first expansion of the productive element in the state, through mechanism and a coöperative organization, as to point at once to a causative connection. New and potentially influential social factors began to appear—the organizing manufacturer, the intelligent worker, the skilled tenant, and the urban Abyss; and the traditions of the old land-owning, non-progressive, aristocratic monarchy that prevailed in Christendom, rendered it incapable, without some destructive shock or convulsion, of any reorganization to incorporate or control these new factors. In the case of the British Empire, an additional stress was created by the incapacity of the formal government to assimilate the developing civilization of the American colonies. Everywhere, there were new elements, not as yet clearly analyzed or defined, arising as mechanism arose; everywhere, the old traditional government and social system, defined and analyzed all too well, appeared increasingly obstructive, irrational and feeble in its attempts to include and direct these new powers. But now comes a point to which I am inclined to attach very great importance. The new powers were as yet shapeless. It was not the conflict of a new organization with the old, it was the preliminary dwarfing and deliquescence of the mature old beside the embryonic mass of the new. It was impossible then—it is, I believe, only beginning to be possible now—to estimate the proportions, possibilities and inter-relations of the new social orders out of which a social organization has still to be built in the coming years. No formula of definite reconstruction had been evolved, or has even been evolved yet after a hundred years. Even in these papers, I do but hint and clear away. And these swelling, inchoate, new powers, whose very birth-condition was the crippling, modification or destruction of the old order, were almost forced to formulate their

proceedings for a time, therefore, in general affirmative propositions, that were really, in effect, not affirmative propositions at all, but propositions of repudiation and denial. "These kings and nobles and people privileged in relation to obsolescent functions, cannot manage our affairs"—that was evident enough, that was the really essential question at that time; and, since no other effectual substitute appeared ready made, the working doctrine of the infallible judgment of humanity in the gross, as distinguished from the quite indisputable incapacity of sample individuals, became, in spite of its inherent absurdity, a convenient and acceptable working hypothesis.

Modern Democracy thus came into being, not, as eloquent persons have pretended, by the sovereign people consciously and definitely assuming power, but by the decline of old ruling classes in the face of the natural growth of mechanism and industrialism, and by the unpreparedness and want of organization in the new intelligent elements in the state. I have compared the human beings in society to a great and increasing variety of colors, tumultuously smashed up together and giving at present a general and quite illusory effect of grey; and I have attempted to show that there is a process in progress that will amount at last to the segregation of these mingled tints into recognizable distinct masses again. It is not a monotony, but an utterly disorderly and confusing variety, that makes this grey; but Democracy, for practical purposes, does really assume such a monotony.

Modern Democracy first asserted itself in the ancient kingdoms of France and Great Britain (counting the former English colonies in America as a part of the latter), and it is in the French and English speaking communities that Democracy has developed itself most completely. Upon the supposition we have made, Democracy broke out first in these two states, because they were leading the way in material progress, because they were the first states to develop industrialism, wholesale mechanisms, and great masses of insubordinate activity outside the recognized political scheme; and the nature and time and violence of the outbreak was determined by the nature of the superseded government and the amount of stress between it and the new elements. But the detachment of a great section of the new middle class from the aristocratic order of England to form the United States of America, and the sudden rejuvenescence of France by

the swift and thorough sloughing of its outworn aristocratic monarchy, the consequent wars and the Napoleonic adventure, checked and modified the parallel development that might otherwise have happened, in country after country, over all Europe west of the Carpathians. The monarchies that would probably have collapsed through internal forces and given place to modern democratic states were smashed from the outside world; and a process of reconstruction that has probably missed out the complete, formal democratic phase altogether (and which has been enormously complicated through religious, national and dynastic traditions) set in. Throughout America, in England and, after extraordinary experiments, in France, however, political democracy has in effect and legally established itself, most completely in the United States; and the reflection and influence of its methods upon the methods of all the other countries in intellectual contact with it have been so considerable as practically to make their monarchies as new in their kind, almost, as democratic republics. In Germany, Austria and Italy, for example, there is a press nearly as audible as in the more frankly democratic countries, and measurably akin in influence; there are constitutionally established legislative assemblies; and there is the same unofficial development of great financial and industrial powers, with which the ostensible government must make terms. In a vast amount of their public discussion, the postulates of democracy are clearly implicit. Just as much as the democratic republics of America, they are not based on classes, but on a confusion; they are, in their various degrees and with their various individual differences, governments of the grey.

It has been argued that the grey is illusory, and must sooner or later pass, and that the color that will emerge to predominance will take its shape as a scientifically trained middle class of an unprecedented sort, not arising out of the older middle classes, but replacing them. This class will become, I believe, at last consciously *the* State, controlling and restricting very greatly the three non-functional masses with which it is, as yet, almost indistinguishably mingled. The general nature of its formation within that existing confusion and its emergence may, I think, with a certain degree of confidence be already forecast, albeit at present its beginnings are singularly unpromising and faint. At present, the class of specially trained and capable people—doctors,

engineers, scientific men of all sorts—is quite disproportionally absent from political life; it does not exist as a factor in that life; it is growing up outside that life, and has still to develop, much more to display, a collective intention to come specifically in. But the forces are in active operation to drag it into the center of the stage, for all that.

The modern democracy, or democratic quasi-monarchy, conducts its affairs as though there was no such thing as special knowledge or practical education. The utmost recognition it affords to the man who has taken the pains to know and specifically to do, is occasionally to consult him upon specific points and override his counsels in its ampler wisdom, or to intrust to him some otherwise impossible duty under circumstances of extreme limitation. The gunner, for example, may make and let off guns, but he may not say where they are to be let off; the engineer may move the ship and fire the battery, but only with a man who does not perfectly understand shouting instructions down a tube at him. The primarily functional men are ignored in the political scheme; it operates as though they did not exist, as though nothing in fact existed but the irresponsible wealthy and the manipulators of irresponsible wealth, on the one hand, and a great, grey, politically indifferent commonalty on the other. In the past, when I have speculated upon the future of humanity, I must confess I have quite thoughtlessly accepted this view of things and ignored altogether the way in which the growth of the new and continually more complicated mechanical fabric of social life must produce its new, distinctive class. And from this acceptation, I speculated upon the assumption that this present state of political affairs is the permanent one and produced the data of "When the Sleeper Wakes."

To begin with, we may consider the inherent characteristics of the democratic political system, and the probabilities of its development during the decades that must still elapse before this promised, capable class does in a definite manner emerge. In all the government of the grey, the real instrument of power is a political machine; in the democratic countries, a distinctly organized electoral machine.

There are two chief sets of parts in the machine that have a certain antagonistic relation to one another, that play against each other; and one's conception of coming developments is

necessarily determined by the relative value one gives to these opposing elements. One may compare these two groups to the Power and the Work, respectively, at the two ends of a lever.* On the one hand, there is that which pays for the machine, which distributes salaries and rewards, subsidizes newspapers and so forth, the central influence.† On the other hand, there is the collectively grey voting mass, with certain prejudices and traditions, and certain laws and limitations of thought, upon which the newspapers work and which, within the confines of its inherent laws, they direct. If one dwell chiefly on the possibilities of the former element, one may conjure up a vision of a state "run" entirely by a group of highly forcible and intellectual persons—usually the dream takes the shape of financiers and their associates, their perfected mechanism working the elections boldly and capably, and their public policy being directed towards financial ends. One of the common prophecies of the future of the United States is such a domination by a group of trust organizers and political bosses. But a man or a group of men so strong and intelligent as would be needed to hold an entire party machine within the confines of his (or their collective) mind and will, could at the most be but a very transitory and incidental phenomenon in the history of the world. Either such an exploitation of the central control will have to be covert and subtle beyond any precedent in human disingenuousness, or else its domination will have to be very amply modified indeed by the requirements of the second factor and its proceedings become very largely the resultant of that second factor's forces. Moreover, very subtle men do not aim at things of this sort, or aiming fail, because subtlety of intelligence involves subtlety of character, a certain fastidiousness and a certain weakness. Now that the garrulous period, when a flow of language and a certain effectiveness of manner were necessary conditions to political preëminence, is passing away, political control falls more and more entirely into the hands of a barristerish, intriguing sort of person, with a

*The fulcrum, which is generally treated as being absolutely immovable, being the general belief in the theory of democracy.

†In the United States, a vast, rapidly developing country, with relatively much kinetic wealth, this central influence is the financial support of the Boss, consisting, for the most part, of active-minded, capable business organizers; in England, the land where irresponsible, realized wealth is at a maximum, a public-spirited section of the irresponsible, inspired by the tradition of an aristocratic functional past, qualifies the financial influence with an amateurish, indolent, publicly unprofitable integrity. In Germany, a really functional court occupies the place and plays the part of the central control of a permanently dominant party machine.

tough-wearing, leathery, practical mind. The sort of people who will work the machine are people with "faith," as the popular preachers say—meaning, in fact, people who do not analyze—people who will take the machine as it is unquestioningly, shape their ambitions to it and (saving their vanity) work it as it wants to go. The man who will be boss will be the man who wants to be boss, who finds in being boss a complete and final satisfaction, and not the man who complicates things by wanting to be boss in order to be or do something else. The machines are governed to-day, and there is every reason to believe that they will continue to be governed, by masterful-looking resultants, masters of nothing but compromise.

If, on the other hand, we direct attention to the antagonistic element in the machine, to Public Opinion, to the alleged collective mind of the grey mass, and consider how it is brought to believe in itself, and its possession of certain opinions by the concrete evidence of daily newspapers and eloquent persons saying as much, we may also very readily conjure up a contrasted vision of extraordinary demagogues or newspaper syndicates working the political machine from that direction. So far as the demagogue goes, the increase of population, the multiplication of amusements and interests, the differentiation of social habits, the diffusion of great towns, all militate against that sufficient gathering of masses of voters in meeting-houses which gave him his power in the recent past. It is improbable that ever again will any flushed, undignified man, with a vast voice, a muscular face in incessant operation, collar crumpled, hair disordered and arms in wild activity, talking, talking, talking copiously out of the windows of railway carriages, on platforms, on hotel balconies, on tubs, barrels, scaffoldings, pulpits—tireless and undammable—rise to be the most powerful thing in any democratic state in the world. Continually, the individual, vocal demagogue dwindles, and the element of bands and buttons, the organization of the press and procession, the share of the machine, grows.

Mr. Harmsworth, of the London *Daily Mail,* in a very interesting article, has glanced at certain possibilities of power that may vest in the owners of a great system of world-wide, "simultaneous" newspapers; but he does not analyze the nature of the influence exercised by newspapers during the successive phases of the nineteenth century, nor the probable modifications of that

influence in the years to come; and I think, on the whole, he inclines very naturally to overestimate the amount of intentional direction that may be given by the owner of the paper to the minds and acts of his readers, and to exceed the very definite limits within which that influence is confined. In the earlier Victorian period, the more limited, partly educated and still very homogeneous, enfranchised class had a certain habit of thinking; its tranquil assurance upon most theological and all moral and aesthetic points left political questions as the chief field of exercise for such thinking as it did; and, as a consequence, the dignified newspapers of that time were able to discuss, and indeed were required to discuss, not only specific situations but general principles. That, indeed, was their principal function; and it fell rather to the eloquent men to misapply these principles according to the necessity of the occasion. The papers did then very much more than they do now to mold opinion, though they did not direct affairs to anything like the extent of their modern successors. They made roads upon which events presently travelled in unexpected fashions. But the often cheaper and always more vivid newspapers that have come with the New Democracy do nothing to mold opinion. Indeed, there is no longer, upon most public questions (and, as I have tried to make clear in my previous paper, there is not likely to be any longer), a collective opinion to be molded. Protectionists, for example, are a mere band; Free Traders are a mere band; on all these details we are in chaos. And these modern newspapers simply endeavor to sustain a large circulation, and so merit advertisements by being as miscellaneously and vividly interesting as possible, by firing where the crowd seems thickest, by seeking perpetually and without any attempt at consistency, the greatest excitement of the greatest number. It is upon the cultivation and rapid succession of these inflammatory topics that the modern newspaper expends its capital, and trusts to recover its reward. Its general news sinks steadily to a subordinate position; criticism, discussion and high responsibility pass out of journalism; and the power of the press comes more and more to be a dramatic and emotional power—the power to cry "Fire!" in the theatre, the power to give enormous value for a limited time to some personality, some event, some aspect, true or false, without any power of giving a specific direction to the forces this distortion may set going.

That is the limit of the power of the modern newspaper of large circulation; and if our conclusion that human society has ceased to be homogenous and will presently display new masses segregating from a great confusion, that will be the limit of its power in the future. It may undergo many remarkable developments and modifications,* but none of these tends to give it any

*The nature of these modifications is an interesting side issue. There is every possibility of papers becoming at last papers of world-wide circulation, so far as the language in which they are printed permits, with editions that will follow the sun and change into to-morrow's issues as they go, picking up literary criticism here, financial intelligence there, here to-morrow's story and there to-morrow's scandal, and rolling out local provincialism like some vast intellectual garden roller at every revolution. This, for papers in English at any rate, is merely a question of how long it will be before the price of the best writing (for journalistic purposes) rises actually or relatively above the falling cost of long-distance electrical type-setting. Each of the local editions of these world-traveling papers, in addition to the identical matter that will appear almost simultaneously everywhere, will, no doubt, have its special matter and its special advertisements. Illustrations will be telegraphed just as well as matter, and probably a much greater use will be made of sketch and diagram than at present. If the theory advanced in these papers, of democracy as a transitory confusion, is sound, there will not be only one world paper of this sort—like Moses' serpent after its miraculous struggle—but several; and as the non-provincial segregation of society goes on, these various great papers will take on more and more decided specific characteristics, and lose more and more their local references. They will come to have not only a distinctive type of matter, a distinctive method of thought and manner of expression, but distinctive fundamental implications and a distinctive class of writer. The difference in character and tone renders the advent of any Napoleonic master of the newspaper world vastly more improbable than it would otherwise be. These specializing newspapers will, as they find their class, throw out many features that do not belong to that class. It is highly probable that they will restrict the space devoted to news and sham news—that forged and inflated stuff made in offices that bulks out the foreign intelligence of so many English papers, for example. At present every paper contains a little of everything—inadequate sporting stuff, inadequate financial stuff, vague literary matter, voluminous reports of political vaporings—because no newspaper is quite sure of the sort of readers it has; probably no newspaper has yet a distinctive sort of reader.

Many people, with their minds inspired by the number of editions which evening papers pretend to publish and don't, incline to believe that daily papers may presently give place to hourly papers, each with the last news of the last sixty minutes photographically displayed. As a matter of fact, no human being wants that, and very few are so foolish as to think they do; the only kind of news that any sort of people clamor for hot and hot is financial and betting fluctuations, lottery lists and examination results; and the elaborated and cheapened telegraphic and telephonic system of the coming days, with tapes (or phonograph to replace them) in every postoffice and nearly every private house, so far from expanding the department, will probably sweep it out of the papers altogether. One will subscribe to a news agency which will wire all the stuff one cares to have so violently fresh into a phonographic recorder, perhaps, in some convenient corner. There the thing will be in every house, beside the barometer, to hear or ignore.

With the separation of that function, what is left of the newspaper will revert to one daily edition—daily, I think, because of the power of habit to make the newspaper the specific business of some definite moments in the day—the breakfast hour, I suppose, or the "up to town" journey with most Englishmen now. Quite possibly some one will discover some day that there is now machinery for folding and fastening a paper into a form that will not inevitably get into the butter, or lead to bitterness in a railway carriage. This pitch of discovery reached, I incline to anticipate daily papers much more like the "Spectator" in form than these present mainsails of our public eye. They will probably not contain fiction at all, and poetry only rarely, because no one but a partial imbecile wants these things in punctual daily doses; and we are anticipating an escape from a period of partial imbecility.

My own culture and turn of mind, which is probably akin to that of a respectable mechanic of the year 2000, inclines me towards a daily paper that will have, in addition to its concentrated and absolutely trustworthy daily news, full and luminous accounts of new inventions, new

greater political importance than it has now. And so, after all, our considerations of the probable developments of the party machine give us only negative results, so long as the grey social confusion continues. Subject to that continuance, the party machine will probably continue as it is at present, and democratic states and governments follow the lines upon which they run at the present time.

Now, how will the mergent classes of capable men presently begin to modify the existing form of government in the ostensibly democratic countries and bureaucratic monarchies? There will be very many variations and modifications of the methods of this arrival of an infinite complication of detailed incidents, but a

theories and new departures of all sorts (usually illustrated), witty and penetrating comments upon public affairs, criticisms of all sorts of things, reproductions of newly-produced pictures and works of art, and an ample amount of ably-written controversy upon everything under the sun. The correspondence columns, instead of being an exercising place for bores and conspicuous people who are not mercenary, would be the most ample, the most carefully collected, and the most highly paid for, of all in the paper I should prefer, and which my kindred mechanic will. This paper will have, of course, many pages of advertisements, and these will usually be well worth looking through, for the more intelligent editors of the days to come will, of course, edit this department just like any other, and classify their advertisements in a descending scale of freshness and interest that will also be an ascending scale of price. The advertiser who wants to be an indecent bore and vociferate for the ten-millionth time some flatulent falsehood about a pill, for instance, will pay at nuisance rates. Probably many papers will refuse to print nasty and distressful advertisements about people's insides at all. The entire paper will be as free from either greyness or offensive stupidity in its advertisement columns as the shop windows in Bond street to-day, and for much the same reason—because the people who go that way don't want that sort of thing.

It has been supposed that, since the real income of the newspaper is derived from advertisements, large advertisers will combine in the future to own papers confined to the advertisements of their specific wares. Some such monopoly is already attempted; several publishing firms own or partially own a number of provincial papers, which they adorn with strange "Book Chat" columns conspicuously deficient in interesting facts; and a well-known cycle-tire firm supplies "Cycling" columns that are mere pedestals for a certain make of tire. Many quack firms publish and give away annual almanacs replete with economical illustrations, internal details and bad jokes. But I venture to think that these suggestions and attempts are made with a certain disregard of the essential conditions of sound advertisement. Sound advertisement consists in perpetual alertness and newness, in appearance in new places and in new aspects, in the constant access to fresh minds. The devotion of a newspaper to the interest of one particular make of a commodity or group of commodities, will inevitably rob its advertisement department of most of its interest for the habitual readers of the paper. That is to say, the newspaper will fail in what is one of the chief attractions of a good newspaper. Moreover, such a devotion will react upon all the other matter in the paper, because the editor will need to be constantly alert to exclude tedious reflections upon the Health-Extract-of-Horse-Flesh or Saved-by-Boiling Jam. His sense of this relation will taint his self-respect, and make him a less capable editor than a man whose sole affair is to keep his paper interesting. To these more interesting rival papers the excluded competitor will be driven, and the reader will follow in his wake. There is no more sense in the proprietor of an article in popular demand buying or creating a newspaper to contain all his advertisements than there would be in his buying a coal pit for the same purpose. Such a privacy or advertisement will never work, I think, on a large scale; it is probably at or near its maximum development now; and this anticipation of the advertiser-owned paper, like that of hourly papers and that wonderfully-powerful cosmic newspaper syndicate, is simply another instance of prophesying based only on a present trend, an expansion of the obvious, instead of an analysis of determining forces.

general proposition will be found to hold good. The supersession of the party machine in the purely democratic countries, and of the official choice of the rich and privileged rulers in the more monarchical ones, by capable, operative and administrative men inspired by the belief in a common theory of social order, will come about, peacefully and gradually, or violently as a revolution, but inevitably because of international competition and the imminence or disasters of war.

That all these governments of confusion drift towards war, with a spacious impulse and a final vehemence quite out of comparison greater than the warlike impulses of former times, is a remarkable but by no means inexplicable thing. A tone of public expression, jealous and patriotic to the danger point, is an unavoidable condition under which these governments of confusion exist. To be patriotically quarrelsome is imperative upon the party machines that will come to dominate the democratic countries. They will not possess detailed and definite policies and creeds, because there are no longer any detailed and definite public opinions; but they will, for all that, require some ostensible purpose to explain their cohesion, some hold upon the common man that will insure his appearance in numbers at the polling place, sufficient to save the government from the raids of small but determined sects. That hold can be only of one sort. Without moral or religious uniformity, with interests as involved and confused as a heap of spelicans, there remains only one generality for the politician's purpose, the ampler aspect of a man's egotism, his pride in what he imagines to be his particular kind—his patriotism. In every country amenable to democratic influences there emerges or will emerge a party machine, vividly and simply patriotic, and indefinite upon the score of any other possible consideration between man and man. This will hold true, not only of the ostensibly democratic states, but also of such reconstituted modern monarchies as Italy and Germany; for they, too, for all their legal difference, rest also on the grey.

Now, patriotism is not a thing that flourishes in the void; it needs a foreigner. A national and patriotic party is an anti-foreign party; the altar of the modern god, Democracy, will cry aloud for the stranger men. Simply to keep in power, and out of no love of mischief, the government or the party machine will have to insist upon dangers and national differences, to keep the

voter to the poll by alarms, seeking ever to taint the possible nucleus of any competing organization with the repute of external influence. The party press will play the watch dog, and allay all internal dissensions with its warning bay at some adjacent people; and the adjacent peoples, for reasons to be presently expanded, will be continually more sensitive to such baying. Already, one sees country yelping at country all over the modern world, not only in the matter of warlike issues, but with a note of quite furious commercial rivalry—quite furious and, indeed, quite insane, since its ideal of trading enormously with absolutely ruined and tradeless foreigners, exporting everything and importing nothing, is obviously outside reason altogether. The inexorable doom of these governments based on the grey, is to foster enmity between people and people. Even their alliances are but sacrifices to intenser antagonisms. And the phases of the democratic sequence are simple and sure. Forced on by a relentless competition, the tone of the outcries will become fiercer and fiercer, the occasions of excitement, the perilous moments, the ingenuities of annoyance, more and more dramatic—from the mere emptiness and disorder of the general mind! Jealousies and anti-foreign enactments; tariff manipulations and commercial embitterments, destructive, foolish, exasperating obstructions that benefit no human being will minister to this craving without completely allaying it. Nearer and ever nearer the politicians of the coming times will force one another towards the verge; not because they want to go over it, not because any one wants to go over it, but because they are by their very nature compelled to go that way, because to go in any other direction is to break up and lose power. And, consequently, the final development of the democratic system, so far as intrinsic forces go, will be not the rule of the boss nor the rule of the trust nor the rule of the newspaper, no rule, indeed, but international rivalry, international competition, international exasperation and hostility, and at last—irresistible and overwhelming—the definite establishment of the rule of that most stern and educational of all masters —*War*.

At this point, there opens a tempting path, and along it historical precedents, like a forest of notice boards, urge us to go. At the end of the vista stands the figure of Napoleon, with Cæsarisms written beneath. Disregarding certain alien considerations

for a time, assuming the free working out of democracy to its conclusion, we perceive that, in the case of our generalized state, the party machine, together with the nation entrusted to it, must necessarily be forced into passionate national war. But, having blundered into war, the party machine will have an air of having accomplished its destiny. A party machine or a popular government is, surely, as likely a thing to cause a big disorder of war and as unlikely a thing to conduct it, as the wit of man, working solely to that end, could ever have devised. I have already pointed out why we can never expect an elected government of the modern sort to be guided by any far reaching designs; it is constructed to get office and keep office, not to do anything in office; the conditions of its survival are to keep appearances up and taxes down;* and the care and management of army and navy is quite outside its possibilities. The military and naval professions in our typical modern state will subsist very largely upon tradition, the ostensible government will interfere with rather than direct them, and there will be no force in the entire scheme to check the corrupting influence of a long peace, to insist upon adequate exercises for the fighting organization, to insure an adequate adaptation to the new and perpetually changing possibilities of untried apparatus. Incapable, but confident and energetic, persons having political influence will have been permitted to tamper with the various arms of the service, the equipment will be largely devised to create an impression of efficiency in time of peace in the minds of the general voting public, and the really efficient soldiers will either have fretted themselves out of the army, or have been driven out as politically non-effective—

*One striking illustration of the imbecile possibilities of party government came to light during the last term of office of the present patriotic British government. As a demonstration of patriotism (and as a vigorous stimulant to foreign effort), large sums of money were voted annually for the purpose of building warships, and the patriotic common man paid the taxes gladly with a dream of irresistible naval predominance to sweeten the payment. But the money was not spent on warships; only a portion of it was spent, and the rest remained to make a surplus and warm the heart of the common man in his tax-paying capacity. This artful dodge was repeated for several years; the artful dodger is now a peer, no doubt abjectly respected, and nobody in the most patriotic party so far evolved is a bit the worse for it. In the organizing experiments of all popular governments, as in the prospectuses of unsound companies, the disposition is to exaggerate the nominal capital at the expense of the working efficiency. Democratic armies and navies are always short, and will always be short of ammunition, paint, training and reserve stores, battalions and ships alike count as units and go short-handed, and democratic army reform almost invariably works out to some device for multiplying units by fission, and counting men three times over instead of twice in some ingenious and plausible way. And this must be so, because the sort of men who come inevitably to power under democratic conditions are men trained by all the conditions of their lives so to set appearances before realities, as at last to become utterly incapable of realities.

troublesome, innovating persons, anxious to spend money upon "fads." So armed, the New Democracy will blunder into war; and the opening stage of the next great war will be the catastrophic breakdown of the formal armies, shames and disasters, and a disorder of conflict between more or less equally matched masses of stupefied, scared and infuriated people.

Now, foreseeing this, it is easy to step into the trap of the Napoleonic precedent. One hastens to foretell that, either with the pressure of coming war, or in the hour of defeat, there will arise the Man. He will be strong in action, epigrammatic in manner, personally handsome and continually victorious. He will sweep aside parliaments and demagogues, carry the nation to glory, reconstruct it as an empire, and hold it together by circulating his profile and organizing further successes. He will—I gather this from chance lights upon contemporary anticipations—codify everything, rejuvenate the papacy, or at any rate galvanize Christianity, erect countless monuments to Napoleon, Octavius Cæsar and Thomas Carlyle, organize learning in Academies, and prescribe a wonderful educational system. The grateful nations will once more deify a lucky and aggressive egotism. And there the vision loses breath.

Nothing of the sort is going to happen, or, at any rate, if it happens it will happen as an interlude, as no necessary part in the general progress of the human drama. The world is no more to be recast by individuals than a city is to be lit by skyrockets. The Purpose of Things emerges upon spacious issues, and the day of the human leaders is past. The analogies and precedents that lead one to forecast the coming of military one-man dominions, the coming of such other parodies of Cæsar as that misapplied and speedily futile chess champion, Napoleon I., contrived, are false. They are false, because they ignore two correlated things —first, the steady development of this new, unprecedented, educated class as a necessary aspect of the expansion of science and mechanism; and, secondly, an absolute revolution in the art of war that science and mechanism are bringing about. This latter consideration the next of these papers will expand; but here, in the interests of the discussion, we may in general terms anticipate its gist. War in the past has been a thing entirely different in its nature from what war, with the apparatus of the future, will be; it has been showy, dramatic, emotional and restricted. War

in the future will be none of these things. War in the past was a thing of days and heroisms; battles and campaigns rested in the hand of the great commander, who stood out against the sky, picturesquely on horseback, visibly controlling it all. War in the future will be a question of preparation, of long years of foresight and disciplined imagination; there will be no decisive victory, but a vast diffusion of conflict. It will depend less and less on controlling personalities and driving emotions, and more and more upon the intelligence and personal quality of a great number of skilled men. All this, the next paper will expand. It will become apparent, perhaps almost suddenly, that the whole apparatus of power in the country is in the hands of a new class of intelligent and scientifically educated men. They will probably, under the development of warlike stresses, be discovered, as it were, they will discover themselves almost surprisingly, with roads and railways, carts and cities, drains, food supply, electrical supply and water supply, guns and such implements of destruction and intimidation as men scarcely dream of yet, gathered in their hands. And they will be discovered, too, with a growing common consciousness of themselves as distinguished from the grey confusion, a common purpose and implication that the fearless analysis of science is already bringing to light. It will be made quite evident that what is now, indeed, only a pious opinion —namely, that wealth is, after all, no ultimate power at all, but only an influence among aimless, police-guarded men—is, after all, true. So long as there is peace, these capable men may be mitigated and gagged and controlled, and the ostensible present order may flourish still in the hands of that other class of men which deals with the appearances of things. But, as some supersaturated solution will crystallize out with the mere shaking of the beaker, so must the new order of men come into visibly organized existence through the concussions of war.

H. G. Wells.

AN EXEMPLARY CITIZEN.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

If one were to name Paul Dunbar with Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglass and Charles W. Chesnutt, one would have a group of Americans who, even if they were not known to be Afro-Americans (I did not invent the term, I am glad to say; but I am glad to use it, for it serves), would lift themselves far above our undistinguished average, white or black. The fact that they are Afro-Americans is not the chief fact concerning them. It was, indeed, the function of Douglass to be an Afro-American, and that is in a way the function of Mr. Washington. But when one reads what they have written or spoken, one no more feels a quality of Afro-Americanism in them than one feels it in the work of Mr. Dunbar or Mr. Chesnutt, whose function is to be literary artists. Mr. Dunbar is entirely black, and Mr. Chesnutt, to the unskilled eye, is entirely white. Mr. Washington, as Douglass was, is a half-blood. But they are all colored people, and it is only just to credit their mother-race with their uncommon powers and virtues, since, if they were weak or vicious, it must bear the blame and the shame of their shortcoming. So far as I can make out from the study of their minds in their books, they are of one blood with their fathers or forefathers. There is, apparently, no color line in the brain. One almost wishes there were, and that there were a region of thought-life, apart from ours, characterized by something strange, something different, some hint, even, of the ancestral Grand Custom. The ancestral Cakewalk seems to intimate itself for a moment in Mr. Washington's dedication of

* "Up from Slavery: An Autobiography," by Booker T. Washington. Doubleday, Page & Co.
"Frederick Douglass, the Colored Orator," by Frederick May Holland. Funk & Wagnalls Co.
"Frederick Douglass" (Beacon Biographies), by Charles W. Chesnutt. Small, Maynard & Co.

his autobiography to his "wife, *Mrs.* Margaret James Washington," and his "brother, *Mr.* John H. Washington;" but nothing is less characteristic of the author than the cakewalk, and its apparent flourish, in this instance, has a pathos to which, rightly seen, one wishes to uncover. It is part of the proud tenderness, the loving loyalty to family and race, which is one of the finest traits of this remarkable book and of this remarkable man.

I.

Except for the race ignominy and social outlawry to which he was born, the story of Booker T. Washington does not differ so very widely from that of many another eminent American. His origin was not much more obscure, his circumstances not much more squalid, than Abraham Lincoln's, and his impulses and incentives to the making of himself were of much the same source and quality. He was born in slavery, but not in poverty much more abject, more absolute; and he was like another great American of his own color, in those conditions of his birth which forbade him to know his father or even his father's name. They each understood vaguely that he was a white man on a neighboring plantation; but they had never any reason to ascribe to him those gifts or talents which we are fond of attributing to the white half of a mulatto's origin when he shows them. The mother of Douglass died when he was a child She could do nothing, in that hopeless period of slavery, to fit him for his wonderful career. He remembered her as a tall, straight young woman, handsome and proud, with "deep black, glossy" skin, and features like those of an Egyptian king in a picture he had seen. She was the only person of her color on the plantation who could read; yet Douglass no more learned of his mother to read than Booker Washington, whose mother could not have taught him from her own knowledge, but who was as ambitious for his education as if she could have led or followed him. There is nothing more touching in his book than the passages which record her devotion and her constant endeavor to help him find the way so dark to her. There is nothing more beautiful and uplifting in literature than the tender reverence, the devout honor with which he repays her affection. His birth was a part of slavery, and she was, in his eyes, as blameless for its conditions as if it had all the sanctions. The patience, the fearless frankness, with which he accepts and owns the facts, are

not less than noble; and it is not to their white fathers, but to their black mothers, that such men as Frederick Douglass and Booker Washington justly ascribe what is best in their natures.

II.

The story of his struggle for an education is the story of Booker Washington's life, which I am not going to spoil for the reader by trying to tell it. He has himself told it so simply and charmingly that one could not add to or take from it without marring it. The part of the autobiography which follows the account of his learning to read and write, in the scanty leisure of his hard work in the West Virginia coal mines, and of his desperate adventure in finding his way into Hampton Institute, is, perhaps, more important and more significant, but it has not the fascination of his singularly pleasing personality. It concerns the great problem, which no man has done more than he to solve, of the future of his race, and its reconciliation with the white race, upon conditions which it can master only through at least provisional submission; but it has not the appeal to the less philosophized sympathies which go out to struggle and achievement. It is not such interesting reading, and yet it is all very interesting; and if the prosperity of the author is not so picturesque as his adversity, still it is prosperity well merited, and it is never selfish prosperity.

Booker Washington early divined the secret of happiness as constant activity for the good of others. This was the first thing he learned from the example of the admirable man who became his ideal and his norm: he formed himself, morally at least, upon General Armstrong, and in a measure he studied his manner—his simple and sincere manner—oratorically.

This must be evident to any one who has heard both men speak. It was most apparent to me when I heard Mr. Washington speak at a meeting which had been addressed by several distinguished white speakers. When this marvellous yellow man came upon the platform, and stood for a moment, with his hands in his pockets, and with downcast eyes, and then began to *talk* at his hearers the clearest, soundest sense, he made me forget all those distinguished white speakers, and he made me remember General Armstrong, from whom he had learned that excellent manner. It was somewhat the manner of Salvini, when, in the

character of another colored man, he defends himself to the Venetian Senate for having taken away Brabantio's daughter; and, perhaps, the poet was divining and forecasting the style of the race in the plain, unvarnished reasoning of Othello.

What strikes you, first and last, in Mr. Washington is his constant common sense. He has lived heroic poetry, and he can, therefore, afford to talk simple prose. Simple prose it is, but of sterling worth, and such as it is a pleasure to listen to as long as he chooses to talk. It is interfused with the sweet, brave humor which qualifies his writing, and which enables him, like Dunbar, to place himself outside his race, when he wishes to see it as others see it, and to report its exterior effect from his interior knowledge. To do this may not be proof of the highest civilization, but it is a token of the happiest and usefullest temperament.

III.

The dominant of Mr. Washington's register is *business;* first, last and all the time, the burden of his song is the Tuskegee Industrial Institute. There is other music in him, and no one who reads his story can fail to know its sweetness; but to Tuskegee his heart and soul are unselfishly devoted, and he does not suffer his readers long to forget it. He feels with his whole strength that the hope of his race is in its industrial advancement, and that its education must, above all, tend to that. His people must know how to read and write in order to be better workmen; but good workmen they must be, and they must lead decent, sober, honest lives to the same end. It was the inspiration of this philosophy and experience which enabled him, in his famous speech at the opening of the Atlanta Exposition, to bring the white race into kindlier and wiser relations with the black than they had known before. Social equality he does not ask for or apparently care for; but industrial and economic equality his energies are bent upon achieving, in the common interest of both races. Of all slights and wrongs he is patient, so they do not hinder the negro from working or learning how to work in the best way.

The temper of his mind is conservative, and, oddly enough, that seems to be the temper of the Afro-American mind whenever it comes to its consciousness. The Anglo-American of the South may be, and often has been, an extremist, but the Afro-American,

so far as he has made himself eminent, is not. Perhaps, it is his unfailing sense of humor that saves him from extremism. At any rate, cool patience is not more characteristic of Mr. Washington than of Mr. Dunbar or Mr. Chesnutt or of Frederick Douglass himself. Douglass was essentially militant; he was a fighter from 'way back, from the hour when he conceived the notion that if the slave would always fight the man who attempted to whip him, there would be no whipping, and he did fight his master upon this theory, and beat him; his war with slavery was to the death. Yet he laid himself open to the blame of certain Abolitionists because he would not go all lengths with them, and he refused to take part in the attempt of John Brown, whom he loved with his whole heart. He kept amidst the tumult of his emotion the judicial mind, and he did not lose his head in the stormy career of the agitator.

This calm is apparently characteristic of the best of the race, and in certain aspects it is of the highest and most consoling promise. It enables them to use reason and the nimbler weapons of irony, and saves them from bitterness. By virtue of it Washington, and Dunbar and Chesnutt enjoy the negro's ludicrous side as the white observer enjoys it, and Douglass could see the fun of the zealots whose friend and fellow-fighter he was. The fact is of all sorts of interesting implications; but I will draw from it, for the present, the sole suggestion that the problem of the colored race may be more complex than we have thought it. What if upon some large scale they should be subtler than we have supposed? What if their amiability should veil a sense of *our* absurdities, and there should be in our polite inferiors the potentiality of something like contempt for us? The notion is awful; but we may be sure they will be too kind, too wise, ever to do more than let us guess at the truth, if it is the truth.

IV.

Mr. Washington's experience of our race has been such as to teach him a greater measure of kindness for it than many of his race have cause to feel. His generous enterprise prospers by our bounty, which he owns, with rather more tolerance for the rich than the New Testament expresses. So far from bidding them "go to and howl," he is disposed to deprecate the censure which some of the public prints (perhaps in too literal a discipleship)

heap upon them. With such open hands he believes there must go good hearts, and he finds not excuse only, but justification, for English aristocrats as well as American plutocrats. He does not know but there may be good reasons for the division of society into classes, and for the frank recognition of server and served, as in England. This may be because Mr. Washington's clock does not always strike twelve; and it may be because he and the nobility and gentry are right. In either case, it is interesting in itself and ingenuous in him. It makes assurance doubly sure that the negro is not going to do anything dynamitic to the structure of society. He is going to take it as he finds it, and make the best of his rather poor chances in it. In his heart is no bitterness. If his rights are taken away, he will work quietly on till they are given back. No doubt, it is the wisest way. If he keeps faithfully and quietly at work, he will presently be an owner of the earth and have money in the bank, and from such their rights cannot long be withheld. They can buy the strong arm that robs them; they can invoke the law to make the oppressor get off the land.

Mr. Washington's way seems, at present, the only way for his race, which has not even the unrestricted suffrage to its friend, as white labor has. Perhaps, if it had, it would make no more of it than white labor does. The ballot which was once supposed to

> "execute the freeman's will
> As lightning does the will of God,"

seems to operate tangentially, and not to carry with it the proof of a direct volition; but so does and does not the lightning, for that matter. What is certain is that Mr. Washington has entire faith in his plan, and that, while he is not insensible or indifferent to the unlawful disabilities of his people, he sees no hope in their making a fight against them, and further alienating the stronger race about them. By precept and by practice he counsels, not a base submission to the Southern whites, but a manly fortitude in bearing the wrongs that cannot now be righted, and a patient faith in the final kindliness and ultimate justice of the Anglo-Americans, with whom and by whom the Afro-Americans must live. He has seen the party which freed the slaves unable through forty years of interrupted power to keep them politically free or to make them socially equal with their former masters, and his counsel, enforced by his eminent example, has been for the

Afro-American to forego politics, at least for the present, and to put from him indefinitely the illusive hope of associating with the Anglo-American.

If the Afro-American could only realize the fact that many Anglo-Americans are not worth associating with, it might help him put the vain desire from him. If he would reflect upon the fact, which must be perfectly obvious to him as cook, butler, waiter and coachman, that some of us Anglo-Americans will not associate with other Anglo-Americans, and that if we have "exaggerated incomes" we will not, according to Mr. Depew, admit Anglo-Americans "of distinction in art and letters," to our tables or ball-rooms or coaching parties, he will be still better able to console himself under his deprivation. Probably, he would be willing to consort with even such outcasts from exclusive white society; but, with his native love of splendor, I think he would prefer the exclusive society, and, upon the whole, he might be more fitted for it.

He is as likely to get into it as into any other white society, though I am not sure that he would be shut out from the very lowest, which sometimes embraces even Chinamen. At that level, he would find himself at home in the traditions of poverty, which are much the same, whether it is the poverty of the slave or of the freeman. Mr. Washington remembers, as one of the most significant features of the slave life to which he was born, that his people had no tables or beds where they ate or slept. They never sat down to meals, but caught up a bone or a crust and fed upon it wherever they happened to be. They never went to bed, but dropped down anywhere, and slept upon a heap of rags or the bare floor. But such conditions are not distinctive of slavery. If Mr. Washington were to go slumming, I will undertake that he should see on the East Side in New York very much the same conditions, very much the same usages. I myself have been received (without the express invitation of the hosts; one doesn't stand upon ceremony with such people) in tenements where they seemed to prevail, and I suspect that they prevail in a degree which would astonish the Afro-American sufficiently detached from the past of his race to view it objectively, and to realize the connotative facts.

V.

White men rise from squalor almost as great as that which has left no taint upon the mind and soul of the born thrall, Booker T. Washington. But it must be remembered to his honor, and to his greater glory as a fighter against fate, that they rise in the face of no such odds as he has had to encounter. No prejudice baser than the despite for poverty bars their way. But the negro who makes himself in our conditions, works with limbs manacled and fettered by manifold cruel prepossessions. These prepossessions yield at certain points to amiability, to mildness, to persistent submissiveness, but at other points they yield to nothing.

In spite of them, though never in defiance of them, Booker T. Washington has made himself a public man, second to no other American in importance. He seems to hold in his strong grasp the key to the situation; for if his notion of reconciling the Anglo-American to the Afro-American, by a civilization which shall not seem to threaten the Anglo-American supremacy, is not the key, what is? He imagines for his race a civilization industrial and economical, hoping for the virtues which spring from endeavor and responsibility; and apparently his imagination goes no farther. But a less deeply interested observer might justify himself in hoping for it, from the things it has already accomplished in art and literature, a civilization of high æsthetic qualities.

As for the man himself, whose winning yet manly personality and whose ideal of self-devotion must endear him to every reader of his book, something remains to be said, which may set him in a true perspective and a true relation to another great Afro-American, whose name could not well be kept out of the consideration. Neither by temperament nor by condition had Frederick Douglass the charm which we feel when Booker T. Washington writes or speaks. The time was against him. In that time of storm and stress, the negro leader was, perforce, a fighter. The sea of slavery, from which he had escaped with his bare life, weltered over half the land, and threatened all the new bounds of the Republic. By means of the Fugitive Slave Law, it had, in fact, made itself national, and the bondman was nowhere on American soil safe from recapture and return to his master. Frederick Douglass had to be bought, and his price had to be paid

in dollars by those who felt his priceless value to humanity, before he could be to it all that he was destined to become.

It would have been impossible that the iron which had entered into the man's soul should not show itself in his speech. Yet, his words were strangely free from violence; the violence was in the hatred which the mere thought of a negro defying slavery aroused in its friends. If you read now what he said, you will be surprised at his reasonableness, his moderation. He was not gentle; his life had been ungentle; the logic of his convictions was written in the ineffaceable scars of the whip on his back. Of such a man, you do not expect the smiling good humor with which Booker T. Washington puts the question of his early deprivations and struggles by. The life of Douglass was a far more wonderful life, and when it finds its rightful place in our national history, its greater dynamic importance will be felt.

Each of these two remarkable men wrought and is working fitly and wisely in his time and place. It is not well to forget slavery, and the memory of Frederick Douglass will always serve to remind us of it and of the fight against it. But it is not well to forget that slavery is gone, and that the subjection of the negro race which has followed it does not imply its horrors. The situation which Booker T. Washington deals with so wisely is wholly different from the situation which Douglass confronted, and it is slowly but surely modifying itself. The mild might of his adroit, his subtle statesmanship (in the highest sense it is not less than statesmanship, and involves a more than Philippine problem in our midst), is the only agency to which it can yield. Without affirming his intellectual equality with Douglass, we may doubt whether Douglass would have been able to cope so successfully with the actual conditions, and we may safely recognize in Booker T. Washington an Afro-American of unsurpassed usefulness, and an exemplary citizen.

W. D. HOWELLS.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

VICTOR HUGO

was unquestionably the most imposing literary figure of France in the Nineteenth Century, both because of the extraordinary bulk of his literary production, and because of his unequaled command of language in poetry and prose, in history, fiction, essay—all the branches of literature. He was one of the literary geniuses of the world. Hugo was born at Besançon, France, February 26th, 1802, and died in Paris, May 22d, 1885. He began writing professionally in 1818, at the age of sixteen, and continued publishing until the time of his death. Since his death, several posthumous works by his hand have appeared. In 1864, at the time of the three hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, he published a volume of critical essays, entitled "Shakespeare," and it was at this time that the tribute to Shakespeare's genius which opens this number of the REVIEW was written. Naturally such a paper had no place in the critical volume, and it was never published. It now appears for the first time.

GOLDWIN SMITH,

the well-known scholar and writer upon historical and constitutional subjects, was the author of an important article entitled "The Irish Question," published in the June, 1901, number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. He is a frequent contributor to the REVIEW, and a note regarding him will be found in the June number.

HO YOW

has held several diplomatic positions on behalf of China in the United States. He was first appointed Vice-Consul in San Francisco, representing the Chinese Empire; he then rose to the position of Consul, and, on January 31st, 1899, after settling a serious dispute between two factions of the Chinese in San Francisco, he was given the unusual appointment of Imperial Consul-General for China in the United States, the highest position in the local diplomatic service. Mr. Ho Yow is the brother of His Excellency, Wu Ting

Fang, the Chinese Minister at Washington, and he has been interested for the past three years in trying to bring about some change in the Chinese Exclusion Acts. He is a talented speaker, using the English language with ease, and has made public addresses several times upon the subject that he is most interested in—the opening of the United States to Chinese immigrants. Mr. Ho Yow has also had much to do with the friendly relation existing between Mexico and the Chinese Empire.

HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL

is one of the most distinguished Congressmen at present representing the State of Illinois in the House of Representatives at Washington. He was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the 14th of March, 1856. His family removed to Chicago in 1863, and since that time his home has been in Illinois. Graduating from the Northwestern University in 1874, he spent the next two years at Harvard, securing a degree in 1876. He then took a post-graduate course in constitutional and international law and received the degree of A. M. from Harvard in 1877. He studied law in Chicago and in Springfield, Illinois, and was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1879, and to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1885. After serving one term in the Illinois Legislature he was elected to Congress, as a representative from the Sixth Illinois District in Chicago in 1897, being re-elected in 1898 and 1900. Mr. Boutell, besides filling important positions in Illinois, such as trustee of the Northwestern University, is an experienced writer upon historical and literary subjects.

CONSTANTIN POBIEDONOSTSEFF

is at present probably the most distinguished man in Russia in educational and religious circles. He fills the position of Procurator of the Russian Holy Synod, or Minister of Public Worship, which places him at the head of the Russian Church, immediately under the Czar. M. Pobiedonostseff was born in 1827. From 1860 to 1865 he held the chair of Civil Law in Moscow University. In the latter year he was invited to St. Petersburg to act as tutor to the children of Alexander II., and was consequently tutor of both Alexander III. and his son, the present Czar. In 1860 he made a long tour throughout the Russian Empire with the heir-

presumptive, the uncle of the present Czar, who died before ascending the throne. These travels produced a remarkable work in which M. Pobiedonostseff first developed his ideas as a statesman. In 1880 he was appointed Procurator General of the Holy Synod, the important position still filled by him, which has enabled him to play an influential rôle in public affairs. In 1888 he was elected a member of the Institute of France in recognition of the fact that he is the author of some forty volumes, four of which, "The Manual of Civil Law," constitute the best treatise in Russia on that subject.

HAROLD COX.

The article in this number entitled "The Debt of Great Britain," by Mr. Cox, the distinguished English journalist, is the first paper in a most important series of articles which will run in the REVIEW on the debts of all the civilized nations. In the August number an introductory article to this series was published under the title of "The World's National Indebtedness," by Mr. O. P. Austin, the Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, and in the October number of the REVIEW, the second article in the series will be published on "The Egyptian Debt," by the Hon. Clinton Edward Dawkins, the distinguished English banker and financier, Under-Secretary of State for Finance in Egypt in 1895. Each of the articles in this series will be by eminent specialists, and when completed they will make the most exhaustive statement of the finances and debts of the nations of the world in existence. Mr. Cox is the secretary of the Cobden Club and one of the best writers on British politics and British finance to-day. He contributed an important article to the July, 1901, issue of THE REVIEW, under the general subject of foreign trade and national prosperity, entitled "American Progress and British Commerce." A note in the July number gives a brief sketch of Mr. Cox's career.

J. M. BUCKLEY, LL. D.,

a short biographical note of whose career is given in the July, 1901, issue of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, contributed an article entitled "The Absurd Paradox of Christian Science" to that number of the REVIEW, which attracted so much attention that in the August issue of the REVIEW a reply was published by Mr. W. D. McCrackan, of the Chris-

tian Science Publication Committee, under the title "The Simple Logic of Christian Science." Dr. Buckley in this issue publishes a rejoinder to this reply, and the three articles constitute an admirable exposition of both sides of the question.

H. G. Wells.

A short note regarding Mr. Wells will be found in the number of the Review for August, 1900.

Princess Ysenburg.

Mary, Princess Ysenburg, Princess Reuss (Aelterer Linie), is the only surviving sister of Prince Heinrich XXII., member of the principalities forming the German Empire. She married Erbgraf Frederich Zu Ysenburg and Büdingen-Meerholz. She was left a widow in 1889, and then resumed her own title. She now lives a quiet country life in the summer at her estates in Gettenbach, and spends the winter in Dresden, associating by predilection with the American colony in that city. The Princess has for some time been interested in a proposed society for doing away with the wearing of trains by women, a society which also has for its purpose general reform in women's dress, and she has announced her willingness to form a branch of the society in Germany for the purpose of carrying out the same object. The article in this number of the Review gives a general statement of her views on the subject.

W. E. Henley.

Mr. Henley's six poems appearing in this number complete the collection of lyrics which appeared under the title of "Hawthorn and Lavender: Songs and Madrigals," in the issues of November, 1899, and June, 1901. A note regarding the author and poet was published in the Review for February, 1900.

Note on Count Tolstoi.

We have been requested by Count Tolstoi's English agent and translator to announce that we have no exclusive rights over the article printed in our issue of April, 1901, entitled "The Root of the Evil," by Count Tolstoi. We had already mentioned in our little biographical notice of Count Tolstoi, in the same issue, that the article was free, but it may have escaped notice; hence we take pleasure in repeating that the article is free and any one can republish it.

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SHAKESPEARE.

THE TRICENTENNIAL OF HIS BIRTH, APRIL, 1864.

BY VICTOR HUGO.

DEATH always brings justice at the last. Very recently an opportunity has offered of pronouncing a final verdict upon Shakespeare, and of discharging the debts of the past; the 23rd of April, the date of the birth of the illustrious poet of Stratford has returned for the three hundredth time.

After three centuries mankind has something to say to one who has long been insulted. It has seemed as if Shakespeare were standing upon the soil of France; Paris has risen; the poets, the artists, the historians, have stretched out their hands to this phantom by whose side the poets have seen Hamlet, the artists Prospero, and the historians Julius Cæsar. The drunken savage, the barbarous harlequin, the mountebank Shakespeare has appeared, and only the light which surrounds him has been visible; the ridicule of two centuries has ended in dazzling radiance, and France has cried: "Welcome genius." Glory has assumed a definite shape.

We have been conscious of a movement in the shades where congregate our august dead. We have thought that Molière smiled; that Corneille bent his head. No old hatreds, old in-

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justices, nor a murmur, but unanimous enthusiasm, and at this time those who appreciate profundity, those whose hatred of despots is only equalled by their love of intellect, those who wishing that justice be done wish also that it may be rendered, the thoughtful solitaries occupied with the ideal, the dreamers have wondered and been stirred at the tranquillity attending this majestic entrance.

Shakespeare the drunken savage! Savage, yes, but the inhabitant of the virgin forest; drunken indeed, but with the ideal. He is a giant, beneath the boughs of enormous trees, who holds a great golden cup, and the light which he drinks is reflected in his eyes. Shakespeare, like Æschylus, like Job, like Isaiah, is one of the sovereigns of thought and of poesy, who, sufficient for the All Mysterious, have the depth of creation itself, and who like creation itself translate and illustrate this depth by a profusion of forms and images, springing from the darkness, in flowers, in leaves and in living streams.

Shakespeare, like Æschylus, is prodigal with the unfathomable. The unfathomable is the inexhaustible. The more profound the thought, the more vital the expression. Out of blackness comes color. The life of the abyss is hidden; the central fire produces the volcano, the volcano the lava, the lava oxides. The oxides seek, meet and fertilize the root; the root creates the flower. Thus the rose springs from the flames. The labor of the abyss is repeated in the brain of the genius. The idea, the abstraction within the poet is charm and reality in the poem. What darkness beneath the earth, what tingling life on its surface! Without the darkness there would be no life. The vegetation of imagery and expression is rooted in mystery. The flowers are the proof of the depths.

Shakespeare, like all the poets of this order, has absolute personality. He has a method peculiar to himself of imagination, of creation, of production. Imagination, creation and production are three concentric phenomena united in genius. Genius is the sphere of their radiation. Imagination invents, creation organizes, production realizes. Production is the entrance of matter into the idea, giving it a body, rendering it palpable and visible, endowing it with form, with sound, with color, giving it a mouth to speak, feet to walk, and wings to fly; in a word, making the idea exterior to the poet, at the same time that it remains

interior to him and bound to him by idiosyncrasy, the umbilical cord which reunites the creation to the creator.

With all the great poets the phenomenon of inspiration is the same, but the diversity of their minds varies it indefinitely.

The idea arises in the brain: conception; the idea develops into a type: gestation; the type becomes man: infancy; the man translates himself into action and passion: work.

The idea in the type, the type in the man, the man in the action, so it is with Shakespeare, as with Æschylus, with Plautus, with Cervantes, the phenomenon which repeats itself in the concrete life in the drama.

In the masterpiece everything is done with intention. Shakespeare informs this subject, that and not another, its development, its personages, its passions, its philosophy, its action, its style. He creates it resembling humanity—and himself. In full face it is man, in profile Shakespeare. Change the name to Aristophanes, Molière, Beaumarchais, the formula is still true.

These men have originality, the great gift of an individual starting point. Hence their power.

Virgil starts from Homer. Observe the growing degeneration of the imitation. Racine starts from Virgil, Voltaire from Racine, Chénier (Marie Joseph) from Voltaire, Luce de Lancival from Chénier, Zéro from Luce de Lancival. Gradually we arrive at obliteration. The decreasing progression is the most dangerous form of motion. Whoever engages in it is lost. No rolling mill produces such an effacement.

For example, study Hector at his starting point in Homer and see him at his ending in Luce de Lancival.

In France the decreasing progression has been called the classic school. Its product is a literature of pale colors, of faded tints. Toward 1804 poetry began to decline.

At the beginning of this century, under the empire which ended at Waterloo, this literature had said its last word. At this period it had reached its perfection. Our fathers saw its apogee, that is to say, its agony.

Original minds, poets of the first order, are not subject to this chlorosis. The sickly pallor of imitation is unknown to them. The poetry of others is not in their veins. Their blood is their own. To produce is a condition of life. They create because they exist. They breathe, and behold a masterpiece.

The identification of their style with themselves is complete. For the true critic, who is a chemist, the least detail is a condensation of their total. This word is Æschylus, this word is Juvenal, this Dante. *Unsex*—all Lady Macbeth is in that word, peculiar to Shakespeare. Not an idea in the poet, as not a leaf on the tree, which is not rooted in himself. We do not see its origin; that is below the earth, but there it is. The idea leaves the brain expressed, that is to say united with the words, capable of analysis and yet concrete, compounded of the age and of the poet, apparently simple yet really composite. Springing thus from the depths, each idea of the poet one with the words sums up in its microcosm all the elements which make the poet. One taste suffices for the whole. Whence it comes that each detail of style, each term, each word, each meaning, each extension, each construction, each turn of speech is metaphysical.

We have said elsewhere that the word is the flesh of the idea, but this flesh is living. If, like the old school of criticism which separated the matter from the form, you separate the idea from the word, you kill. As in death, the idea—that is, the soul—disappears. Your war on the word is an attack on the idea. An indivisible style is the characteristic of the writer of the highest order. The historian like Tacitus, the poet like Shakespeare puts his organization, his passion, his acquirement, his suffering, his illusions, his destiny, his whole being into each line of his book, into each sigh of his poem, into each cry of his drama.

The imperious dictates of the conscience, and a certain one knows not what of the peremptory which resembles obligation, manifest themselves in the style. To write is to do; the writer acts. The expressed idea is an accepted responsibility. For this reason the writer is on intimate terms with his style. He leaves nothing to chance. Responsibility involves solidarity.

The detail adjusts itself to the whole, and is itself a whole. Everything is comprehensive. One word is a tear, one word a flower, another a flash of lightning, another word filth. And the tear burns, the flower dreams, the lightning laughs, the filth shines. Muck and sublimity pair. One poem proves it: Job.

Masterpieces are mysterious formations. Here and there the infinite is hidden. In the midst of all these human emotions, of all this palpitating reality, this pathetic life, the expression which astounds you is an abrupt expansion of the unknown. There is

a certain pre-existence in style. It is always true to its type. It springs from every part of the writer, from the hairs of his head as well as from the depths of his intellect. All of genius, its terrestrial as well as its cosmic side, its humanity, its divinity, the poet as the prophet, is in the style. The style is soul and blood.

It is incontestably fixed, and yet nothing is more free. There is the wonder. No one clogs it, no one inconveniences it, no one limits it. It is impossible not to smile when one hears, for example, of the difficulties of rhyme. Why not also of the hindrances of syntax. These pretended difficulties are the necessary forms of language, whether in prose or verse, engendering themselves, and without preliminary combination. They have their analogy in external facts; the echo is the rhyme of nature.

We knew a poet, Richelet, who as a child composed verses, at first unformed, then less and less incorrect, then at last exact, who discovered for himself, step by step, one after the other, all the laws, the cesura, the alternating feminine rhyme, etc., and to whom prosody came instinctively.

Idiosyncrasy, the umbilical cord of which I have spoken, is a chain which connects the writer and his style. With this attachment, which is the source of its life, it travels over the alembics of grammar. Its principle, which is the writer himself, is incorporated in it, and does not lose an atom by all the processes of selection by which it chooses phrases for prose or verses for poetry.

Within the general limits of rhythm, which he accepts, the poet has his own rhythm. From this arises the surprising elasticity of style which can embrace everything from a subtle chastity to a sublime obscenity, from Petrarch to Rabelais.

Sometimes Petrarch and Rabelais are united in the same man, the gamut of style ranging from Romeo to Falstaff. In the interval the universe is peopled with men, with angels, with fairies; the grave appears with its maker at one extremity, its inhabitant at the other, the grave digger and the ghost; the cynic night shows other than its face—*the buttock of the night;* the sorceress and the rabble of the furies appear, a caricature sketched on the vague background of a dream with the charcoal of hell, and bent over this world created by himself the great poet gazes, listens, embellishes, sneers, loves and dreams.

VICTOR HUGO.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ENGLAND.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L.

THE notable fact in British politics is a weakness of the Opposition in Parliament, such as there has not been since the Tory party came back a wreck from the election which followed the passing of the first Reform Bill. The party system can work well, or, indeed, work at all, only when there is an Opposition strong enough to check the action of the party in power, to keep the Government up to the mark, and to be ready when called upon to take its turn in office. Even Tories, therefore, deplore, or affect to deplore, on constitutional grounds, the want of an effective Opposition. The sorrow of the Government Whip may well be sincere; for his task in bringing members to divisions is made doubly hard. A Government with an overwhelming majority has in fact been more than once brought to the verge of defeat by the apathy and indolence of its supporters, who, though warned by the Whip of a coming division, think they may safely go to their dinner.

So low has sunk the party which twenty years ago came back with a decisive majority from the polls! Nor is the reduction of its numbers in the House of Commons by any means the full measure of its fall and weakness. In the shrunken array on its benches there are eighty Irish Nationalists who abjure the British alliance and, as Home Rulers, are bent on an object which most of the British Liberals at heart abhor and strive to keep practically out of sight, though they dare not strike it out of the platform. The British members of Opposition, again, are divided, intensely and bitterly divided, among themselves on the question of the South African war; and not only on the question of that particular war, but in regard to the whole Imperialist policy, of which the attack on the South African Commonwealths forms

a part. That section of the Opposition of which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is the head, and which includes Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Morley, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Labouchere and Mr Channing, is really divided by a wider gulf from Mr. Asquith's section than is Mr. Asquith's section from the Liberal-Unionists on the Government side. Lord Rosebery is perfectly right in saying that the difference of opinion between the sections is fundamental and extends not only to the present war, but to the whole policy of the future, though what his object can be in rubbing salt into the gaping wound is, like his general aim, a mystery.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the official leader of the Opposition, is a parliamentarian of singular tact, as well as a very popular and much respected man. He has done probably all that could be done to harmonize incompatibilities, to present the semblance of a united front, and to prevent his followers from actually filing into hostile lobbies, if he could not prevent their abstention. But his measure of success has been small, and he has had to endure the annoyance of a perpetual revolt inside the party as well as the mockery of the triumphant foe. The Asquith dinner was evidently pointed against him and the section of the party which is loyal to him, though he contrived by adroit management in some measure to deprive the demonstration of its sting.

The Liberal party as a whole is, of course, at present suffering greatly from the influence of the war fever. The situation, in fact, is a signal and almost appalling proof of the temporary autocracy which a Government may obtain by plunging the nation into a war. But in the late election, fought on the war issue, the loss of the Liberal party in seats was only two, though there was a larger reduction of its popular vote. Before the outbreak of the war the Tories had been completely victorious at the polls; and though they no doubt owed their triumph in it largely to the strenuous support of the beer interest, beer may be regarded as their constant ally. Mr. Gladstone, by his conversion to Home Rule, had shattered the party and sent the Unionist section of it over to the Tory side, where, after a provisional domiciliation, it has finally found a home. It must be borne in mind that he appealed to the spirit of separatism, not in Ireland only, but in Scotland and Wales; that he in fact threatened the United Kingdom with disruption. In the fury of the

fray he was even led to set the "masses" against the "classes," and ignorance against education. While we give him the utmost credit for ardent enthusiasm in the cause which he had suddenly embraced, it must be allowed that no political leader ever took a surer way to the ruin of his party.

It must be admitted at the same time that there was a general reaction and that the Liberal movement had been losing its force. The extension of the franchise had fully reached what the veteran Liberals of the Reform Club thought its utmost bounds. The only great step remaining to be taken in that direction was woman's suffrage, a plunge from which even decided Radicals recoiled. A period of political lassitude and apathy naturally ensued. The place of political progress in the public mind has for the time been taken by other objects; by pleasures and sports, by royal and military shows, above all by the pursuit of wealth, which is now absorbing and almost wild.

Liberalism had a citadel in the Free Churches, strongholds of conscientious principle, as well as naturally opposed to the privileges of the State Church, which the Tory party upheld. But the Free Churches have been mollified by religious concession, and at the same time specially weakened by the inroads of scepticism, which are more fatal to a church resting solely on conviction than to one which rests on the support of the State, on public endowments, popular habit, and the preference of the wealthy classes for hierarchical government and ancient ritual.

Moreover, the vision of Disraeli and his Tory-Democratic school has been to a not inconsiderable extent fulfilled. The extension of the suffrage to the lowest class has proved favorable, not to progress but rather to reaction. The populace, of the great cities especially, has combined at the polls with the wealthy class against the middle class and the higher order of artisans; much as the populace at Naples sided with the Bourbons against the Liberals there. The metropolitan district, which, half a century ago, was overwhelmingly Liberal, is now not less overwhelmingly Tory. The "Mafeking night," with its immense carnival of riot and debauch, bespoke the political tendencies of a populace which is said to supply eighty thousand customers, men, women and children, every night to the gin palaces and saloons. An attempt made by Lowe, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, some years ago, to tax the city populace by laying a duty

on matches encountered a storm of resistance to which the Government succumbed. But so long as it is not taxed, the populace of London and other great cities is likely to remain Tory, and above all to adhere to a Tory Government, which adds to its ordinary stimulants the excitement of a war. The peasantry shows itself in the elections less Tory than the populace of the cities.

In the world at large a spirit of violence, adverse to political and social progress as well as to international morality, has suddenly prevailed. There seems to be a sort of general satiety of civilization and fancy for a return to the robustness of the barbarian. The doctrine that Might makes Right appears with little or no disguise. Exhibitions of force of all kinds are in fashion. Prize-fighting is revived, bull-fighting is introduced. The roughest sports, such as football, are in vogue. Churches pander to the prevailing tendency and discard, some of their ministers even flout, the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. War is upheld by clergymen, not as an occasional and unwelcome necessity, but as a normal source of good. One cause of this probably is the subversion, by the advance of science, of religion and the religious ideal; while belief in a Providence upholding justice and humanity is beginning to give way to belief in a blind and ruthless force as the ruling power of the universe. But, whatever may be the explanation, this tidal wave of Jingoism could not fail to swamp for the time Liberalism and the Liberal party.

So far as the thoughts of the people are turned to anything political or serious, their present object is not domestic improvement, but extension abroad, and the building up by conquest and Imperial federation of what is called the Greater Britain; a term which, with the opprobrious name Little Englander, applied to the opposite party, suggests that England is not in herself great, but great only in virtue of her connection with a number of scattered dependencies and three hundred millions of subjugated Hindoos. Not that the impelling force of Imperialism is so much desire of territorial extension, as the appetite of the capitalist, who craves for new fields of exploitation, especially for such as can be worked with servile labor. That mere extension of territory is not strength, but more often weakness, is a lesson which has now been generally learned. The tendency,

both in itself and by its conjunction with militarism, is not only alien, but distinctly opposed to the pursuit of internal improvement. Imperialism and Liberalism cannot dwell together under the same roof.

Wealth is always conservative, and its prevalence in elections to Parliament has increased. Of bribery at elections, which in former days prevailed to an enormous extent, there is now little or none. It has been generally extinguished by the strictness of the Election law and the integrity of the judges. But bribery between elections by expenditure of money in donations, subscriptions, Christmas gifts and entertainments, has greatly increased. A member the other day resigned his seat on account of his inability to meet the demand. A wealthy man has been known practically to rent a seat by distributing through his agent every Christmas a large sum in gifts to the poorer electors. No question was ever asked nor was anything ever said by the agent about votes, but it was well understood that the gift would continue so long as his principal remained member for the city.

It was easier in former days to find a seat for a rising Liberal. While the counties were held by Tory squires commercial cities were more open, and the magnates of local commerce were then content with disposing of the representation. They now aspire to the seat for themselves. At a party caucus in view of an election a particular seat was proposed for the consideration of the meeting. The meeting was thereupon told that consideration was useless, as the seat was pre-engaged. The chairman asked for whom. "For So-and-So." "Why, I thought he did not care about politics." "No more he does." "Then, why does he want the seat?" "He does not want it." "Then, why does he take it?" "His wife does." A seat in the House of Commons, unlike a seat in the House of Representatives, still carries with it a certain social grade; it is a key to high circles, and a possible avenue to title. So long as this is the case it will be an object of aspiration to new-made wealth.

The extraordinary worship of the late Queen and of her memory, the Jubilee and the Funeral, have not failed to produce their intended effect, as, in its day, did the Jubilee of George the Third. There has been a sensible revival of that personal authority of the Crown which had been in abeyance or nearly so since George the Third's day. It is difficult to say how far

this may go or how long it may last. Half a century ago nobody would have believed in the possibility of a monarchical reaction. The question rather was how long even the forms of monarchy would last. To whatever the renewed influence may amount, its exercise can hardly fail to be anti-Liberal. Unless the wearer of the Crown develops personal force and ambition, the influence will probably be wielded in his name by a Tory junto.

Not only has the House of Commons become less Liberal, but its authority as the popular branch of the legislature seems to have declined, while the power of the executive has increased at its expense. It is treated in somewhat cavalier style by the Government. The time and scope for the action of independent members have been curtailed. The gag of the clôture is freely applied. Appropriations to the extent of sixty-seven millions sterling have been carried under clôture in one night.

The influence of the Colonies on British politics again, since they have been brought into closer relations with the mother country, has been and is likely to be Tory. The people of a colony in general know nothing and care nothing about British politics or the objects of a British Liberal party. The connection of the ordinary colonist is solely with the Crown, and however Liberal he may be in his own concerns, in his Imperial relation "loyalty" is the only political sentiment which he knows. In the Colony itself there is nothing to which personal sentiment can attach. The Colonial politician craves for Imperial titles, which are pretty lavishly bestowed on him, and act powerfully on his conduct in all questions concerning the Empire. Some years ago a Canadian politician, then a prominent Liberal, brought forward in the Canadian Parliament a motion pointed against the practice of bestowing Imperial titles on Canadians as inconsistent with the democratic spirit. He backed his motion with a strong speech; but the same man afterwards accepted a Knighthood. This is a point for the serious consideration of British Liberals when they deal with the Colonial question. However democratic a colony may be in itself, its influence on British politics is sure to be Tory.

To the influence exercised on British politics by Colonial worship of Royalty and love of titles has been recently added the strong development of a similar propensity on the part of many wealthy Americans. American millionaires in increasing num-

bers are wholly or partly leaving their own country for one in which, if they cannot get better dinners or more luxury, they can get more subserviency, look for admission to titled society, and perhaps, if they ultimately become naturalized, hope to be wearers of titles themselves. Their political tendencies go along with their social aspirations. Nor is it only by Americans residing in England that the influence on English sentiment is exercised. In this South African war the drawing-rooms of London have received a sensible support from the drawing-rooms of New York.

Before these pages meet the reader's eye the South African war will probably have reached its inevitable end, and the curtain of history will fall on one of the most memorable of all fights for independence. The passions which the war has called into play may take some time in subsiding, but in time they must subside. It is possible that the Liberal party may then reunite and find some question on which it may once more appeal successfully to the people.

If conscription, of which there have been significant hints on the part of the Government, should be proposed, the Liberals will probably take issue thereupon; though some of them—Sir Charles Dilke, for example—are strongly militarist and might bolt upon this question. The character and tendencies of the English people must be greatly changed if a proposal to introduce conscription can succeed. Naval conscription long prevailed in the rude and detestable form of the press-gang. But it died a death of infamy about seventy years ago. Tramps were pressed for the army, it is believed, as late as the American war. Balloting for the militia formerly prevailed, but was suspended by act of Parliament. Conscription for service in India and the other distant provinces of the Empire would be a different thing from German or Italian conscription for home service. If a precedent for it were sought in French conscription for Algeria, the precedent on inquiry would probably be found to condemn the policy; accounts of French barrack life in Algeria, at least, are far from happy. The main defense of the nation is not the army, but the navy, and conscription applied to the navy might have fatal effects on the manning of the mercantile marine. It is not likely, however, that the Tories will offer their opponents battle on this field.

A more likely field of the party battle is afforded by national education, which the clergy, backed by the Tories, are striving to keep in their own hands, while the Liberals seek to secularize it and transfer it from the Church to the Board of Schools. Wind is put into the Liberal sail in this encounter by the panic on the subject of commercial supremacy, which it is supposed that England is losing through defect of popular education; though the fact seems to be simply that the start which she had at the close of the war with Napoleon, when she was left in almost sole possession of manufactures and a mercantile marine, is now, in the natural course of things, being overhauled by other nations, and that if she wishes to hold her own she must eschew Jingoism and devote herself to industry and trade.

The question, however, on which the Liberal party is most likely again to form a front and advance is that of the disestablishment of the State Church. It has already moved in this direction by proposing, under the leadership of Gladstone, to disestablish the Church in Wales. The Church in Wales is not, like the established Church of Ireland, detached from the English Establishment; it is an integral part of the English Establishment though locally in a minority, as the Church of England must be in some districts of England itself. Gladstone, in fact, as he remained to the last a High Anglican, seems to have felt some compunction in fulfilling the promise which, amidst the heat of a great political contest, he had made to disestablish the Church in Wales. The separation of the Church from the State is thoroughly in the spirit of the age, and is bound to come sooner or later in all educated countries, if, indeed, in educated countries the Churches shall continue to exist. In England there are just now influences at work in opposite quarters which would facilitate the attempt. On one hand the ingrained Protestantism of the country is alarmed and exasperated by the efforts of the Ritualist Clergy to revive the religion of the Middle Ages and reimpose the sacerdotal yoke. On the other hand, the extreme Ritualists are writhing under their subjection to the State and to the tribunals of a law which is essentially Protestant, excluding Transubstantiation, the adoration of the Sacrament, and the other special articles and practices of the Ritualist party. In the highly educated classes scepticism is now rife, as it is among the more quick-witted artisans. But upper-class scep-

ticism is by no means universally favorable to disestablishment. On the contrary, upper-class sceptics are not rarely inclined to uphold the established Church as a conservative institution, perhaps also as a security against the religious enthusiasm which is the life of a free Church. Instances could be cited of Anglican Churches built or aided by avowed sceptics on political or social grounds In the cities the Ritualist clergy have of late, by zeal and activity, been deservedly making way. The mind of the city is also to some extent open to æsthetic attractions, which the mind of the peasant is not. By the laboring class in the country the parson is often regarded with jealousy as the confederate of the squire and the farmer, meddling too dictatorially in cottage affairs. The laborer, therefore, is apt to prefer the Nonconformist chapel, where there is no one over his head, to the parish church; though from habit he continues to revert to the parish church for baptism, marriage, and burial. On the whole, the adherents of the Established Church by conviction must now be in a minority. Still the fibres of the institution are so entwined, not only with the religious but with the social organization of the country, that to abolish it would be a difficult operation. The solution of all religious and ecclesiastical questions, however, in England as elsewhere, must depend on the progress of thought, and this is at present tending to the destruction of the theological foundations on which all Churches, established or free, rest. Strange would be the aspect of a country covered with cathedrals and churches from which belief and worship had fled. Yet to this present tendencies point. Statesmen apprehend danger from a Church uncontrolled by the State. The experience of Italy may calm their fears. It will be only necessary to give the Church, with restored self-government and command of such possessions as equity might leave to her, a constitution in which the laity would have a controlling voice, as they have in the Episcopal Church of the United States and Canada. Tithes would be abolished. The edifices, the parsonages, and whatever other portions of the endowments it was thought right to leave to the Church might be held as a State trust for the use and benefit of the Church.

The question of the relation between Church and State in England meanwhile has been brought farcically into discussion by the apparent insults to Roman Catholicism in the King's Cor-

onation formulary as prescribed by the Act of Settlement. The clauses were not really intended as insults, or even as a Protestant demonstration, but as tests which it was with reason assumed that no Catholic conscience could by help of any dispensation or casuistry evade. They were taken from the Test Act, passed in the reign of Charles II., and their efficacy as a bar to the Catholic conscience had been proved in the case of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. It is needless to say that they are now obsolete as well as offensive. Yet to deal with them is not easy, as Lord Salisbury has found. The Orangeman clings to them, and the nation apparently is unwilling, in view of the spread of Ritualism, altogether to dispense with the security for the national religion. But the Roman Catholic opposes the institution or any new Protestant test, while to the Ritualist anything Protestant, especially a denial of the Catholic view of the Sacrament, is hateful. Probably the easiest course, and the one least likely to afford an opening for a fierce theological debate, would be to pass a Declaratory Act confirming the Act of Settlement notwithstanding the omission by the heir to the Crown of any professions or abjurations of religious doctrine therein prescribed.

Disestablishment of the State Church in England would not be without effect in America and the dependencies of Great Britain. The Episcopal Church probably owes its hold upon the rich and fashionable classes in part to its connection with the Anglican hierarchy; and the political influence which it exerts is everywhere akin to that exerted by the hierarchy and clergy in England. In the case of Canada the Church of England could boast that in the struggle for responsible government in 1837 not a single member of the Church of England had been found in arms on the revolutionary side.

A question always standing and coming at fitful intervals to the front is that of "mending or ending" the House of Lords. It is remarkable, though not unnatural, that Great Britain, after leading the march of Europe in political progress, should be the only nation which now retains a hereditary Upper House. A relic of the hereditary system lingers elsewhere, particularly in the Upper House of Austria; but it is manifestly a relic and no more. In Great Britain an attempt was made by Lord Palmerston to introduce the creation of life peerages as a general right

of the Crown; but it was successfully opposed by Lord Derby, and the only result has been the appointment of four law lords as life peers with salaries to do the work of a court of appeal, which, in that museum of political antiquities, the British Constitution, is still attached to a political assembly. The bishops are lords spiritual, but they seldom venture to take part in any except spiritual questions. They run a risk of being snubbed if they do. For hereditary rank and power hereditary wealth is a necessary qualification. To be created a peer, therefore, a man must either be rich, so as to be able to leave a fortune to his son, or be childless. Surprise was expressed the other day when half a million was granted to Lord Roberts while nothing was granted to General Buller, who, as much as Lord Roberts, had borne the burden and heat of the day. The reason was that Lord Roberts would have a hereditary peerage to maintain. There is a measure of departure from feudalism in cases in which, as in those of Lord Farrer, Lord Lingen, and Lord Hobhouse, the personal name is retained instead of being changed, in feudal fashion, for a territorial title. The hereditary House of Lords may be said to have owed its life to a discreet resignation of power. Since its enforced submission to the popular will in passing the Reform Act of 1832, it has tacitly acquiesced in the understanding that in great questions it retains at most a suspensive veto. Its right to carry opposition so far as to call for a judgment of the nation on the question of the dissolution of Parliament was vehemently denied by Gladstone. On secondary questions it retains and has in not a few cases exercised a power of rejection. Its life, however, is languid and the attendance at its sittings, even on important questions, is scandalously small. Mr. Gladstone presented it with the opportunity of a great success and of a renewal of its hold upon the nation when he allowed it to have the credit of saving the United Kingdom from dismemberment by putting its almost unanimous veto on his Home Rule Bill. His subsequent crusade against it was, as might have been foreseen, a complete failure, and served only to emphasize its victory. Its greatest security, perhaps, is the total absence of any definite plan of reform. The nation would not like to "end" the Upper House and be governed by a single elective chamber; but how to "mend" it nobody seems to know. It is not certain that the House of Commons, or the Liberal party in it, at heart

desires any such reform in the House of Lords as would make it an equal participant of power. Lord Rosebery playfully flouts the assembly of which he is a gem; but he takes no practical step, nor has he made any definite proposal.

It is desperately difficult for the Liberal party to disentangle itself from the embarrassment into which it was brought by its leader's conversion to Home Rule. Lord Rosebery, when, as Prime Minister, he said that Great Britain was the predominant partner, and that the measure could not pass without her consent, went as near as possible to a practical repudiation. But the Irish delegation is inflexible, and without the Irish vote the Liberals can hardly hope for success. At the same time it may be taken as certain that the nation will never consent to a practical dismemberment which in all probability would establish a hostile nation on its flank. The case of the Irish Nationalists, it must be owned, has been morally strengthened by recent events. To be a member of a peaceful, industrial and commercial kingdom is one thing; to be a member of a militarist and marauding empire, challenging the world to arms, would be another. If the Irish land question could be settled, it is probable, as has been said before, that the political agitation would subside. The Irish land question might most likely have been settled at the cost of a fraction of the sum which is being spent on the subjugation of the Boers. The Irish delegation has held well together and showed force, though the effect has been somewhat marred by Hibernian escapades. If Mr. Chamberlain proceeds, as he threatens, to punish Ireland by a reduction of her representation, he will probably find the North of Ireland united with the South, and a serious undertaking before him.

The Liberal party seems not to be so much broken up or discomfited in the country at large as in the House of Commons. In the bye-elections it still makes a good fight and, though beaten, polls a respectable vote. The common Liberal is simply true to his old flag, and he is unaffected by the personal rivalries and jealousies which have had almost as great an effect as differences of opinion in splitting up the party in the House of Commons.

All this has been said on the assumption that the party system of government is to continue, and that consequently the one thing needed in British politics is a reconstruction of the Opposition.

But is it certainly so? May not the party system of government itself be drawing to an end? May not those who are toiling to patch up an Opposition by forced reconciliations and artificial suppressions be really laboring in vain? May not Lord Rosebery's enigmatic attitude be an index to the future? The place for which he is apparently fitted is that of Foreign Minister in a government free from party.

Party, we have been often solemnly told, is inherent in human nature. "Every one," says the comic opera, "is born a little Conservative or a little Liberal." Nobody doubts that people have by nature different tendencies; some are sanguine, and others cautious. But human nature is not bisected; character varies by infinite gradations. Nor is the same man uniform in his tendencies. He is conservative on one subject, radical on another. As a rule youth is sanguine and age is cautious. Yet there are no more violent reactionists than the youthful members of an aristocracy. On all practical questions men fall naturally into groups of agreement according to their temperaments and their relations to the particular subject. Only in politics do they organize permanent parties and submit their personal convictions and suffrages to the party yoke.

Those who fancy that the party system of government is or ought to be universal, resemble the British footman who said that everybody knew that blue was absurd for a uniform except in the Artillery and the Horse Guards Blue. The party system of government prevailed no doubt in the days of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, when the political domination of the Guelph party was constitutionally recognized at Florence. It may be said to have prevailed in Holland in the seventeenth century. But in recent times it is little more than an accident of British and American history. In England it had its origin, its life, and something like a rational justification in the struggle between the followers of the constitutional House of Hanover and those of the absolutist House of Stuart. Here was a vital issue such as might justify a good citizen in submitting to party discipline on all secondary questions. That issue having been finally decided by the defeat of the Stuarts, the rational and moral basis of party was withdrawn, and there followed a period of "connections" scrambling for the offices of government and vieing with each other in intrigue, jobbery, and corruption. From this

political Malebolge, Chatham sought to rescue the nation by putting all "connections" under his feet and forming a government without party; Burke, by reviving party as a bond of principle, though upon what principle or set of principles Burke's party was to be based he omitted to explain. Both policies were soon merged in the war of the American Revolution, which was carried on by the personal influence of George III., masked under the subserviency of Lord North. Renewed in a very sinister form by the coalition of Fox and North, the party system again failed. Pitt's majority at first was not partisan; it was formed by a national uprising against the unclean coalition, and embraced various elements, some high Tory, others independent or even Radical like Wilkes. Nor did Pitt's Ministry recognize the law of party government which requires the Ministry to resign when it is defeated on any question of importance. It took defeats on the Westminster election, on Parliamentary reform and on free trade with Ireland without any thought of resignation. The outbreak of the French Revolution, by dividing English opinion on a sharp line, once more afforded a rational basis for party. That struggle over, there presently ensued a struggle for reform, Parliamentary and general, which again supplied grounds more or less natural and rational for party organization, though not without an increasing ascendancy of mere faction and cabal, with their necessary effects on the character of government and legislation. There is now apparently a collapse of the system, which every attempt to reconstruct an Opposition makes only more apparent.

In the United States party had its well-known origin in the antagonism between the tendency to Federal centralization represented by Hamilton and the opposite tendency represented by Jefferson. It is not recognized in "The Federalist," nor was it recognized by Washington, who regarded it as a transient ailment to be cured by combining the representatives of the two tendencies in his government. The system, however, has since established itself with a vengeance. It is recognized by law, and has practically overridden the Constitution. Yet foundation, rational or moral, it apparently has none. There are two great standing organizations through which a perpetual competition for power and place is carried on. Neither of them can be said to be based on any distinct and permanent principle or set of prin-

ciples; each of them, on the eve of a Presidential election, looks about through its managing committee for the planks which are most likely to be popular, and of these makes up its platform. The Republican party at the present time hardly presents any of the special features which it presented when it was fighting against slavery for the Union. The Democratic party at the present day hardly presents any of the special features which it presented when it was the organ of the Southern slave-owner, defending slavery with the help of commercial interests and of the Irish in Northern cities. In the intervals between Presidential elections each of the party organizations is a political tenement to let, possibly for sale; and till the Presidential election approaches nobody can tell exactly what policy will be the next tenant. Mugwumpery is the protest of common sense and national interest against the system, not the less well-founded or significant because it is called by a scornful name.

The British dependencies have in this respect followed in the political wake of the mother country. In Canada seventy years ago there was a struggle for responsible government against the rule of an autocratic Governor and his Camarilla which made the party organization for the time as natural as it was in England during the struggle between the Hanoverians and the Stuarts. That question and all questions connected with it have long since been settled. The parties afterwards became mere factions struggling for place; and their forces being evenly balanced, the struggle ended in a deadlock, a door of escape from which was found for the time in Confederation. At present the parties are mere machines without any distinctive principles, bidding against each other for power and place by the usual arts, with an irresistibly increasing amount of jobbery and corruption. The Canadian people are as worthy and as fit for self-government as any people in the world; but politics are far below the people.

In not one of the great European nations has the party system been successfully applied. In France, Germany and Italy alike, instead of the division into two nearly equal sections which the system requires, there has been a multiplicity of groups, each of them not only with a policy, but with a political ideal of its own, perpetually at war among themselves, but combining against every Ministry that is formed, so that total instability of govern-

ment has ensued. The principal work of a Minister has been, not to guide legislation, but to go about from bench to bench picking up the support of individual members or groups to save his Government from falling. In Germany the Crown has retained a measure of power derived from the leadership of national unification and defence which enables it in some degree to disregard party and to steer a course of its own.

Is the party system of government then to last forever? Are we to regard as final the division of a nation into two organized factions waging a perpetual war of intrigue, calumny, and corruption with each other? Is one-half of the community forever to regard the other half as its political enemy? Is it always to be the duty of a minority to make government in the hands of the majority unpopular and unsuccessful? Can any house thus divided against itself expect to stand?

The system makes all legislation, instead of statesmanlike, more or less demagogic. A proof of this will be found in the history of British legislation on the subject of the electoral franchise. Extension of the franchise may have been, and in fact was, right. But the spirit in which this was done, and which embodied itself in the legislation, was far from being statesmanlike or patriotic. The head of the Conservative party, carrying a sweeping measure of extension, had the hardihood to own that he was taking a leap in the dark, and that he exulted in "dishing the Whigs," of whose party he had once himself been a remarkably violent member.

The place of statesmen is being more and more taken by the stump-orator. To stump-oratory a large share of the public man's time and effort is now given. Two generations ago no British politician of high degree thought of going on the stump, or even of speaking at any election but his own. The present habit is highly injurious to statesmanship. It absorbs the man's energy; it deprives him of time for acquisition of knowledge and for reflection; worst of all, perhaps, it forces him to be perpetually committing himself, for a speaker can hardly amuse and excite a large audience, without saying more than, in his cooler moments, he would deem it prudent to say.

The weakness of government in England of which Lord Rosebery and others complain is probably due in no small measure to the lowering of energy caused by the exhausting demands of

the stump and the nightly work of Parliamentary strife, added to a load of departmental business which in every department has greatly increased. The burden is probably the more exhausting because the men on whom it is laid are commonly not of the class which has been trained to incessant toil.

Switzerland has opened for herself a door and perhaps has indicated a way of escape from the party system. Her Executive Council is elected for a certain term by the Legislative Assembly. It is said that the elections and re-elections are generally decided by administrative merit, and the general result appears to be satisfactory. It seems also that the referendum is worked without respect to party.

England herself has a historic record of an attempt to found a Government on an elective footing, but not on the basis of party. This is the "Instrument of Government," memorable at all events as the outcome of a great debate among political intellects of high calibre and unique experience, at a moment when the nation had completely burst the cerements of the Middle Ages and faced the political problems of modern life. The "Instrument of Government" was buried out of sight and memory under the ruins of a lost cause. But if the decadence of party government continues, the constitution of the Protectorate, as it originally was, with its single elective House of Parliament and its standing Council of State filled by a mixture of election with nomination, may again attract attention, not certainly as a perfect model, but as suggestive of a line.

In the meantime the whole scene will be changed if the vision of the Imperial Federationists is to be realized, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is to be merged in an Anglo-Saxon Empire. This would be the complete reversal of the policy which half a century ago prevailed almost universally among British statesmen, who looked upon the Colonies as destined in time, and probably in no long time, to become independent and make England the mother of free nations. Even Disraeli, whom Jingoism adores as the author of its being, in a letter to his Foreign Secretary, Lord Malmesbury, spoke of the Colonies as "millstones round the neck of England," and destined soon to be independent.

Imperial Federation has been preached in Great Britain and in the Colonies for the last thirty years. The Duke of Man-

chester lent the movement the prestige of his title; he had little in the way of political influence to lend. Hardly any ground was gained by the movement before the Queen's Jubilee, when grandiose ideas of every kind prevailed. In Canada, the Post Office being in high Imperialist hands, the auspicious hour was marked by the issue of a postage stamp in which Canada, habitable and cultivable, was represented as one vast and undivided mass, including the North Pole, forming a great part of the British Empire, and utterly dwarfing Great Britain. The motto was "We Hold a Greater Empire Than Has Been." But since the conquest of the Transvaal and the ascendancy in British politics of Mr. Chamberlain, who, having discarded his socialistic radicalism, is flying the Imperialist kite, a new impulse has been given to Imperial Federation, and its advocates are now confidently looking forward to its triumph. Something indeed, though not of a very decisive kind, has been actually done in that direction. Through the exertions of Mr. Henniker Heaton, a postal confederation has been formed, and the postage of letters has been equalized throughout the Empire, or such parts of it as have at present come into the union. A more momentous step is the participation of Canada and Australia in the South African war; though this, as far as Canada is concerned, has been overstated; while Canadians enlist freely not only in the armies and fleets of Great Britain, but in the United States. There has been much talk of an Imperial Zollverein, but the only step as yet taken towards the fulfillment of that idea has been a preferential reduction of duty on British goods by the Canadian Government, which at present shows no sign of being imitated by the other Colonies, or met by any reciprocal favor on the part of Great Britain. Attempts to induce Great Britain to abandon the policy of free trade, under which her wealth has enormously increased, have met with a succession of rebuffs. Nor has there yet been any attempt to devise a uniform tariff applicable to a number of countries lying wide apart, and varying from each other in their commercial circumstances and their financial needs. The argument commonly used by Zollvereiners that Great Britain, having a short supply of food in herself, and being thus liable to be reduced to famine in the case of maritime war, ought to have the harvests of the Colonists to draw upon, has evidently no force. The Colonies would be involved in the

war; their ships would be liable to capture; and they would thus be the very sources of supply on which of all others Great Britain could not draw.

Mr. Chamberlain has just been trying, with the help of Colonial advisers, to construct an Imperial Court of Appeal in which all the Colonies were to be represented, and which was to take the place of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But so far he seems not to have been successful. Perhaps for a good reason. India may require an impartial tribunal such as an Imperial Court of Appeal to guard the legal rights of her subject race; a function which the Privy Council has most admirably fulfilled. But a free Colony is competent to decide the suits of its own people, other, at least, than those which arise under the constitution given it by an Act of the British Parliament. The Colonial judge has the advantage of local knowledge, of which the Court at Westminster is said to have sometimes shown a lack.

Of the political federation of the Empire no scheme has yet been brought forward. When a scheme is called for, the answer is that we must not ask for anything "cut and dry," but rest content with the propagation of the sentiment. Cut and dry or not, there must be a working plan before us before we can commit ourselves to the work. How is the Imperial Legislature to be composed? If Great Britain is to have a representation in proportion to her numbers, the Colonies will be swamped, and there will be discontent among Colonists when they are outvoted. On the other hand, if Great Britain is not represented in proportion to her numbers, there will be discontent among the people of Great Britain. What are to be the powers and the functions of the federal Government? How are its decrees and requisitions to be enforced? What are to be its relations to the British Crown and the Foreign Office? What, again, is to be done with India and her three hundred millions of Hindoos? Is she to be left under the separate rule of Great Britain? In that case control of the army, of the navy, and of diplomacy must be in great measure withdrawn from the federal Government. Or is India to be placed under a federal Government representing all the Colonies and Dependencies? In that case we must pity the Hindoo.

The people of Great Britain know more now about the Colonies

than they did some years ago. A Canadian traveling in England would no longer read a proclamation of the Privy Council in which Ontario was designated as "that town." He would not be congratulated at a public meeting on the settlement of the Alabama claim, as a removal of the last ground of disagreement between Canada and Great Britain. He would not, on introducing his Canadian attendant, be met with a smile of incredulity at the attempt to pass off as Canadian a person who was not red. Yet the masses of the people of England know nothing about the domestic affairs of Canada, while the masses in Canada know almost as little about the domestic affairs of England. Few Canadians could describe the political parties of England; few Englishmen could describe the political parties of Canada. The two nations do not read each other's newspapers; do not know even the names, much less the characters and opinions of each other's public men; they are not at all in touch with each other. The same thing may probably be said with regard to the people of Australia; while South Africa for the present is a wreck. The completion of Australian federation, instead of being a step towards federation of the Empire, in which character it is hailed, is rather a step the other way. It tends to the consolidation of a local nationality, and to the strengthening of local and separatist feeling. A federation of federations would indeed be a political edifice requiring a master hand for its construction, and still more, perhaps, for its support.

The fact is that if you are content with being a nation, you may have a free constitution; if you choose to have an Empire, you must have an Emperor. That this is true will be found by the United States as much as by Great Britain. But the love of territorial aggrandizement has not as yet so far prevailed over the love of liberty that Great Britain is ready to put herself under an Emperor. This sudden and violent plunge into Imperialism and Militarism is not unlikely, unless Great Britain is involved in a great war, to be followed by a recoil.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

CHINESE EXCLUSION, A BENEFIT OR A HARM?

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TWENTY YEARS have now passed since the Chinese exclusion laws of the United States were put into operation, and it may be of advantage at the present time to examine their results, and to consider whether or not they have been a success.

If the success of these laws is to be determined by their effectiveness in keeping Chinese people away from the United States, it must be acknowledged that they have, indeed, most completely realized their purpose; for they have practically cut off communication with China, and in the eyes of that nation have thrown the western world into an attitude of non-intercourse and unfriendliness. The events which have recently dominated the stage of action throughout the Chinese Empire, but particularly along the vastly populous seaboard from north to south, have had their inception in feelings generated among the Chinese people largely by these laws. Those who gloried at the passage of the Scott or the Geary acts, or who took part in smuggling into the appropriation bill of 1894 the amendment which debarred Chinese immigrants from the courts, may now feast their eyes on the logical sequence of their work in the ruins of Tien-Tsin, or in the blood that has washed in the valley of the Pei-ho like a tide.

Those who are honestly trying to convert China to the ideals and economics of the West have been reduced in the propaganda to the barren argument of mere words. It is supposed that China can be raised in this manner to become a source of profit and happiness to the world, through the medium of her production and her consequent purchasing power. No idea was ever more profoundly wrong. There is no nation—and in the nature

of things there cannot be—which has not grown and does not grow into greatness through reaction from other nations. Nations are no more exempt from the evils of isolation than are individuals. Let any man withdraw from association with his fellows, and dwell without human contact; can such a man be or become a broad, resourceful and progressive mind? Must he not necessarily be selfish, narrow, repellent and misanthropic? So also is it with a nation.

In the fourteenth century the Ming Emperors constructed of brick and mortar in China on the north and west a memorable obstacle to intercourse with the people beyond the border; that barrier is crumbling to ashes, and we have been prone to look upon it as a relic of old China. But this most enlightened nation of the illuminated West, in the height of its glory and splendor, revives what is dead and past with us, and enthrones it into a living, active principle. Bricks and mortar do not comprise the Great Wall which the United States has built against China. It is the old idea, the folly of which we of China have long seen, rehabilitated and swathed in modern attire; its bricks are printed words, and the base upon which it rests is a solemn code; but its parapets are none the less patrolled, and from its battlements gleam the steel of the mediæval soldier.

And yet, the work of the Mings, compared with that of the American Congress, stands as a deed of Providence against one of perversion. The tribes against whom the Great Wall was raised did not seek entrance into China to do the menial work of the Chinese; they did not come intent upon extracting from the soil products which would enrich the Chinese people, while they themselves, performing the toil, would nevertheless be content with a reward of mere crusts. The wall thrown up by the Mings was intended as a defense against robbers; not as a barrier against those who gave value for value, but one against those who pillaged and slew and ravaged with the sword and the torch.

The barricade erected by Congress has no such excuse for being. What are the crimes of which our people are accused that render it needful that we should be treated as hostiles, or shunned as those likely to communicate contagion? What are the charges against us in the alleged truth of which these terrible laws seek justification and tolerance among a people so intelligent and just as are the great body of the Americans? I propose to examine

them in this paper, and in doing so I shall grant the accusers of my people everything they say. I shall concede that the Chinese do, in a sense, work more cheaply than the whites; that they live more cheaply; that they send their money out of the country to China; that most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States, but, after the lapse of years and the accumulation of a competence, reduce their wealth to gold and with it return to their native heaths; and, further, that they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies and not after the American fashion. Upon the hypothesis of the truth of these assertions I believe I shall prove to the satisfaction of any reasoning mind that each and every one of them represents a condition which is to the highest advantage of this country, and, particularly, to the highest advantage of those who oppose the Chinese laborer, and at whose instance the laws were passed. I shall prove by their own case that the Chinese exclusion laws are fallacious and a mistake; that they are on the statute books unquestionably because the American people do not understand their cause and effect. Moreover, they are a most costly error, not only harmful to China and through China to the world, but visiting upon the United States specifically the most widespread detriment and harm, and depriving the country yearly of millions of dollars. It is distinctly a policy of disaster on a scale so vast as to be without comparison in modern times.

It is a policy founded in ignorance, and arising through passion. A temporary industrial disturbance occurred in San Francisco in the seventies upon the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad, which was built mostly by the Chinese. The Chinese laborers, being released from their occupations, came to San Francisco to hunt for work. The newly running trains from the East brought cargoes of adventurers and fortune hunters, who expected to find immediate employment at high wages upon their arrival. Thereupon arose one of those contests founded upon race prejudice, which have so often marred the pages of the histories of nations. This feeling developed, of course, its own army of political demagogues, who voiced and magnified the conditions and inflamed the passions of the mob. These survive even to this day, though only in a faint and feeble way. Some, like Geary and Kearney, have retired from the disturbance, adopted or resumed professions, and are now leading industrious and respectable lives.

Only occasionally do we hear of a survivor of old sand-lot *sans-cullotism.*

During no period of San Francisco's history was there more general prosperity than existed throughout the era of this agitation. New industries were springing up, agricultural wealth was vastly increasing and oceanic trade was growing by leaps and bounds. The gala days of San Francisco's life and happiness were during the years that preceded 1880. The passage of the exclusion laws operated as a cone over a lighted candle. Chinese residents in California withdrew from industry, reduced their properties to coin, and with it returned to China, scrambling out of a country which they deemed inhospitable and unsafe. Business dried up. Trade with China, which had been advancing at the rate of a million a year, fell off seven millions in two years. It never revived until Dewey's victory. During the interim San Francisco lost two hundred millions of business in her trade with China alone. The city shrank in enterprise and population. When I came to this Consulate over three years ago, the most common feature on the streets was the "to let" signs in the windows of vacant stores and residences. Only when that quarter of the world became stirred by an American impulse did business revive and a few of the placards disappear from the windows. Dewey returned to San Francisco in '98 some fraction of the prosperity of which Scott and his coadjutors had deprived it in '80; but neither Dewey nor Scott could ever give back those untold millions which were lost as an immediate consequence of the legislation the sand-lot mobs produced.

That this agitation against the Chinese could be readily produced under the conditions which then existed by any person or newspaper having the disposition to do so is manifest from a reflection upon the nature of mob uprisings. A few years ago California was stirred from end to end by an agitation against Catholics. Certain of the press teemed with denunciations of this sect and its followers; public speakers talked against the priests and parishioners to crowded throngs; while places of Catholic worship were defiled, the edifices of seminaries besmirched, and the persons of garbed votaries were unsafe in some quarters. But the handicap of the anti-Catholic agitators was that beyond the priests and nuns, who were distinguished by their attire, they were unable to designate who a Catholic was. If all Catholics

had presented in their appearance a peculiar racial bearing readily recognizable on sight, if these persons had been without votes and unable to protect themselves by political influence, if they had been entering the country in numbers upon every steamer from a foreign land, can it be imagined for a moment that the agitation opposing them would not have been prolonged until Congress granted some appeasing legislation?

As the situation now stands the class for whose supposed benefit the exclusion laws exist, and at whose insistence and dictation they are enforced, are the members of the labor unions. The reason why they are so much interested in the maintenance of these laws is not clear. Among the labor unionists there exists a vague notion that with the Chinese kept out there is less danger of interference when they wield against their employers the instrument of the strike. Unquestionably, if some succor could be devised for the employers, whereby the tyrannies and injustices which many of them suffer at the hands of their employees might be modified, great benefit would accrue, not alone to the employers, but to the cause of industry and the welfare of the State; but, unhappily, such benefit could not be attained through Chinese. The labor unionists are all skilled artisans; the Chinese are wholly unskilled, and are in the main mere laborers or agriculturists.* They could not, under any circumstances, be called to the places of strikers in skilled lines. So that, even from the standpoint of the labor unionist, the Chinese could do the labor unionists no harm.

Aside from the imaginary menace of the Chinaman as a factor in preventing strikes, the labor unionists conceive him to be generally a competitor. This is in no sense a fact. America, paradoxical as the statement may seem, is in many respects the cheapest laboring country in the world. The fabrics, the hardware, the oils and other products which China could produce in abundance are shipped into Hong Kong or Shanghai by pro-

*It is true that in a few lines, particularly cigars, slippers, brooms and rough cotton clothing, Chinese have acquired skill and appeared as producers. But they have never been able to work as dexterously as the Americans, or to turn out in a given time as much product. The cheaper wages paid them for this work were due to the fact that they earn less. This is manifest from the numerous Chinese employers in San Francisco having replaced their Chinese help with whites, thus reversing the Chinese labor question; for were it not for the Chinese employers these particular whites might not have employment; yet, under the administration of the exclusion laws, such manufacturers, being classed as laborers, would not be permitted to return to the United States, should they venture across its border.

ducers of the United States and there sold at prices at which it would be useless for Chinese producers to attempt to compete. Your sawed timber is laid down in the Straits Settlements for two cents per running foot. China, with labor at from eight to twenty cents per day, could not cut it for that price. If it were a fact that the cheap labor of China was the formidable competition the labor unions say it is, you would have no foreign commerce. All the factories in the world would centre in China. China is as rich in natural resources, in deposits of minerals and materials, in agricultural potentialities, as any country on the globe, and vastly richer than many countries. If the materials of nature of which all utilities are made could be worked up there in marketable shape ten per cent. cheaper than elsewhere in the world, all the world's industry would suddenly centre there. If "Chinese cheap labor," as it appeared and would appear on the Pacific Coast with the exclusion acts out of the way, were really cheap labor, it would be the greatest boon for the Pacific Coast within the scope of the imagination. It would cause the movement of nearly all factories thither. Chinese cheap labor would be the magician's wand that would open the soil to life and fill it with fruition. The vast business that would centre here would be an incomputable benefit to every white man and woman; for this vast productiveness would not only open many fields in which Chinese would be unable to enter, but it would create an oceanic and interstate commerce in which there would be profitable business for every one.

But, unfortunately, Chinese labor is not cheap. Compared with the cost of American labor it is dear indeed. This can be readily appreciated when it is recognized that it is the *amount* of wages, and not the *rate* of wages that must be considered in production. The amount of wages is the sum which must be paid to labor out of a given item of its production; the rate of wages is the amount subdivided among all the persons who perform the labor. The amount paid American labor is small compared with the amount which must be paid Chinese labor for the same work, but the rate paid American labor, being the share each individual receives, is high compared with that received by the Chinese. Consequently, while the amount paid Chinese labor would be high, the rate would be low. This is because of the superior efficiency of the American laborer. One American with

a machine will do more work than twenty hand-laboring Chinese. Even without a machine the American will, by superior methods and better tools, do the work of a number of Chinamen. If it be said that the Chinese will also learn to use the machines, the answer is that they do not, except in isolated instances. There is nothing now, and there never has been anything, to prevent the Chinese from importing any machine you have, setting it into operation, and with the use of cheap labor producing cheaper than you. Yet this is not done, and in those centres where they have erected cotton mills which are being operated by coolies their goods are not being produced as cheaply as the same commodities are being manufactured in Massachusetts, though the number of employees is perhaps as eight to one.* Take, for instance, the Soy Che cotton mills in Shanghai. They run two shifts and employ 2,200 persons. A factory of the same capacity in New Jersey would employ from 300 to 350 persons. In the engine room of the Soy Che sixty-five men are required. In an American mill their work would be done by two engineers, two helpers and two firemen. It is a characteristic of employment in the Far East that service in all departments is finely subdivided and employment given to as many persons as possible. The compensation *per capita* is accordingly small, but the labor cost of the commodity manufactured is as great and generally greater than here.

The rate of wages of the American laborer has been increased disproportionately above the rate paid to laborers in other countries by the fact that the American works with a machine. The power of his hand is multiplied by the device which operates between his fingers and the finished product. He becomes not a worker in wools, in wood or metal, as does the Chinese artisan, but a manipulator of a mechanism which finds not its power but its guidance in his muscles.

When, however, our people acquire a knowledge of the use of machines and equal facility in manufacturing them as have your laborers, they will demand and receive their full due in rate of wages. Now, if they get ten cents per day, they get all they earn; if your laborer gets two dollars a day, it is for no other reason than that he earns it. This is invariably the case; it is a feature of the law of wages. Designate a given quantity of work, and whoever performs it will receive the same pay. Take the case

*See report of Consul-General Goodnow, U. S. Consular Reports, June, 1900, p. 204.

of women setting type. The question is not the sex, age or color of the performer of the work; it is the extent and quantity of the work done. No laborer would work by the day, if he could do better at piecework, and employers generally welcome and often force the change from day to piecework; for then they know precisely what they pay for it and what they are getting.

But beyond the question as to whether Chinese labor is really cheap or dear there is another reason which holds the labor unionist to demand the exclusion of the Chinese. This reason they do not preach among the multitude, but nevertheless every labor unionist feels it deep down within him, because his very organization is based upon it. It is that "demand arises from scarcity, and it is the duty and purpose of the labor unionist to see that a sufficient scarcity of commodities is maintained to keep always a demand for labor in producing them. If the Chinese came in freely, too much would be produced; there would come periods of over-production, when there would be a general shut down until consumption caught up with production again, and white labor would be the sufferers." This is, in substance, the golden text and decalogue of the labor unionist. To promote this they are constantly tending to shorten the hours of labor, so that there will be work enough to go around.

This doctrine is false and ruinous—ruinous not alone to the country that tolerates it, but to the ignorant men who propagate it and act upon it. If it were true, every machine in the world should properly be smashed, for as they are harbingers of plenty they must all be enemies of labor. Indeed, your English historian tells a sorry tale of the "frame-breaking" and other riots which occurred among the working classes of England upon the introduction of labor-saving machinery; how they stormed the mills and factories, and destroyed the mechanisms which were depriving them of their long-time jobs. But presently we observed how those same people, who before knew nothing but wooden clumpers, had come to wear leather shoes; how the erstwhile owner of a single hand-knit jerkin acquired two and three suits of woolen cloth how he abolished his thatched for a shingle roof. All this was the result of machinery.

The real demand, the demand upon which the world thrives, is not created by scarcity but by plenty. Properly speaking, there is no such thing as a demand caused by scarcity; or if there is such

a thing, it is that elementary demand which primitive man gratified with a well-aimed stone—the demand for food for his belly and fur for his back. But the demand upon which commerce rests is that created by taste, and to taste there is set no limit. Through his adherence to the doctrine of scarcity, through basing his economic attitude toward the world upon this false ground, the labor unionist is really dooming himself to poverty. He is steadily reducing and holding down his own wages, through making high in the market all commodities which he must consume, and to obtain which is the object of his work. Any means, therefore, by which the labor unionist effects scarcity of a commodity is against his own interest, and any means by which plenty is attained is to his benefit.

Let me illustrate. Suppose that in a particular district a few potatoes were raised. If the consumption of potatoes there were limited to those produced in the place, potatoes would be a luxury in which only the rich might indulge. The demand for potatoes there would be a demand produced by scarcity. But next year a larger crop is grown, and potatoes fall to within reach of the very poor. And again, a still larger crop is raised and potatoes come to be fed to the hogs and poultry, and thus turned into other forms of wealth. Poultry and hogs are grown, which before were not grown; they have been called into existence by the abundance of potatoes. Still a larger crop, and science and invention enter; potatoes are made into starch, into celluloid; they are grated and dried, and so become an article of commerce and are exported. Thus does the very plentitude of potatoes create a demand for potatoes, a demand which did not exist and was never dreamed of while potatoes were scarce, or while they were produced only to supply the demands which scarcity invoked.

So then I assert it as a postulate that demand for labor arises from the presence of wealth in a community—not stocks, bonds, land value (as distinguished from land) and other intangibles—but material products. For every pound of food that is taken from the soil, every pound of material for human comfort or desires (it matters not how great the quantity) will go to a consumer, and will make haste to reach him as rapidly as those behind can urge it on; and, on its way thither, it will employ an infinite number of heads and hands, paying every one it touches.

Not only does greater material wealth in a community increase the opportunity of laborers for employment, it raises their wages. For the products thus created must be consumed, and the laborers are of those who must consume them. If there is much to be consumed, their industrial share will be larger; if there is little to be consumed, their shares will be accordingly less; and the share, whether it be large or small, is the wages which the laborer receives. We call a man rich; but he is not rich because he possesses an excess of material wealth, but because he commands the means to possess material wealth. Of such wealth itself he will not have a great deal more than any one else. He will not have in his house over a few dozens of eggs and a few pounds of butter. He may have half a dozen suits of clothes, but more would be a burden to him. The balance of the butter, eggs and clothes that are produced must go to other consumers, and the more of these things there are in that community, the greater will be the distributive share of every person in it.

Nor is this law influenced by the phenomenon of so-called "overproduction." There is no such thing as "overproduction" of things desired. This kind of congestion is simply a proclamation of the presence of a clog in the channel between the producer and the consumer. More than likely, the demands of the labor unionists on the mill owners have caused the product to be produced at a cost too great to allow of its being sold in the market without a loss. Consequently, the labor unionist experiences a reaction, due to his transgressing the natural law; the mill is shut down, and he is thrown out of employment. Or, perhaps, the merchants of some great consuming nation like China have become infuriated by the treatment their countrymen have received through laws adopted at the instigation of labor unionists, and they refuse to buy the product of the labor unionists' work. Then it is that you have "overproduction," and the products of your thousand mills, which to the consumers of China would be as a fleck of foam on the sea, stay here and stagnate and breed disturbance, and new sets of restrictive resolutions perpetuating scarcity and distress are passed by the labor unions.

One of the greatest and most potential instruments for the creation of wealth is the Chinese laborer. To the unclouded mind it seems preposterous that any people should be shunned and ex-

pelled from a country that counts its unused acres by millions, simply because those people are industrious, patient and frugal laborers who would produce for you at small cost—assuming, for the sake of argument, that this is the case! Time was in California when the arrival of an able-bodied man of mature age, capable and willing to work, was accounted an accretion of one thousand dollars in wealth to the State. It was reasoned that another place had brought that man into existence and nurtured him through years of feebleness; now that he was strong and able he had come here. In those days, the Chinese laborer was received by the white laborer with fraternal greeting. The historian, Hittel, tells how white and yellow laborers marched in one industrial procession through the streets of San Francisco, as it was proper they should march, and as they would to-day were it not that the laboring people are being constantly misled and wrongly taught on this Chinese question by mischievous persons.

Merchants of the Pacific Coast talk of the vast market of the Orient for their goods. That market is as truly closed to them as the lips of a Shan-tung oyster! Professor Davidson tells us that in 1897 the trade of the Pacific amounted to over two thousand millions of dollars. Of this fifty per cent. went to England. The share of the United States was less than seven per cent., and that part which fell to San Francisco was too fractional to consider. San Francisco could as easily have had the fifty per cent., but in order to get it she must have had Chinese labor. Not that Chinese labor would hurt the wages of the white laborer, but it would so vastly, so enormously increase the volume of wealth that industry would spring up on every hand. The demand for labor would be a thousandfold greater than it is at present. Commodities of all kinds would be greatly cheaper than now and wages would be correspondingly higher. I say "wages would be correspondingly higher," and by that I mean that wages would then be really higher, as they are now artificially high; for the question as to whether wages are high or low is not determined by how much coin the laborer receives, but by what he gets for the coin. Amidst a condition of great plenty and corresponding cheapness of the material things which men desire, human exertion would be the only thing that would be high. Men do not work unless compelled by their material needs to do so. If they can procure all that they wish by a trifling exertion, they will not put forth greater exertion unless the wages are high enough.

But your labor unionist fears this plenty. He believes he wants work, and he seeks to create and maintain conditions which he thinks "make work." The truth is that work is the very last thing he does want. What he actually wants is the products for the obtaining of which he sees no other means than work. But suppose that the Orient, instead of being full of human laborers, should be full of inorganic laborers, to wit, machines. And suppose these machines should be brought here and set up, and that they should be so finely devised that they would entirely abolish and do away with human labor, and that henceforth there would be work for no one. Press a button or turn a knob, and all of material service or commodities the human heart desires would be forthcoming in overwhelming abundance. In whatever direction the out-of-work laborer would turn he would be confronted with one of these inexorable Asiatic machines, turning out produce so cheaply and of such exquisite finish that no hand could compete with it! Would that condition, I ask, be harmful or beneficial to your white laborer? He would be stripped of work, his occupation would be gone; and yet would he starve? Would he even feel discomfort or inconvenience? Would it not be a fact that, amidst such prodigality of good things, there would be abundance for every one? So much material to be consumed would upon some pretext or other find consumers, and your laborer would secure his share, even if he returned no service whatever. But he would return a service. Released from the drudgery of menial toil, your laborer would aspire to higher things—learning, art, science, the aspirations of the soul and the pleasures of the mind. He would rise above drudgery, cease to be a slave, and become a fully rounded and noble man.

And, after all, this imaginary machine is not a mere figment of my thought. Is not the condition which it would produce the very condition to which your Western civilization is tending, to which you have in a large measure attained? Is it not the province of every machine you have to lighten human toil, to increase human comforts, even to abolish within its sphere human toil and convert it into a mere mental exercise? And yet the Asiatic laborer, taken in all the aspects in which he is obnoxious to the labor unionist, is not worse than the machine. You say the Chinaman labors cheaply; he does not labor as cheaply as a machine. You say he sends his money to China; you

are sending money to Europe to buy machines. In every aspect in which you regard the question, in every test that you apply, you find that the argument against the Asiatic laborer falls to the ground.

His opponents in combating his coming overlook the prime consideration, that he is a *laborer,* that he is a *producer,* a creator of wealth in the fullness of which they share. Their arguments against him would apply only were he a consumer and not a producer. If he were this, or if he consumed all he produced, then they would have no complaint. Being a non-worker—say, for instance, a land owner—they would have no objection to him. He would apparently be welcomed here. Suppose the Chinese when they discovered the Pacific Coast, long before the era of Columbus, had remained here, and suppose the United States had appeared later, and acknowledged the Chinamen's title. Suppose the Chinese had let the lands on rentals to the Americans, and later some thousands of millions of their heirs or assigns had sailed from China and come hither and settled. They would not come to work; they would come to see the labor unionist work, and to take from him a portion of his earnings as land toll. There we have an instance of a consumer who is not a producer, and such Chinamen would have unquestionably been welcomed in California. But instead of being a benefit economically he would have been a nuisance; yet the labor unionist would have regarded him as an institution of benevolence and benignity—one who distributes his money in the purchase of their products and who does not compete with them in the "labor market."

Suppose the Chinaman consumed all the material wealth that he earned. Would not the quantity of such wealth in the community be thereby reduced, and would there not be so much less left for others to consume? The fact that the Chinaman does not consume all his share is of the highest advantage to you. If he claimed his full share and ate it all, he would be in one aspect an influence promoting scarcity; if he were an epiphyte—if he could live on air alone—so that he would work on and produce and leave it all for you to consume and profit by, would it not be better for you? It would certainly have to find consumers, and the abundance which he leaves would go to increase your share.

The Chinese exclusion laws were passed to appease laborers with whom the Chinese did not and could not compete. The

Chinese, then as now, were mostly employed as agriculturists and in the performance of work which an American would not do. No American wishes to do menial drudgery, and it is in commendation of his character that he spurns this kind of service. The people who wanted, or pretended to want, to do Chinese labor were not Americans, but European foreigners, persons who had but recently parted with conditions in their native countries not better than those which the Chinaman had left in his, and who no sooner reached America than they joined in the clamor against extending to the people of the Pacific that free access to the country which they themselves had just enjoyed upon the Atlantic. In point of fact the immigration which has come to the United States from Asia has been in all respects as good as that which has come from Europe. In some respects it has been a great deal better; for we have never aided thither paupers, criminals nor insane persons, and this slough comprised so considerable a percentage of the European immigration that it became necessary for Congress to enact a law extending to them the treatment which it visits upon the Chinese.

Thus we admit that the Chinese do work cheaper than whites, but when they work cheaper they actually earn less; when they do equal work—or, in other words, when they are worth as much as whites—they are paid as much, and the wages of either white man or Chinaman are determined and limited by what the commodity upon which it is exerted brings in the open market.

The sandlotist, however, acclaims that the presence of the Chinese are an injury in that they send much gold out of the country, and that, consequently, such does not circulate from hand to hand within the country and stimulate business. But I shall show that this is a benefit to the American people.

In the first place, the sending away of gold by Chinese does not and cannot produce a scarcity of money. There is no such thing as a real scarcity of money. There never has been. In the height of your bank panics there was no scarcity of money. All the money was in the country that was here the day or the week before the panic came on. The panic was due to the fact that money ceased to be exchanged. Let the Chinese send to China every wafer of gold that they can hoard. It will be but slightly missed, and presently it will perform its work there, when, if intercourse be free, it will come floating back on new missions of commerce and consequent benefit.

You are trying to civilize China after the Western idea of civilization, which I am ready to admit is vastly better than our idea of civilization. You conceive that to inculcate your ideas upon all these vast millions of people will result immeasurably to your benefit, and you are right in that. To achieve this you are willing to spend millions a year in sending your missionaries thither, sending consuls, supporting them with armies, demanding rights for your shippers of goods, etc. Yet the most potential and effective engine for the achievement of this very end is the pieces of Western coin which are sent to China by Chinese residing in the West.

The money which they send goes to their relatives and friends. This leavens the common people; and in leavening them it lifts the whole Empire. It brings comfort to them; it draws their minds close to your country; it makes them receptive to your ideas, ready for the acceptance of your methods. Not only do the Chinese here send their gold in amongst them, but your goods also. Chinese are great givers of presents, and great quantities of your products enter their Chinese homes in this manner. All the influences, missionaries, armies, treaties whereby the Western world is trying to turn China its way would not and never can equal the power to the same end exerted by the quiet movement of small sums of money from the sons and husbands in the West going with presents and comforts into the homes of the lowly Chinese.

This movement of money to the parent country is most natural, and the Chinese in so sending money are but performing an act which has been in accord with human action under like conditions ever since migration first set in from one civilized country to another. You are now sending millions annually to Europe, which go out of the purses of European emigrants settled here, to their relatives in the "old country." Perhaps in sending this money these people are performing acts of pure duty and charity, and perhaps they are feathering nests there for themselves, against the day of their intended return; for no emigrant, leaving a country to try his fortune abroad, but designs at starting to return to his old home and there spend his waning days.

But with their New World wealth they have carried New World ideas. They have learned how to develop their own country; or, becoming familiar with American goods, they perceived

the kind that could be sold most advantageously in their own country. Upon their return they opened importing establishments and so extended the trade of America. The returned Chinese have done all this. They have introduced American ideas, American goods, and planted American desires in Hong Kong and the Kwang-tung district.

But one count in the indictment remains. It is that the Chinese do not assimilate with the American people and do not adopt American methods and ways. If we would cut our queues, quit shaving our heads, abolish the *yung-shan* and wear the American coat and vest, this objection would not be raised. Our people would make as good citizens of the United States as any other foreign-born peoples. The average business man amongst us would vote as intelligently as the average business man among the European foreign element, and the same may be said of our laborers. This whole trouble has been caused by the fact that we are not citizens and voters. The wisdom of Chief Justice McColl of the Dominion Government was never more brilliantly shown than when in a recent Japanese case he declared that "it was a menace to Canada to have a large number of Japanese living in Canada, and to exclude them from taking part in the legislation affecting their property and civil rights." The evil and loss to which the United States has been subjected in its relation with China would all have been avoided had the Chinese been treated the same as any other aliens in the matter of naturalization. With votes in the hands of any considerable number of Chinese the exclusion laws would never have been possible. What if we do live in colonies? All your cities are but bunches of colonies. One does not have to contrast the foreign colonies in San Francisco, for instance, the Chinese with the Latin, or the Germans with the French or Hebrews; one may remark the colony on Nob Hill, and observe the chasm that separates it from that in the Mission or on Tar Flat. The Chinese gather to themselves, and do not trespass upon the domestic life of your people. Did Chinese sprinkle themselves all over the city, we should find their so doing would be put forward as one of the strongest objections to their presence.

Thus falls every argument presented on behalf of Chinese exclusion, and by which the existing extraordinary Congressional laws are sustained. If there were a real Chinese grievance, if the laws were justifiable, I should not write this article. If the laws

were harmful only to my own people, I should be content to hold my peace upon the theory that Americans had a right to inflict upon other people whatever disadvantages their own benefits might dictate. But the condition is not that. The condition is that a certain aggregate of mischievous persons have imposed upon the ignorance and credulity of your laboring people and caused them to demand the passage of laws resulting infinitely to their own harm, and that the sole and only motive these agitators have had for their acts is to increase their own pecuniary gain. It is my profound hope that the laboring people of America will now see these questions in the light of truth, and that they may become aroused to the injury which these laws are doing them. They should appreciate fully that they, above all other members of the community, are most interested in the increase of the stock of material wealth within the community, and that the most helpful hand in this increase that they can possibly enlist is the patient, faithful and diligent activity of the Chinese laborer. Nor does the question concern the business man less; the fewer goods there are in the community, the fewer goods he will have to move; and to create these is all the privilege the Chinese asks. The greatness of the United States demands the trade of the Orient, and the Orient is China. The United States cannot get this trade without cultivating friendly intercourse with her people.

America cannot fight China's people and enjoy those benefits which can only arise through peace and good feeling. Even now the class of Chinese who could confer most advantage on America and our country by coming to the United States never thinks of coming. This class recoils from the thought of subjecting itself to the insult and imprisonment which are inflicted upon every Chinese person seeking entrance to the United States under the exclusion laws. Only a few returning laborers and a handful of merchants of the poorer class ever try to enter the United States. America has cut away from herself a nation which by simple justice and fairness of treatment she might mould to her own advantage. This cutting off has been done, and is now being done, in blind ignorance under the erroneous belief that it is benefiting the people it is most seriously harming.

Ho Yow.

IS THE RUSH-BAGOT CONVENTION IMMORTAL?

BY THE HON. HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL.

SINCE April 29, 1817, when the agreement between the United States and Great Britain, commonly called the Rush-Bagot Convention, was concluded, it has successfully resisted all efforts to modify or annul it, although for more than half a century it has been practically obsolete. For the past sixty years both parties have violated the agreement with the same persistency with which they have both maintained at all times that the agreement was in full force and effect, and its faithful observance essential to their mutual welfare.

It has often been maintained by diplomatists and statesmen that the true spirit of the Rush-Bagot Convention has never been violated by either of the parties thereto. On the other hand, many practical men of affairs insist that a rigid compliance with the letter of the Convention is now working a great injustice to certain important American industries, and that, as this literal interpretation relates to matters which were not considered when the contract was made, it is not in harmony with the spirit of the agreement. During the last few years Congress has shown a disposition to enquire into the sources of the perennial vitality of this Convention, and to ascertain whether a prolongation of its existence is for the best interests of the United States. The subject will undoubtedly come before Congress again at its next session, and steps will probably be taken to secure the abrogation or modification of the Convention. Some account, therefore, of the origin and history of this singular agreement, concerning which there is such a diversity of opinion, may be of general interest at this time.

In 1815, at the close of the war between the United States and Great Britain, each country had a considerable naval force

on the Northern Lakes. The reduction of this force was essential to a permanent peace. Nevertheless, in the latter part of the summer of 1815, Mr. John Quincy Adams, our Minister to Great Britain, forwarded to this government evidence that Great Britain, instead of disarming her lake fleet, was making plans to increase its size and efficiency. This determination on the part of the British Government led Mr. Monroe, our Secretary of State, on November 16, 1815, to write to Mr. Adams instructing him to propose to the British authorities a mutual disarmament on the Great Lakes. Mr. Adams promptly took up the subject with Lord Castlereagh, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs; but after six months of negotiation with him no conclusion had been reached. By July, 1816, the British Minister to the United States, Right Honorable Charles Bagot, had received authority from his government to treat with our Secretary of State relative to disarmament on the lakes. The terms of the arrangement, as finally agreed upon, were suggested by Mr. Monroe in a letter to Mr. Bagot, dated August 2, 1816. In this letter Mr. Monroe said:

"I have the honor now to state that the President is willing, in the peace which so happily exists between the two nations and until the proposed arrangement shall be canceled in the manner hereinafter suggested, to confine the naval force to be maintained on the lakes on each side to the following vessels, that is: On Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burthen and one 18-pound cannon, and on the Upper Lakes to two vessels of like burthen and force, and on the waters of Lake Champlain to one vessel not exceeding the like burthen and force; and that all other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and likewise that neither party shall build or arm any other vessel on the shores of those lakes.

"That the naval force thus retained by each party on the lakes shall be restricted in its duty to the protection of its revenue laws, the transportation of troops and goods, and to such other services as will in no respect interfere with the armed vessels of the other party.

"That should either of the parties be of opinion hereafter that this arrangement did not accomplish the object intended by it, and be desirous of annulling it, and give notice thereof, it shall be void and of no effect after the expiration of —— months from the date of such notice."

The method adopted for carrying out the understanding between the two governments was the diplomatic device known as an interchange of notes. On April 28, 1817, Mr. Bagot wrote to Richard Rush, our Acting Secretary of State, as follows:

WASHINGTON, *April* 28, 1817.

The undersigned, His Britannic Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, has the honor to acquaint Mr. Rush that,

having laid before His Majesty's Government the correspondence which passed last year between the Secretary of the Department of State and the undersigned upon the subject of a proposal to reduce the naval force of the respective countries upon the American lakes, he has received the commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to acquaint the Government of the United States that His Royal Highness is willing to accede to the proposition made to the undersigned by the Secretary of the Department of State in his note of the 2d of August last.

His Royal Highness, acting in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, agrees that the naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes by His Majesty and the Government of the United States shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is—

On Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burden and armed with one 18-pound cannon.

On the Upper Lakes to two vessels not exceeding like burden each and armed with like force.

On the waters of Lake Champlain to one vessel not exceeding like burden and armed with like force.

And His Royal Highness agrees that all other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and that no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed. His Royal Highness further agrees that if either party should hereafter be desirous of annulling this stipulation, and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from the date of such notice.

The undersigned has it in command from His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to acquaint the American Government that His Royal Highness has issued orders to His Majesty's officers on the lakes directing that the naval force so to be limited shall be restricted to such services as will in no respect interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party.

The undersigned has the honor to renew to Mr. Rush the assurances of his highest consideration. CHARLES BAGOT.

To this note Mr. Rush sent the following reply on the next day:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *April* 29, 1817.

The undersigned, Acting Secretary of State, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Bagot's note of the 28th of this month, informing him that, having laid before the Government of His Britannic Majesty the correspondence which passed between the Secretary of State and himself upon the subject of a proposal to reduce the naval force of the two countries upon the American lakes, he has received the commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to inform this Government that His Royal Highness was willing to accede to the proposition made by the Secretary of State in his note of the second of August last.

The undersigned has the honor to express to Mr. Bagot the satisfaction which the President feels at His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's having acceded to the proposition of this Government as contained in the note alluded to. And in further answer to Mr. Bagot's

note, the undersigned, by direction of the President, has the honor to state that this Government, cherishing the same sentiments expressed in the note of the second of August, agrees that the naval force to be maintained upon the lakes by the United States and Great Britain, shall, henceforth, be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is—

On Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burden, and armed with one 18-pound cannon. On the Upper Lakes to two vessels not exceeding the like burden each, and armed with like force, and on the waters of Lake Champlain to one vessel not exceeding like burden and armed with like force.

And it agrees that all other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and that no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed. And it further agrees that if either party should hereafter be desirous of annulling this stipulation and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from the date of such notice.

The undersigned is also directed by the President to state that proper orders will be forthwith issued by this Government to restrict the naval force thus limited to such services as will in no respect interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party.

The undersigned eagerly avails himself of this opportunity to tender to Mr. Bagot the assurances of his distinguished consideration and respect. RICHARD RUSH.

This correspondence constitutes the compact which has been binding upon the two countries for over eighty-four years. By the statesmen and publicists of both countries it has been variously termed an arrangement, agreement, convention and treaty.

It was nearly a year after the exchange of notes that, on April 6, 1818, President Monroe submitted to the Senate the correspondence between Mr. Rush and Mr. Bagot. Ten days later the Senate, by the unanimous vote of thirty Senators, approved the agreement, and, on April 28th, the President published it in a proclamation.

It does not appear that the action of Mr. Bagot was ever formally confirmed by his government, and no exchange of ratifications took place. But we assumed that Mr. Bagot had full power and authority to bind his government, and Great Britain has acted on the assumption that Mr. Rush was duly authorized and empowered to contract on behalf of the United States. The agreement, therefore, although concluded in an unconventional manner, and partaking of none of the ordinary characteristics of a formal treaty, must be considered as possessing all the binding force and effect of a treaty. As such it has been, since April 29, 1817, a part of the supreme law of the land.

The agreement became immediately operative upon the interchange of notes, and the work of dismantling the fleets was promptly begun. In a short time the victorious ships of Perry and McDonough were rotting on the sands, or had been converted into peaceful merchantmen.

It may perhaps aid us in arriving at a just conclusion respecting the questions which arise in connection with this Convention, and the proper attitude of the United States toward them, to consider (I.) the circumstances under which the agreement was made, and the objects which were sought to be accomplished by it; (II.) the manner in which the parties have observed the Convention, and the interpretations which they have placed upon it; (III.) the reasons which have been given for its abrogation or modification.

I.

A knowledge of the environment of the contracting parties is essential to an intelligent interpretation of every contract. The conditions which surrounded the framers of this Convention differed so radically from the conditions which exist to-day, that a literal compliance with the terms of the agreement is little less than absurd, inasmuch as it often produces results which were not intended, or even contemplated, by the parties.

In 1817 the navies of the United States and Great Britain on the lakes were about evenly matched, and numbered some twenty-five wooden vessels each. No iron or steel vessels then existed, and steam had not yet been used in ships of war. There was no communication for vessels from one lake to another, except from Lake Erie to Lake Huron and from Lake Huron to Lake Michigan, and there was no passage from the lakes to the ocean. The Welland Canal was not opened for small vessels until 1833, and the chain of St. Lawrence canals was not completed until 1848. The shores of the lower lakes were sparsely settled, and the region of the upper lakes was an unexplored wilderness inhabited by savages. The chain of lakes was the only pathway of commerce to the West and Northwest. The war had left the Americans and Canadians along the border in bad humor and not at all disposed to treat one another in a neighborly manner. The presence on the lakes of large fleets of armed vessels, recently opposed to each other, hindered a recon-

ciliation and the establishment of friendly commercial intercourse.

These were the conditions which existed when Secretary Monroe wrote to Mr. Adams, in November, 1815. The thought that was uppermost in the minds of the framers of the Convention was the necessity for the immediate removal of the greatest obstacle to a good understanding between the two countries by the disarmament of the naval force on the lakes. Their main object was to secure a present reduction of the existing force. They were less concerned about the more remote future. This is apparent from the correspondence which preceded and constituted the agreement. The subject under consideration was the "Proposal to reduce the naval force of the respective countries on the American lakes." Of this force four vessels were to be "maintained," or "retained," by each party, and all other armed vessels were forthwith to be dismantled.

Three facts are especially to be noted in connection with the terms of the agreement.

First. Except for the four vessels agreed upon, no other vessels of war were to be "maintained," "built" or "armed" on the lakes. As there was no navigable connection between the lakes, or between Lake Ontario and the ocean, when Mr. Bagot and Mr. Rush used these terms, they understood that a vessel could not be maintained upon the lakes unless it had been built there, and that a vessel could not be armed or built on the lakes and maintained elsewhere. They did not contemplate a time when vessels larger than the largest warships with which they were then familiar could pass to and fro between the ocean and the headwaters of Michigan and Superior. From their point of view, to build on the lakes was to maintain on the lakes.

Second. The only restriction that Mr. Bagot in his note specifically places upon the vessels to be maintained by each power is that they shall "in no respect interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party." He does, however, state in the first paragraph of his note that "His Royal Highness is willing to accede to the proposition made to the undersigned by the Secretary of the Department of State in his note of the 2d of August last." Now, a part of Secretary Monroe's proposition was that the naval force to be retained by each party should be restricted in its duty "to the protection of its revenue laws, the

transportation of troops and goods, and to such other services as will in no respect interfere with the armed vessels of the other party." It was clearly the intention that the four vessels agreed upon should be the only armed ships maintained by either government on the lakes for any purpose.

Third. The agreement makes no provision for any temporary deviations from the strict letter of the contract. It takes no account of the necessities of civil war, or of the duty of each party to maintain the neutrality of its own citizens.

As an arrangement for immediate mutual disarmament, the Convention was effective and beneficial to both parties. It was a distinct aid in bringing about a better feeling between the people along the border. It stimulated commerce on the lakes and encouraged settlement along their shores. The agreement worked smoothly during the first twenty years of its life. It injured no one and was of undeniable advantage to both parties. By the end of twenty years it probably had done all that its framers expected of it, and, in the opinion of many, it had accomplished all the good of which it was capable.

II.

Changed conditions and unforeseen events speedily demonstrated that a literal compliance with the agreement was impracticable, and might be suicidal. Great Britain first felt the necessity of transgressing the letter of the contract. During the revolution in Canada of 1838 the British authorities increased their naval armament on the lakes beyond the limits fixed in the agreement, for the purpose of defending their shores from the incursions of small bands of so-called "Canadian Patriots."

This increase of the naval force led our Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth, to remonstrate to Mr. Fox, the British Minister. Mr. Fox replied that the increase was made necessary in consequence of unlawful and piratical acts of hostility; that the armament was equipped for the sole purpose of guarding Her Majesty's Province against a manifest and acknowledged danger, and that it would be discontinued at the earliest possible period after the causes which created the danger had ceased to exist. This reply satisfied Mr. Forsyth for a year, when he again called the attention of Mr. Fox to the matter and suggested that, the causes for the increase in the armament having ceased to exist,

the President expected that the British force would be reduced to the limits fixed by the Convention.

This reminder of her treaty obligations did not deter Great Britain from laying plans for a still further increase in her naval force on the lakes. This action brought forth a protest from Mr. Webster, who had become Secretary of State. In replying to Mr. Webster's notes, Mr. Fox stated that the vessels of war serving on the Canadian lakes were equipped for the sole purpose of guarding Her Majesty's Province against hostile attack. With a touch of sarcasm he added that the hostile incursions with which Canada was threatened were from combinations of armed men unlawfully organized and prepared for war in the United States, in defiance of the efforts of the government to prevent them. The explanation made by Mr. Fox apparently satisfied Mr. Webster, although he had originally insisted upon a rigid compliance with the terms of the Convention.

In the meantime Congress had done something besides protest. The Fortification Act of September 9, 1841, contained a clause authorizing the construction and armament of such vessels on the lakes as the President might think proper, and such as should "be authorized by the existing stipulations between this and the British Government." Under this authority the iron, side-wheel bark Michigan was built at Pittsburg and taken in sections to Erie, where she was completed and launched in the summer of 1844. She registered 498 tons and carried two 8-inch guns and four 32-pound carronades.

It was now Great Britain's turn to remonstrate. All immediate necessity for increasing her navy had disappeared, and so her Minister, Mr. Packenham, conveyed to Secretary Calhoun his conviction that it was by all means desirable that the Convention of 1817 should be fulfilled to the letter by both contracting parties. Mr. Calhoun's reply merely refers to an enclosed note of the Secretary of the Navy, to whom he had referred Mr. Packenham's communication. The reasons given by Mr. Mason, Secretary of the Navy, for our violation of the agreement were that Great Britain was violating the agreement, and that the methods of naval construction had greatly changed since 1817. On the latter point he wisely said: "It is worthy of remark that at the date of the agreement between the two Governments steamers were in use to a very limited extent as passenger ves-

sels, and perhaps not at all as ships of war. The restriction as to tonnage would probably not have been adopted if their use had been anticipated. No effective steamer for any purpose, it is believed, would be built of a tonnage of 100 tons."

Either the British Ministry took thirteen years to consider and digest this suggestion, or the Michigan kept out of sight of British officers during that time, for it was not until 1857 that she attracted the attention of Lord Napier. He describes her as a revenue cruiser of the burden of 800 tons, and ventures to suggest to Mr. Cass that it would be expedient for him to inquire whether his government is complying with the treaty of 1817. There is no record of any written reply to Lord Napier's note.

For the next four years the Michigan again seems to have escaped attention. In August, 1861, Lord Lyons wrote to Secretary Seward that he had been instructed to represent to the United States Government that the armament of the Michigan would seem to be in excess of the limit stipulated in the agreement of 1817. Mr. Seward replied, giving the exact tonnage and armament of the Michigan, and stating that she was then, as theretofore, used exclusively for the purpose of recruiting the Navy, with artillery practice for the newly recruited men. He said: "It is not supposed by this Government that their retaining of the steamer in question upon the lakes is a violation of their arrangement of 1817. But if the British Government thinks otherwise, we shall be happy to consider its views in that respect."

Up to the present time the British Government has not accepted this invitation or presented its views. The subject of the armament and tonnage of the Michigan has not occupied the British Ministry for forty years. During that time this vessel has been prudently repaired and has survived in good condition the shot and shell of sixty years of diplomatic correspondence. Even now, in quiet weather, this venerable craft may still be seen proudly but slowly bearing the American flag over the calm waters of the Great Lakes as she goes about her hydrographic task of surveying the scenes of her former triumphs.

We come now to the most interesting and critical period in the life of the Rush-Bagot Convention. During the Civil War the United States found herself involved in a difficulty similar to that which embarrassed Great Britain during the Canadian Revolution of 1838. In 1864, Confederate sympathizers organized on

Canadian soil for the purpose of making depredations on the commerce of the lakes and hostile incursions into the Northern States. To suppress these demonstrations it became necessary to increase our naval force on the lakes. June 18, 1864, the House of Representatives passed a resolution directing that notice should be given to abrogate the Convention of 1817. The Senate did not consider the resolution at that session. In commenting upon the action of the House of Representatives, Lord Lyons wrote to Secretary Seward that Great Britain would view the abrogation of the agreement "with great regret and no little alarm." The United States, however, was not so much concerned about the alarms and regrets of Great Britain as she was about her own self-preservation.

On October 24, 1864, Secretary Seward, acting under instructions from the President, wrote to Charles Francis Adams, our Minister to England, instructing him to give to Earl Russell the six months' notice necessary to terminate the Convention. Mr. Adams gave this notice November 23, 1864.

It will be noted that the Executive Department acted in this matter, without any authority from Congress. It assumed the right to annul the Convention without legislative action. January 17, 1865, Senator Sumner, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported to the Senate, with an amendment, the resolution which had passed the House at its last session. On the next day the resolution passed the Senate. On February 4th the amendment was agreed to by the House, and, on February 9th, the resolution was approved and signed by the President in the following form:

JOINT RESOLUTION to terminate the treaty of eighteen hundred and seventeen, regulating the naval force on the lakes.

Whereas the United States, of the one part, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of the other part, by a treaty bearing date April, eighteen hundred and seventeen, have regulated the naval force upon the lakes, and it was further provided that "if either party should hereafter be desirous of annulling this stipulation and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from the date of such notice;" and whereas the peace of our frontier is now endangered by hostile expeditions against the commerce of the lakes and by other acts of lawless persons, which the naval force of the two countries, allowed by the existing treaty, may be insufficient to prevent; and whereas, further, the President of the United States has proceeded to give the notice required for the termination of the treaty by a com-

munication which took effect on the twenty-third of November, eighteen hundred and sixty-four: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the notice given by the President of the United States to the Government of Great Britain and Ireland to terminate the treaty of eighteen hundred and seventeen, regulating the naval force upon the lake, is hereby adopted and ratified as if the same had been authorized by Congress.

Approved, February 9, 1865.

Secretary Seward, Senator Sumner, both Houses of Congress and President Lincoln called this Convention a treaty, so that there is ample justification for giving it that title. As a treaty it was a part of the supreme law of the land. As a law of the land it was repealed by this joint resolution of Congress. Such action certainly would have been a death blow to any other treaty, but the Rush-Bagot Convention still survives. It was resuscitated in this remarkable manner.

As the final triumph of the Federal arms became certain, the attitude of Great Britain towards the United States changed, and the unfriendly manifestations along our northern border ceased. On March 8, 1865, Secretary Seward wrote to Mr. Adams: "You may say to Lord Russell that we are quite willing that the convention should remain practically in force."

No record has been found of any communication to the British authorities by Mr. Adams of his instructions. He may have conveyed them orally at an informal interview, but it is strange that he made no report of his action to his government. The notice given by Mr. Adams, November 23, 1864, would have terminated the agreement May 23, 1865.

June 15, 1865, Sir Frederick Bruce, who had succeeded Lord Lyons as British Minister, wrote to Mr. Hunter, Acting Secretary of State, enquiring whether the agreement of 1817 was virtually at an end, or whether the despatch to Mr. Adams of the 8th of March was intended as a formal withdrawal of the notice of November 23, 1864. Secretary Seward replied in writing to these enquiries the next day that the instruction to the United States Minister at London of March 8, 1865, "was intended as a withdrawal of the previous notice within the time allowed, and that it is so held by this Government." This is probably the only instance where an Act of Congress has been set aside through instructions issued by our Secretary of State to one of our foreign ministers. It is not a legislative precedent that is

likely to meet with the approval of modern Congresses, although it has been considered effective by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain.

Notwithstanding the passage by Congress of the Joint Resolution of 1865, the Rush-Bagot Convention still exerts its neutralizing influence upon the waters of the Great Lakes, to the manifest satisfaction of the diplomatists of both countries, and with equally manifest injustice to the shipbuilders and naval militia of the lake States. In April, 1890, F. W. Wheeler & Co., shipbuilders of West Bay City, Michigan, were the lowest bidders for the construction of a steel practice vessel for the Naval Academy, of about 800 tons displacement. Their bid was rejected on account of the agreement of 1817, and the contract was awarded to another firm, whose bid was five thousand dollars in excess of that of the Michigan firm. Other similar bids of lake shipbuilders have been rejected by the Navy Department on the same ground. The Department now rejects all bids for the construction of naval vessels on the lakes, even when they are to be taken unarmed to the ocean, or in sections to Atlantic shipyards for completion.

This action on the part of the Government led to the presentation in Congress of numerous petitions for the abrogation or modification of the agreement. On April 11, 1892, the Senate passed a resolution directing the Secretary of State to inform the Senate whether the State Department considered the agreement of 1817 in force, and, if so, what action had been taken to revive it after the passage of the Joint Resolution of 1865. In response to this resolution, President Harrison sent to the Senate, December 7, 1892, a message containing a most interesting and exhaustive account by Mr. John W. Foster, Secretary of State, of the birth, life, death, resuscitation and accomplishments of the Rush-Bagot Convention. In reply to the inquiry whether the Department considered the agreement still in force, he said: "The correspondence exchanged in 1864 shows that it is so regarded." He assumes that Mr. Adams communicated to the British Ministry the instruction of our Secretary of State to withdraw the notice terminating the agreement, and explains that Great Britain could not question Secretary Seward's power to make such a withdrawal. To sustain the Secretary's action was commendable international courtesy, good statesmanship and

sound policy. Whether Secretary Seward's action in committing his Government to the revival of a treaty, the abrogation of which Congress had ratified and approved, was good statesmanship and sound policy may well be questioned.

At the second session of the Fifty-sixth Congress the writer introduced in the House of Representatives a bill authorizing the construction and maintenance of a gunboat on the upper lakes. The object of the bill was to secure a modern vessel for the training of the Naval Militia. Three of the lake States had thoroughly organized companies of Naval Reserves, but most of the members of this force had never seen a modern warship. This bill was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and included as an item in the Naval Appropriation Bill of 1898, with the proviso "that said construction of said gunboat shall conform to all existing treaties and conventions."

On April 16, 1898, immediately upon the passage of this Act, the Secretary of the Navy addressed to the Secretary of State an enquiry whether he would be limited by any restrictions as to armament and tonnage in the construction of a gunboat for the lakes. To this Secretary Day replied, July 1, 1898, that the subject was one of the matters to come before the Joint High Commission on questions affecting the relations between the United States and Canada.

January 15, 1900, the House of Representatives passed a resolution requesting the Secretary of State to communicate to the House the status of this agreement between the United States and Great Britain. February 27, 1900, President McKinley transmitted to the House a message containing a report of Secretary Hay in response to this resolution. Mr. Hay includes in his report the message of President Harrison of December 7, 1892.

From Mr. Hay's report it appears that, on May 30, 1898, the United States and Great Britain agreed upon the creation of a Joint High Commission, to which should be referred for settlement various pending questions between the United States and Canada, among which was "a revision of the agreement of 1817 respecting naval vessels on the lakes." The American Commissioners were instructed to secure a declaration that it was not contrary to the true spirit of the arrangement of 1817 to build war vessels on the lakes to be taken to the ocean, or to maintain gunboats on the lakes for the training of the Naval Reserves.

They were also instructed to arrange with Great Britain for the passage of such vessels through the Canadian canals.

The Secretary's report concludes with these words: "It is understood that some satisfactory progress was made in the Joint High Commission toward the attainment of these ends, but the labors of the Commission have been suspended without reaching a definite result." And so, with the suspension of the labors of the Commission, the construction of the gunboat authorized by Congress three years ago is also suspended, and the Rush-Bagot Convention still survives.

Before passing from this phase of the subject it should be noted that we have for many years maintained on the lakes armed revenue cutters exceeding the tonnage and armament prescribed in the agreement of 1817. In 1857, and again in 1865, Great Britain raised the point that our action in this respect was in violation of the agreement. It certainly is a departure from the views entertained by the framers of the Convention. Our Revenue Cutter Service is under the Treasury Department, and we have replied to the several remonstrances of Great Britain that the revenue cutters were not naval vessels and were used exclusively for enforcing the revenue laws. This explanation has so far sufficed, although our revenue cutters are always available for use by the Navy in time of war. Many of them rendered conspicuous service in the recent conflict with Spain.

III.

It only remains to consider what attitude the United States should assume towards this Convention in the future. The Convention reserves to both parties the right to abrogate the agreement upon giving six months' notice, and, therefore, may be honorably terminated at any time by either of the parties. What is the wisest course for us to pursue? What will be for the best interests of this country? Shall we continue in force the present arrangement and keep up the pretense of complying with the true spirit while persistently violating the plain letter of the agreement? Or shall we seek to secure such modifications of the contract as will make it conform to present conditions and meet the probable requirements of the future? Or shall we abrogate the agreement altogether?

As we have seen, the prime object of the Convention was immediate disarmament. In securing this object it was, and has

since been, an encouragement to peace and good will. It conferred no power on either party, and it imposed equal restraints on them both. At that time neither party could put gunboats upon the lakes without building them there. This is still true of the United States, unless she obtains the consent of Great Britain to use her canals. Great Britain, on the other hand, can put upon the lakes all of her war vessels that can pass the Canadian locks. In time of peace, therefore, the Convention places a restraint upon the action of Great Britain. This restraint would continue until the commencement of hostilities, or a declaration of war, so that, even if the relations between the two countries should become strained and war should seem imminent, Great Britain could not put a hostile fleet on the lakes until some act of belligerency had taken place.

If, however, this restriction on the power of Great Britain should be removed by the abrogation of the Convention, Great Britain could, at any time, in anticipation of trouble with the United States, place on the lakes a formidable naval force. We could only be prepared for such an emergency by maintaining on the lakes a force sufficient to cope with the fleet which Great Britain could send through the canals.

The locks of the Welland and St. Lawrence canals are 270 feet long, 45 feet wide, and 14 feet deep. Great Britain now has afloat 130 gunboats, 169 torpedo boats, and 108 destroyers, which could pass from the ocean to the lakes. In case of war, therefore, the Convention would seem to be an advantage to the United States. It is devoutly to be hoped that there will never be another war between the United States and Great Britain, either with or without the Rush-Bagot Convention; but it seems unreasonable to suppose that the abrogation of the agreement would make any perceptible difference in the present cordial relations between the two countries. The ties of friendship and commerce are now too strong to be lightly severed, or even strained, without just cause.

What are the disadvantages to the United States of the present arrangement? It should be noted at the outset that they all arise from conditions which did not exist when the Convention was agreed to, and could hardly have been anticipated by its framers.

In the first place, it debars the shipbuilders on the lakes from

competing for the construction of such government war vessels as can pass the Canadian canals. This is a discrimination against a large and important industry which should not be tolerated except for the most urgent reasons. The American Ship Building Company now has nine plants on the lakes, located at West Superior, Milwaukee, Chicago, Bay City, Detroit, Wyandotte, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Lorraine. There are three other yards on the lakes, at Bay City, Port Huron and Toledo. Owing to their proximity to the coal and iron deposits, all these lake shipyards can compete successfully with any of the yards in this country or elsewhere. They have built several lightships and other vessels for the Treasury Department, and have been, as we have seen, the lowest bidders for some of the naval vessels. The Government is thus a loser as well by being deprived of the competition of these lake yards.

The United States suffers a still more serious loss, which is forcibly alluded to by the Secretary of the Navy in his letter of April 16, 1898:

> "This enquiry is prompted by the further consideration that it was doubtless not at all within the contemplation of the understanding of 1817 that the national resources in naval construction should be materially diminished thereby, as they are at present through the exclusion of the facilities afforded by establishments in the lake cities. These establishments might in emergency render important service in the construction of torpedo boats and other small vessels, which, with the concurrence of the British authorities, could be taken through the Welland Canal and placed in commission for sea service as promptly as would be possible if they were built on the Atlantic seaboard."

A strict adherence to the letter of the Convention also excludes the lake yards from the construction of naval vessels for other countries at peace with the United States and Great Britain. It will be seen, therefore, that the United States, by continuing in force this international agreement, deprives twelve private American shipyards of great advantages which are enjoyed by all other yards in the country. What prospect of national gain would now induce the President to make, or the Senate to ratify, a treaty which would shut out from the construction of all naval vessels twelve other private American shipyards on the Atlantic or Pacific coasts?

The Convention of 1817 prevents the efficient training of a large part of our Naval Militia. We now have over five thousand officers and men organized in eighteen States and the Dis-

trict of Columbia. Of this number eleven hundred are in Illinois, Michigan and Ohio. It is a disadvantage to the Government and an injustice and discouragement to these Naval Reserves to be deprived of the same practice on a modern gunboat that is enjoyed by the reserves in the seaboard States. There is a delicious humor, bordering on comic opera, in the position of our Government that it is wholly in harmony with the spirit of the Convention to maintain the Michigan on the lakes, but that it would shock the spirit of the agreement to replace that naval antiquity with a modern boat of the same tonnage and armament. If Great Britain should now propose to place upon the lakes a rival to our marine curiosity, we certainly could not object. But should we then make the farce complete by suggesting to Great Britain that she might maintain a vessel of the same tonnage and armament as the Michigan, but that her vessel must also follow the design and construction of the Michigan, and be furnished with the same archaic appliances? We should either have to adopt this course, or else assume the scarcely less ludicrous position of permitting Great Britain to maintain a modern gunboat on the lakes, while confining ourselves to the model of 1841. It is difficult for the ordinary mind to understand why replacing the Michigan by a modern boat would give the spirit of the Rush-Bagot Convention a greater shock than it received when the Michigan succeeded the wooden sailing vessels of the early forties.

In concluding this enumeration of the disadvantages to the United States of adhering to the agreement of 1817, attention must be drawn to the position in which the United States would now be placed in case of a war with Great Britain, although I do not take much account of the possibilities of war between the two countries. War ends all treaties between the belligerents. In anticipation of hostilities, Great Britain could concentrate on the upper St. Lawrence a powerful naval force ready for operation on the lakes upon the declaration of war. Our most efficient method of opposing this force would be by land batteries commanding the upper St. Lawrence and the waters connecting the lakes. With or without this Convention we shall always be at a disadvantage in a conflict with Great Britain on the lakes until we have constructed a waterway through our own territory from the ocean to the lakes of sufficient size to admit the passage of vessels as large as those which can pass through the Canadian canals.

A careful study of the history of the Rush-Bagot Convention, and an impartial estimate of the advantages and disadvantages accruing to the United States from an adherence to its terms, as now interpreted, lead to the conclusion that the loss to the United States outweighs the gain; that it is to the interest of both parties to make a new arrangement respecting naval armaments on the lakes; that the agreement of 1817 is obsolete, and not fit for the foundation of an international understanding; that a treaty should be made between the United States and Great Britain which would expressly annul the Rush-Bagot Convention and settle the questions of armament and naval construction on the lakes in conformity with modern conditions.

As the Joint High Commission is in a state of suspended animation, with little prospect of recovery, may we not hope that our present Secretary of State and the present distinguished Ambassador from Great Britain will soon be able personally to adjust the differences between the two countries, and link their names to a treaty which, while impartially protecting the rights of both, will, as a pledge of permanent peace, rival the famous Rush-Bagot Convention.

HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL.

RUSSIA AND POPULAR EDUCATION.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, CONSTANTIN POBIEDONOSTSEFF, PROCURATOR OF THE HOLY SYNOD OF RUSSIA.

(A reply to Prince Kropotkin.)

THE editor of this REVIEW has invited me to write an article on the present situation of Russia. That is a task, however, to which I do not feel myself equal. It is not only beyond the strength of an old man, whose strength is worn out, but it is even beyond the unaided strength of any individual scholar or journalist in Russia. It is not difficult to write a political pamphlet on such a subject, and pamphlets of the kind come frequently enough from the press of both hemispheres. The writings that issue from Congresses in which Russia is the theme are in general nothing more than political pamphlets inspired by doctrinal prejudices and the hatreds of pedants and party men. To this category belong the pamphlets of Kropotkin, a professional apostle of anarchy and socialism. Though a Russian, he does not know Russia, and is incapable of understanding his country; for the soul of the Russian people is a closed book to him which he has never opened. His impressions of the present state of Russia are based only on gossip and the tales invented by daily newspapers and their equally ignorant and incapable correspondents, as far as seeking the truth about men and facts is concerned.

I limit myself, therefore, to correcting some of the material errors that abound in Kropotkin's recent article in this periodical, which treats principally of the Russian system of administering the Universities and Schools. It is true that historically considered this system reveals a whole series of mistakes and wrong measures for which the Government is responsible. What Government is free from defects of this sort? Yet one thing

that should not be forgotten is that Russia is a "world" apart, and that her civilization has not passed through the discipline of several centuries of culture as has that of Western countries. It is, therefore, impossible to judge her according to the criterion yielded by another race, another history, another culture, itself trained and ripened through a long past, even without emphasizing the fact that this criterion is not an altogether fixed and definite standard in countries possessing this ancient culture. Another thing that should not be forgotten is that the password "liberty" is not a talisman capable of opening all secrets and solving all the questions of human existence. Kropotkin comments severely upon the meagreness of the amounts granted to Elementary Schools and the inadequacy of the schools themselves. He says:

"While even now we have in European Russia only one school for each 2,230 inhabitants, and while only one child out of every twenty or thirty children of school age goes to school (as against seven in England), the Ministry of Public Instruction, for years in succession under Alexander II., returned every year to the State Exchequer one-half of the poor allowance of $4,000,000 a year for the primary schools, which was inscribed in the budget. It found no use for the money! And if the Ministry of Public Instruction spends now its budget allowance in full, it is because it has hit upon the following plan: It does not open schools of its own, but spends the money in subsidies to the village clergy, who, leaving aside their general ignorance, keep schools mostly on paper only. Their time being fully taken up by their regular duties (marriages, burials, etc.), they generally pay quite ignorant cantors, or retired soldiers, to attend to the schools. And all this is perfectly well known in Russia."

This accusation is based on a complete ignorance of the facts. Since Kropotkin left Russia the progress in this matter has been enormous and the correspondents on whose information he relies are, probably, as ignorant as himself. He has no knowledge of the village-clergy schools. The Elementary Schools are: (1.) those established by the Minister for Education; (2.) those established and maintained by the Zemstvos; (3.) those which are attached to the ecclesiastical parishes. The schools of this last class either did not exist at all in Kropotkin's time, or, if they existed, they were completely neglected; whereas, under the reign of Alexander III., they were placed on a new footing and grew rapidly. In spite of all Kropotkin may say from his biased point of view, the schools of this third class are the most serviceable to Russia. As a learned geographer and sociologist Kropotkin

ought to know that throughout the vast domains of the Empire the population is scattered in the most diverse manner. There are no roads, and the people live on the steppes, in the woods, in the marshes; their dwellings are sometimes separated by five to eight hundred versts of uncultivated and impassable country; and the inhabitants themselves, without culture, here and there even barbarous, gain a scanty living far from all means of communication and the necessaries for industry and commerce. Is it possible for human power to supply all these spots and out-of-the-way places with regular schools and masters? And yet they contain human souls and Russian subjects. Happily, even in the least cultivated regions, churches are to be found; and it is these churches of our country which, existing everywhere, sow the seeds of civilization among the poor who inhabit these wastes that are veritable centres of light in darkness. It must be remembered that with such a state of things the main question in these regions is not that of beginning at once to instruct in the sciences, but that of inculcating in the people's minds notions of what is right and wrong, just and unjust, true and false; of teaching them the alphabet, teaching them writing, teaching them the principles of the Gospel, and of bringing their minds to the realization of spiritual truth. The school, therefore, must be simple and cheap, in accordance with the nature of the locality. Such is the principle of the parish school in Russia; yet, in proportion as the local conditions are more favorable, the school in many places develops these primitive rudiments into a more varied instruction and furnishes a complete course of elementary education. The progress made by these schools is much to their credit, and the State, recognizing this, makes them at present considerable grants (as much even as six million roubles), while, on the other hand, a similar sum, or more, is supplied by voluntary contributions. What Kropotkin says about the incapacity of the Village Clergy is certainly unjust. Perhaps in his time the ignorant schoolmasters of whom he speaks, often recruited from pensioned soldiers, were only too common. To-day we have a regular system of seminaries and training-colleges for the education of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, who are all the more necessary as the parish priest, engaged in his professional duties, cannot efficiently carry out school teaching. When Kropotkin alleges that the schools of the Caucasus and the Don Cossacks are

much more advanced than the ordinary Russian schools, he again betrays his ignorance of the facts, the condition of the schools in these regions being, on the contrary, much inferior.

Kropotkin proceeds: "The study of comparative state law was prohibited." This, perhaps, may have occurred a few times when prohibition, so to speak, had gone mad; but the madness was of very short duration, and the study in question is, on the contrary, widely pursued in the universities.

Kropotkin leads us once more into the midst of fable and gossip when he says:

> M. Bogolépoff, in his younger days, was more or less of a Liberal; but, since he has obtained his nomination as Minister of Public Instruction, he has been a mere tool in the hands of the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobiedonostseff, a narrow-minded fanatic of the State religion, who—if it were only in his power—would have burned at the stake all protestants against Orthodoxy and Catholicism."

(1.) I had nothing to do with the business of the Educational Department. It was Bogolépoff who was entrusted with it; and when he says, "These two men, Bogolépoff and Pobiedonostseff, reported the Kieff affair to the Czar," he asserts what is untrue. I was totally ignorant of this Kieff affair, which concerned two ministers only, Bogolépoff and the Minister for the Interior. (2.) Until his appointment, Bogolépoff was quite unknown to me, and afterwards we remained as strangers to each other. Indeed, he was, if anything, hostile and opposed to me, and never once consulted me.

Kropotkin further says:

> "When the Kieff disorders were reported to Nicholas II., he said, first, that he had had enough of these students' riots and would close all the universities."

This is false from beginning to end. Who heard what the Czar said? Kropotkin's correspondents did not. They simply invented, as they invent every day for the press. What a series of platitudes! "He spoke *next* of Port Arthur, and *finally* issued an order for military service." In order to get at the true significance of *next* and *finally,* it should be remembered that our Emperor never issues such orders on his personal responsibility. He contents himself with confirming the decisions of the various executive councils and the resolutions of his ministers in cases prescribed by the law.

The decree concerning the military service of students guilty

of creating an agitation against the university curriculum was published independently of any initiative on the part of the Emperor. The ministers, in a Cabinet meeting that had been called in consequence of these university disorders, deemed it necessary to have recourse to this punishment, and their resolution was submitted for the Emperor's approval. A regulation was published, according to which the application of the penalty in each case was made to depend on a special committee comprising the ministers whose departments were concerned, and the decisions of this committee were to be valid in law without needing an imperial sanction. The Kieff affair, therefore, was settled in this way, and the will of the Emperor had no share in it. When Kropotkin affirms that "these students were carried away as criminals in absolute secrecy, to some unknown destination presumed to be Port Arthur," he says what is quite imaginary. Nothing of the kind took place; and, without any secrecy, the students were quietly sent off by rail to their respective regiments, the Minister for War being present at their departure and arranging for the comfort of their journey. What is unfortunately true is, that the measure in question was applied at once to one hundred and eighty students, which gave it a peculiarly rigorous character; whereas the law was meant to apply only to a few exceptional cases.

Kropotkin's article furnishes another striking example of the monstrous lies spread abroad by the press concerning the internal condition of Russia, as also of Kropotkin's complete ignorance of the country to which he formerly belonged. He has not hesitated to give currency to the following absurd story, which he has picked up somewhere and which I quote in his own words:

> "Finally, the Committee of the Ministers, assuming for the *first time* the rôle of a ministry, discussed the Imperial order and insisted upon its withdrawal. It refused to acquiesce in the will of the Czar to proclaim a state of siege, and it obtained the dismissal of the St. Petersburg Chief of Police, General Kleigels."

Now, no such thing did take place or could take place, for anything of the kind would have been contrary to all law; and, as a matter of fact, rightly or wrongly, General Kleigels has *never ceased* occupying his functions as Chief of Police.

Lastly, Kropotkin has no other panacea to propose for the happiness and welfare of Russia than the ever-recurring nostrum

of professional politicians, "the Constitution," "the Chamber of Representatives," and "the power of the governing majority." Being an anarchist he chooses what in reality would be the surest means of bringing about anarchy in the country which he has abjured. He says that, to speak plainly, Russia has outgrown the autocratic form of government. But, even if we were to admit the truth of this, God forbid we should seek for the amelioration of this form of government in the remedy proposed by Kropotkin. If it were attempted, all Russia would rise against this worst of all tyrannies, *tyranny in the mass*. He ought to know that to-day almost everywhere in Europe we may say the various States have outgrown the *representative form* of government, and that everywhere serious minds are protesting against the tyranny of parliamentary majorities at once incapable and turbulent. There is plenty of solid literature on the subject; for example, in America, Godkin's book on "The Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy." France, Austria, Germany, Italy all feel themselves powerless to make headway with their badly-working representation and their present parliamentary machinery. One may safely assert that this question is one of the most important in political science, a fatal problem of the Sphinx placed for solution between the nineteenth and twentieth century. Yet, Kropotkin persists at such a time in maintaining doctrines already worn out, which were the creed of pedants in the first half of the nineteenth century.

C. POBIEDONOSTSEFF.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BY HAROLD COX.

THE public debt of the United Kingdom consists of two quite distinct portions, the National Debt and the Local Debt. The former has been incurred by the nation as a whole and is a charge upon the national, or, in the more common phrase, the "imperial," revenue. The latter represents the separate borrowings of many hundreds of different local authorities, and for this debt the Imperial Government has only a remote responsibility. Each locality must bear the burden of its own local debt, and the Imperial Government would be very chary of offering assistance even in the case of threatened bankruptcy. Of the two burdens, the National Debt is by far the larger, but till recently was being rapidly diminished. The Local Debt, on the other hand, though it is at present just under one-half of the National Debt, is growing at a rate which alarms many observers. There is, however, this very important and consoling feature about the growth of local indebtedness in the United Kingdom, that practically the whole of the money borrowed has been spent on public works of a useful and, in most cases, of a durable character. In return for the £300,000,000 borrowed by local authorities in Great Britain and Ireland, the nation possesses a splendid property, in the shape of municipal water works, sewer works, gas works, harbors, capacious and often handsome school buildings, municipal offices, public libraries, museums, picture galleries, parks and pleasure grounds. It possesses also, although in this case the pride of possession is somewhat diluted, a large number of gigantic asylums for the insane, and a larger number of solid, if unattractive, buildings miscalled "workhouses," which might more accurately be described as resthouses for the reception of the destitute poor. All this the local authorities can show for their debt. The National Debt, on the other hand,

has been incurred mainly in order to meet expenditure upon war, and there now remains nothing to show for it—except the British Empire.

It is convenient, as well as obvious, to deal first with the National Debt. In its present form, that debt has a continuous history of over two hundred years. Its beginning can be traced to a breach of faith by Charles II. Before that event, English monarchs were undoubtedly familiar with the practice of borrowing, but they only borrowed for short terms, generally a few months or perhaps a year, and they always paid back. The history of these earlier borrowings is so full of interest that it may be worth while to dwell for a few moments upon the subject.*

In essence, these borrowings by the earlier kings of England were only anticipations of current revenue; the very form in which the loan was contracted is incidental evidence of that fact. From the time of the Norman Conquest, it was the practice of the Exchequer to acknowledge the receipt of revenue by means of a wooden tally. A tally (French, *taillé*) is a stick cleft down the middle and cut across the cleavage with a series of notches. One half or side of the cleft stick is handed over to the payer of the money, and the other is retained by the receiver. The system forms a perfect check on receipts; for, in case of dispute, all that is needed is to bring the two halves of the stick together and see that the notches coincide. The present writer saw such tallies in daily use, a few years ago, in a baker's shop in the capital of Normandy. As evidence of their recent use by unlettered people in England, it may be mentioned that, in Kentish hop gardens, the man who keeps the books and checks the earnings of each picker is still called the "tally man." The official use of tallies in the English Exchequer continued down to 1824. Ten years later, a care-taker in the buildings where these now useless bits of wood were stored, was instructed to get rid of them by burning them in ordinary fire-grates. He heaped on too many at once, and the Houses of Parliament were burnt to the ground.

All this about tallies is to lead up to the point, that the early

*A mass of interesting and most valuable information on this subject will be found in Parliamentary papers 443, of 1858, and 366, of 1869. Detailed information with regard to the early history of the funded debt, will be found clearly arranged in tabular form in paper C. 9010 (1898), and similar information with regard to the later history of the debt will be found in paper C. 6539 (1891). The latest official information with regard to the existing debt, is contained in paper Cd. 350, of 1900, and in the Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom, paper 241, of 1900.

form of royal or government borrowing in England was by "tallies of loan." An Exchequer tally, as already seen, was properly an acknowledgment of money paid into the Exchequer on account of revenue; and so, by a natural extension, when money was advanced to the king, to help him to carry on until the revenue came in, the lender received a "tally of loan," which was an acknowledgment of the money lent. A further development took place somewhat later. At periods when no one was willing to lend money, and when the treasury was empty, the difficulty was surmounted by paying the creditors of the Crown with "tallies of anticipation" instead of cash. Tallies of this class were really equivalent to bills drawn upon the Exchequer in anticipation of revenue, and were presented for payment as soon as the revenue came in. Such tallies were entered in the Exchequer-books, as if their equivalent in money had actually been lent to the Exchequer by the man who had accepted the tally, and they were, therefore, often described as "tallies of fictitious loan." To modern ears it will sound strange to add that money advanced on tallies of loan originally bore no interest, and that in the same way tallies of anticipation were accepted without discount. There is, for example, an interesting record, in the Exchequer Rolls of the fourteenth century, of the repayment to Elizabeth de Vaux, on June 5th, 1353, of the exact sum of ten marks, which she had advanced, upon tally of loan, on November 14th, 1352. This absence of interest was due rather to religious than to fiscal considerations. Throughout the Middle Ages the Christian Church condemned the taking of interest upon money as immoral, as the Mohammedan Church does to this day; and it was not until late in the seventeenth century that interest began to be paid upon loans to the government. Yet loans were frequent, and often on less reliable security than that of an exchequer tally. Thus, the famous Dick Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, lent Henry V. large sums of money on a mere verbal promise to pay. Other municipal magnates were less confiding; for the same King had to pledge his "great collar garnished with rubies and sapphires and pearls," before he could get a loan of £500 out of the Mayor and Corporation of Coventry. His son redeemed the pledge.

In all these cases, the money was borrowed by the King himself on the security of his hereditary revenues, or on such per-

sonal pledge as he could offer. But, in the sixteenth century, Parliament began cautiously to recognize its responsibility for these temporary loans, provided that the money had been spent in the public service. With that recognition, the idea of national, as distinct from royal, indebtedness begins; but still another hundred years elapsed before any permanent debt was contracted.

The first case of interest being paid on public loans was in the year of the Restoration of Charles II. (1660), when an Act of Parliament was passed declaring that: "Any person lending £100 or a greater summe shall doe very good and acceptable service and shall receive interest at 6 per cent."

Four years later, Parliament took another leap forward in the art of borrowing, by providing that the warrants for the payment of principal should be assignable, and consequently negotiable. This was not merely an advantage to the Government, by enabling it to borrow with greater ease, but it was also a very great public convenience. In order to extend this convenience, an Act was passed three years later (1667) making all treasury warrants assignable. Every creditor of the Crown was thus able to get from a banker, or other moneyed man, immediate cash in exchange for any tally of anticipation, or other warrant for payment, which he had in his possession. The moneyed men to whom most resort was made for this purpose were the goldsmiths of Lombard street. The system worked admirably for some five years; till Charles, in 1672, by royal proclamation, suddenly suspended payment for one year on all assigned warrants, offering his creditors, instead, interest at six per cent. The sum involved was £1,328,526; and it is needless to say that the suspension of payment of such a relatively large sum entailed the bankruptcy of numbers of previously prosperous houses. The suspension was renewed year by year; but, for twelve years, the King had at least the honesty to pay the promised interest with punctuality. Then that, too, was stopped. In the vain hope of redress, the unfortunate goldsmiths appealed to the courts. It took them fourteen years to get a final judgment in their favor; and then Parliament at once intervened (1699) to compel a compromise which was practically a confiscation. Nothing was allowed for fifteen years' arrears of interest, and the original principal and interest were both halved. The net result was that the goldsmiths, or their

representatives, who were legally entitled to about £4,000,000, received instead a perpetual annuity of £39,855, which the Crown could at any time cancel by the payment of the capital sum of £664,263. That capital sum, if we look to its origin, may fairly be described as the oldest item in the existing debt of the United Kingdom.

But, while Parliament was haggling over this item, other debts had been incurred. When the last of the Stuarts fled the country, in 1688, he left behind him a floating debt of £84,000, secured on tallies of loan. William III. borrowed far larger sums, on similar security, to meet the heavy expenditure of his Continental wars, and he also issued large quantities of tallies of anticipation or fictitious loan. In a very short time, it was found that the revenue was insufficient to meet these bills drawn upon it. Tallies fell to a heavy discount, and it became necessary to invent some new method of borrowing.

It was under these circumstances that, in 1693, the first "tontine" was tried. Without going into details, it is sufficient to say that, in principle, a tontine is a system of life annuities, so arranged that, as each annuitant dies, his share is divided among the surviving annuitants, the last survivor securing the whole. There were, however, in all the tontines that were tried numberless complications of age categories, and the like, that were intended to attract, but only confused, the public. Probably it was on this account that the tontine system never took root in England; though, curiously enough, English capitalists subscribed freely to the tontines launched in Ireland. The tontine of 1693, that should have brought in £1,000,000, only realized £108,000. The balance was raised by means of simple life annuities.

In the next year, 1694, the continued necessities of William of Orange compelled another new departure; and, for the first time in our history, a permanent loan was sanctioned by Parliament. The sum of £1,200,000 was borrowed by the Government from the subscribers to the capital of the newly founded Bank of England, who received in return a Charter of Incorporation and a perpetual annuity of £100,000 a year—£96,000 for interest on the loan at eight per cent., and £4,000 for the expenses of management. Four years later (1698), another great corporation, the New East India Company, came to the assistance of the Government, and lent £2,000,000, also as a permanent loan. A third

permanent loan was contracted, as explained in detail above, in order to meet the debt incurred by Charles II. to the goldsmiths of Lombard street.

Stress is laid on these three items, because they are the beginnings of the permanent debt. The essence of that debt is that the State is under no obligation to repay the principal sums borrowed. All that the State has agreed to do is to go on paying interest forever, or until such time as the principal may be repaid. On the other hand, in the case of such loans as were raised in early times on tallies of loan, and are raised in modern times by Treasury Bills, the State undertakes to repay the principal at a fixed date. The one form of loan may involve a burden on countless, unborn generations; the other is a transaction begun and ended within a few months. It has long been the custom in England to call the debt created by loans of the former class the "funded debt," because the interest is a permanent charge upon the taxes or funds of the State. In contradistinction, the word "unfunded" is used to describe the debt which consists of temporary loans or floating obligations. The process of converting temporary into permanent debt is known as "funding." Intermediate in character, and also in historical sequence, between these two classes of debt, are the loans secured on terminable annuities. In the case of a terminable annuity, the State undertakes to repay the capital, together with interest, in a series of annual instalments, usually spread over a considerable period.

To sum up in a sentence what has already been written:—We have seen that the practice of short loans or unfunded borrowings began far back in the thirteenth or fourteenth century; that terminable annuities had their origin, so far as England is concerned, in the First Tontine and the other life annuities of 1692; and that the funded debt began in 1694 with a loan of £1,200,000 from the Bank of England, followed by another loan from the New East India Company, and by the "funding" of the Goldsmiths' debt.

All these methods of borrowing have continued in use down to the present time; and interchanges between the different classes of debt have frequently been made, either to tempt the public or to suit the convenience of the Government. One of the most remarkable of these interchanges was the great funding transaction accomplished, with the aid of the South Sea Company, in the

early years of the eighteenth century. That Company was established in 1711, for the nominal purpose of trading in the South Seas. It actually did supply negroes for some years to the Spanish colonies; but its main business consisted in taking over large floating debts of the British Government and converting them into a capital stock. The Company, in fact, acted as middleman between the Government and its creditors. The original sum taken over in 1711 was £9,177,967, made up of all kinds of debts —including tradesmen's bills, arrears of wages to seamen, and a subsidy due to the Elector at Hanover. Arrears of interest and a cash advance to the Government soon brought this sum up to £10,000,000; and, a few years later, the Company further relieved the Government of a large number of terminable annuities and made an additional cash advance. So far, the transactions were straightforward and satisfactory to both parties. But in 1720 the company attempted a great *coup*—and failed. It offered to take over all the outstanding terminable annuities and many of the permanent annuities—valued together at over £26,-000,000—and to convert them into a new stock. Capital at the time was plentiful in the country, and, as soon as the South Sea Company made this proposal, the Bank of England stepped in and offered to pay a handsome bonus to the Government for the privilege of being allowed to conduct the conversion. The two institutions bid against one another, until the South Sea Company ended by agreeing to pay to the Government, as a bonus, the impossible sum of £7,000,000. But the mere magnitude of the transaction had impressed the public mind, and the stock issued by the Company rose to a premium of 1,000 per cent. After a few months, the inevitable crash came, and the people who had been ruined appealed to Parliament for relief. As the Government had been largely responsible for the catastrophe, prompt relief was given. The directors of the company and other persons who had made fraudulent profits—including the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself—were compelled to disgorge, and at the same time the Government abandoned its claim to the promised £7,000,000. The conversion scheme, however, held good; and, when the accounts had been straightened out, the capital of the Company stood at £33,800,000, secured as a Government debt. In other words, this figure represented the net amount of Government debt converted or funded through the

medium of the South Sea Company during the period from 1711 to 1720. The South Sea debt—gradually reduced from time to time—remained a separate item in the national accounts until 1854, when Mr. Gladstone paid off the remnant of it, either in cash or consols.

The transactions between the Government and the Bank of England have been of a much more sober character. From time to time, the Bank has advanced large sums to the Government, and it has also rendered very important service by assisting in the issue of loans, and by undertaking the management of the debt, or portions of it. Exactly similar services have been rendered by the Bank of Ireland; and, at the present time, the management of the whole of the debt is divided between these two corporations. By far the larger amount is, of course, in the hands of the Bank of England. The payment for management is calculated at so much per million pounds of stock, and in the financial year ending March 31st, 1900, it amounted to £174,864. It is interesting to note that, in the same year, the Bank of England paid back to the Government about a thousand pounds more than this sum as part payment for the privilege of issuing bank notes.

Having now described, with some detail, the methods by which money was borrowed in the earlier years of the debt, it will be convenient to show, in round figures, how the debt was piled up by successive wars. The almost continuous war waged by William of Orange, as champion of Protestant Europe against Catholic Europe, cost England an addition of about £12,000,000 to her debt, besides expenditure out of revenue. The long war of the Spanish Succession, under Queen Anne, cost another £20,000,000 of debt. Wars with Spain, under George I. and George II., added £35,000,000 more. The Seven Years' War, 1756 to 1763, involved an addition of no less than £58,000,000 to the debt; and another £88,000,000 was added by the American War of Independence. But even these huge figures are small beside the enormous load of debt occasioned by the prolonged war with France in the closing years of the eighteenth century. At the end of that gigantic war, the last great struggle between England and France, the united debts of Great Britain and Ireland stood at the enormous figure of £902,000,000, involving an annual charge of £32,645,000.

That is the high water mark of the British National Debt. From 1815 down to the time when the heavy expenditures upon

the South African War began, there was a fairly steady reduction —the only important exceptions being, first, in the years 1836 and 1837, when £20,000,000 were borrowed to compensate the owners of slaves in British colonies, and, secondly, in the years 1855 and 1856, when the debt was increased by £35,000,000 on account of the Crimean War. At the close of the Crimean War the debt stood at £842,000,000, involving an annual charge of £25,942,000 for interest and management. By the year 1900 the capital had been reduced to £639,000,000 and the corresponding annual charge to £17,600,000. A year later, in consequence of the South African War, the capital had risen to £703,000,000.

Before giving the details of these figures, it is worth while to say a word about the methods by which the debt, so rapidly piled up in time of war, has been slowly reduced in time of peace. During the whole of the eighteenth century, the burden of the debt was very seriously felt, owing to the comparative poverty of the country; and, in the vain hope of securing an automatic reduction, Parliament created, as early as 1716, the first Sinking Fund. The principle of this sinking fund, known as Sir Robert Walpole's, was sound enough. Certain taxes were set aside for the service of the debt, and, after interest had been defrayed, the surplus was to be used for reducing the capital. The system, however, broke down, because, almost as soon as the sinking fund had been established with a comfortable margin for the reduction of debt, Parliament proceeded to create fresh debt on the security of that margin, and after a few years altogether ignored the purpose of the sinking fund and charged ordinary expenditure upon it. It was in consequence of this failure of Walpole's sinking fund that, in 1786, Pitt proposed a more elaborate system. On the theory that Parliament could not be trusted to reduce the debt of its own free action, a special body of commissioners was created and rendered independent of the annual money votes of the House of Commons. By a permanent statute, this body, known as the Commission for the Reduction of the National Debt, was endowed with an income of £1,000,000 a year—subsequently increased to £1,400,000 —chargeable upon the public revenue. The duty of the Commissioners was to apply the whole of this sum to the purchase of Government Stock, and to invest the dividends in the purchase of more stock. It was calculated that, in this way, by the magic of compound interest, the whole of the debt would, in a compara-

tively short time, pass into the hands of the Commissioners, when it could be cancelled.

It is almost superfluous to point out that the operation would have been a good deal simpler and more economical if each portion of the debt had been cancelled as soon as it was purchased by the Commissioners. But a far more serious defect lay in the fact that the system was only workable at a profit in times of peace and financial prosperity. So long as the Government was obliged to borrow with one hand, it was worse than useless to continue paying off debt with the other. The mere complication of accounts would mean some unnecessary expense, and, in addition, a heavy waste would result because the margin between the price at which new loans could be raised, and the price at which old loans could be cleared off, would be almost invariably against the Government. As one of the later critics of Pitt's Sinking Fund said, it compelled the Government to "sell new stock cheap in order to buy old stock dear." Yet this apparently obvious defect was so far from impressing the original supporters of Pitt's Sinking Fund that Parliament actually provided that, whenever a loan was raised for any purpose, one per cent. of the sum borrowed should be added to the Sinking Fund. In other words, the nation had to borrow £100 when £99 would have sufficed. It is a curious example of the simple folly that often guides the affairs of great nations, that Pitt's Sinking Fund, with slight modifications, lasted for forty-three years. In that interval, new debt to the amount of about £330,000,000 was created for the sole purpose of cancelling old debt. This futile operation is estimated to have involved a net loss to the country of over £40,000,000.

In 1828, a committee of the House of Commons categorically declared its faith in the elementary principle that no real reduction of debt is possible unless the revenue of the country exceeds the expenditure, and in 1829 statutory effect was given to the consequences of this axiom. The National Debt Commissioners were continued in existence; but, instead of a fixed income, they were only to receive the actual surplus of income over expenditure. The whole of this surplus, whatever it might be, was to be paid over to the Commissioners, and was to be devoted by them to the purchase of stock; and, as soon as each purchase was completed, the stock was to be cancelled. These provisions, with some

small differences of detail, are still in force, and the annual operation which they provide for is now known as "The Old Sinking Fund."

The expressed intention of Parliament in 1829 was that a regular surplus of about £3,000,000 a year should be maintained; but in practice this was not done. The country was more eager for the reduction of taxation than for the reduction of debt; and in the years immediately following the establishment of the Old Sinking Fund, the realized surplus was often even less than £1,000,000. Therefore, if this fund alone had been relied upon, the reduction of the debt would have been very small. Two devices have, however, been adopted during the present reign, for cheating Parliament into reducing the debt unconsciously.

The first of these is the conversion of perpetual into terminable annuities. As we have already seen, the practice of borrowing money on the security of terminable annuities, whether for life or for a fixed period, is almost contemporaneous with the establishment of the funded debt. The practice was continued throughout the eighteenth century, and sometimes was worked in combination with the creation of capital debt, subscribers to a permanent stock receiving, by way of bonus, a small terminable annuity, in addition to the guaranteed interest. In 1808, the further experiment was tried of asking the creditors of the Government to accept life annuities in exchange for stock. The experiment failed, because the tables of mortality had been badly calculated; but the practice was renewed at a later period on a sounder basis. Life annuities, based on reliable calculations, are now sold to the public through the agency of the Post Office, and the money received is handed over to the National Debt Commissioners for the purchase and cancelling of Government stock. Up to the year 1890, when the last Report was issued, stock to the amount of £55,000,000 had thus been cancelled in exchange for life annuities and, though annuitants are proverbially long lived, the State may already regard that amount of debt as practically wiped off.

The use of annuities for fixed periods, as a means of paying off debt, has had a somewhat similar history. In 1819, the public was first invited to convert its permanent stock into annuities for a limited period; but these annuities do not seem to have greatly attracted investors, and up to 1890 the stock cancelled on account

of fixed period annuities sold to the public was only about £20,000,000.

It was partly in consequence of the failure of the public to patronize this system that Mr. Gladstone, in 1863, introduced the artifice of compelling Government Departments to convert their stock into terminable annuities. Two Government Departments, the Post Office Savings Bank and the Court of Chancery, are large holders of Government Stock, which they have purchased on account of depositors or of suitors. Large lumps of this stock were cancelled by Mr. Gladstone, and the Departments received, in exchange, annuities for a term of years. The process has since been repeated several times. But the transaction is purely a paper one. The Government Departments in question do not want terminable annuities; they want a permanent stock; and, therefore, they are obliged each year to set aside, out of their terminable annuities, a sufficient sum to buy from the public enough stock to ultimately replace the stock cancelled. These annual purchases from the public represent the only real reduction of the debt, and it would obviously be simpler for the Government to leave the Savings Bank and the Court of Chancery alone, and buy the stock direct from the public and cancel it. The sole argument for the present elaborate procedure lies in the theory that Parliament is cozened into an unconscious reduction of the debt. The annuities granted to the Departments appear as a charge in the accounts which has to be met; whereas the setting aside of so much money each year for the frank reduction of debt might give rise to complaints.

But, if the average Member of Parliament is too foolish to see through such a transparent device, Chancellors of the Exchequer are not. Mr. Gladstone's scheme has gone the way of all other schemes for reducing the debt by means of a trick. These annuities, supposed to be sacred, have been treated by Mr. Gladstone's successors, and even by himself, with only lip reverence. If a Chancellor of the Exchequer has wanted money, he has not scrupled to convert these departmental annuities into annuities involving a reduced annual charge, and therefore running for a longer period; while, at the same time, he has always expressed in eloquent language his deep sense of the duty of paying off the debt as rapidly as possible. At the present time, it is doubtful whether anybody is deceived by

these departmental or paper annuities. The official accounts now frankly state how much of the total annuities represents expenditure on capital account, and how much stands for interest and management; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer takes as much credit to himself for the reduction annually effected by the annuities as he does for direct cancelling of debt. Whatever small advantage may possibly have resulted in the past from these paper transactions, it is safe to say that, at present, they are only of value to the clerks who are paid for working out the elaborate calculations involved.

A more effective method of compelling Parliament to make regular provision for the reduction of the debt was initiated by Sir Stafford Northcote in 1875. In view of the steadily increasing wealth of the country, Sir Stafford Northcote urged that Parliament could afford to spend at least as much every year on the service of the debt as was spent when the nation was considerably poorer. He pointed out that, up to 1860, the annual charge for the debt had not fallen below £28,000,000; and he proposed to go back to that figure and to make it a fixed annual charge. Out of this sum the interest and cost of management of the capital debt, and the charges for terminable annuities, were first to be defrayed; and the balance remaining over—known as the "New Sinking Fund"—was to be expended in buying up and cancelling debt. Under this scheme, it is clear that the debt would be reduced at a constantly accelerated rate; for, as stock was purchased and cancelled, the interest upon it would cease, and more money would be available for the purchase of more stock. To further guard the scheme, it was provided that, in the case of fresh borrowings of a temporary character, the fixed annual charge was to be increased to meet the extra debt, and this provision has been honorably adhered to. At the same time, the Old Sinking Fund was maintained, so that, in addition to whatever might be available out of the £28,000,000, any surplus of general income over expenditure would still go to reduce the debt.

On the whole, Sir Stafford Northcote's scheme has worked better than any other method tried for the reduction of the debt. Unfortunately, his successors have not all possessed his high ideal of the nation's duty to its posterity. In 1888, the permanent fixed charge was reduced to £26,000,000, and in 1890 to £25,000,000. By the budget of 1899, it was further reduced to £23,000,000,

and in the war budgets of 1900 and 1901 every variety of sinking fund went by the board.

Incidentally, recent events have shown that there is still considerable vagueness in the minds of official financiers with regard to the true character of a sinking fund. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, in October, 1899, formally announced that on no account would he consent to suspend the sinking fund in order to meet the expenses of the South African war, which he then estimated at about £10,000,000. That determination—which only lasted to the following March—was as unjustifiable as was his reduction of the sinking fund in his peace budget in the spring of 1899. A sinking fund is essentially a peace-fund, a yearly expenditure in time of peace as an insurance against the cost of war. To continue this expenditure in time of war is to repeat the colossal blunder of Pitt's sinking fund. Not only is the suspension of the sinking fund in time of war legitimate, but it is the fulfilment of the very purpose for which the fund exists. On the other hand, the nation is entitled to complain bitterly of the way in which its permanent interests have been sacrificed for momentary gain by the financiers who in 1888, 1890 and 1899 wantonly cut down the provision made by Sir Stafford Northcote for the reduction of the debt. Had the fixed annual charge remained at the figure at which he settled it, the country would have had in hand, towards meeting the enormous cost of the South African war, a revenue of about £12,000,000, immediately available without extra taxation.

In addition to the reduction of debt effected by sinking funds and other deliberate methods, England has enjoyed the good fortune of several windfalls. Her creditors have, from time to time, died leaving no representatives, and the unclaimed stock and accumulated dividends, after a reasonable interval, have been devoted to the reduction of the debt. The same plan has been pursued with unclaimed funds in the Court of Chancery. Altogether stock to the amount of over £8,000,000 has been cancelled in this way.

Even more interesting, from the human side, is the very considerable sum that the State has received from donations and bequests, specially given for the reduction of the debt. The first of these gifts was in 1809, when a Mr. Burgis, of Isleworth, bequeathed £200 consols for the reduction of the National Debt.

Among later donors, Anna Maria Reynolds stands for nearly £60,000 given in different years, and John Ashton for £193,000. In 1829, a "Female Patriot" gave £6; while, some years later, Mr. William Pithy Booth gave his full name and the sum of six shillings and sixpence. Another curious donation is 38,500 francs (about £1,500) sent anonymously from Paris. These voluntary gifts have continued intermittently down to the present time, and stock to the value of no less than £1,020,000 has been cancelled by this means.

It would too greatly prolong this article to enter into details with regard to the successive stages by which the rate of interest on the public debt has been reduced to its present figure. It is clear that a conversion of debt from a high rate of interest to a lower rate cannot be effected without dishonesty, except at times when the credit of the country is good and capital is plentiful. Since Charles II.'s breach of faith above recorded, and the unfair settlement that followed it, the British Government has never played its creditors false. The numerous conversions of debt effected have always been voluntary, the creditors being given the option of accepting a lower rate of interest or of being paid off in cash. The last conversion was in 1888, when the enormous sum of £565,000,000, standing in various three per cent. stocks, was converted into one stock bearing interest at the rate of two and three-quarters per cent. till 1903, and subsequently two and a half per cent. until 1923, when it is redeemable at par. The annual saving of interest in 1888 by this conversion was £1,440,000.

Before presenting in tabular form a final statement of the debt as it now exists, it is necessary to explain that, while rapidly paying off its main debt, the British Government has of late years frequently raised temporary loans for special purposes. This process has been a good deal criticized, but it is fairly defensible. These loans are not charged upon the general debt account, but are met by special annual payments, spread over a short term of years. Thus, if the army wants new barracks on a large scale, the expenditure is spread over, say, ten years by raising a special loan, and the ten instalments of interest and repayment will each year be debited to army expenditure.

These special loans are quite distinct from the ordinary unfunded debt, which consists of Treasury Bills or Exchequer Bills or deficiency advances by the Bank of England. Such bills and

advances are only required because of the irregularity with which the revenue comes in at different seasons of the year, whereas most of the expenditure is continuous. In a word, the sole object of the present unfunded debt is to save the Government from the necessity of keeping an extravagantly large working balance.

With these explanations, the following table will probably be intelligible:

NATIONAL DEBT ON MARCH 31ST, 1900.

Funded Debt—		
Consols, 2¾% to 1903, then 2½%; redeemable 1923	£502,657,133	
Due to Banks of England and Ireland, 2¾%	13,645,869	
2¾ per cents redeemable 1905	4,635,991	
2½ per cents redeemable 1905	31,667,904	
		£552,606,897
Terminable Annuities—		
Held by the public	12,913,128	
Held by Post Office Savings Bank, etc	47,325,757	
		60,238,885
Unfunded Debt (Treasury Bills)		16,133,000
Lapsing Loans for special purposes		10,186,482
Total Gross Liabilities		£639,165,264

This table represents the British National Debt as it stood on March 31st, 1900, and it is interesting to observe that though the South African war had then been in progress for five months, the net increase to the debt as compared with the previous year was only about £4,000,000. Soon after the above date, however, a loan of £30,000,000 was raised, and parliamentary sanction was given to further borrowing. By March 31st, 1901, the debt had risen to £703,000,000, and it was then estimated that the effect of the war would be to increase the debt by a total of more than £100,000,000.

In addition to the actual liabilities tabulated above, the British Government has certain contingent liabilities, principally on account of various foreign or colonial debts guaranteed by Parliament. In most cases, there is no danger of these contingent liabilities ever becoming actual; and, in any case, the risk is covered many hundred times over by the marketable property possessed by the Government in the shape of the Suez Canal Shares bought by Lord Beaconsfield for £4,000,000 and now valued at £25,000,000; and in the shape of various loans to foreign powers; of a large amount of real estate; of valuable machinery and materials in dockyards and arsenals; of ships and guns and stores of ammunition. All these are items which a strict accountant would bring into the national balance sheet; but, as the British Govern-

ment has no immediate intention of going into liquidation, it is somewhat futile even to speculate as to the figure that the Royal Navy, for example, would fetch in the open market.

The true burden of the British debt is represented by the annual charge upon it. The actual figures in tabular form are:

DEBT CHARGE FOR YEAR ENDING MARCH 31ST, 1900.

	Interest.	Reduction of Capital.
Funded Debt	£15,242,192	£19,876
Terminable Annuities—		
Held by public	300,097	1,030,767
Held by Savings Bank, etc.	1,208,532	4,751,094
Unfunded Debt—		
Treasury Bills	489,235	.....
Lapsing Loans	184,918	336,129
Management	174,864	.....
	£17,599,838	£6,137,866
Total Gross Charge		£23,737,704

It will be observed that more than six millions sterling was expended in the reduction of the debt, although the British Government had already begun to borrow for the South African war. Part of this reduction, namely, that on terminable annuities held by the public and that on lapsing loans was inevitable, for a failure to reduce capital as well as pay interest would have involved, in the one case, a breach of faith with the public, in the other, the readjustment of some rather elaborate fiscal and parliamentary arrangements. The rest of the reduction was due to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's misconception of the nature of a sinking fund, to which reference has been made above. He recovered from this misconception a few days before the close of the financial year in question, and appears to have abandond the delusion that there is any merit in paying off debt with one hand while borrowing larger sums with the other.

In both the tables above the figures of the gross debt and the gross charge are given. But the British Government possesses one or two interest-bearing investments which ought properly to be brought into the account. We need not trouble ourselves with their capital value, which varies largely with the fluctuations of the market. The important point is that these investments, and notably the Suez Canal Shares, considerably reduce the annual burden of the debt. The figures appear under various heads in the published Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom, but the total for the year ending March 31st, 1900, may be taken at £837,834, for interest alone, apart from repay-

ments of capital. Thus the net charge on the British Exchequer for interest and management of debt in that year was only £16,762,000. If to this amount we add the sum which it was compulsory to spend on the reduction of capital, we find that the whole annual burden of the British debt was, in March, 1900, very little over £18,000,000.

Taking this figure, and adopting Dudley Baxter's calculations for the earlier years, the comparison works out as follows:

COMPARATIVE BURDEN OF THE NATIONAL DEBT AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

	Annual charge per head of population. s.	d.
1763, End of Seven Years' War	9	7
1784, End of American War of Independence	14	2
1815, End of Napoleonic wars	34	8
1870, After prolonged peace	15	9
1900, At beginning of South African War	9	0

Needless to say, these figures do not tell the whole story, for the increase in the wealth of the country has made burdens which at the beginning of the century were terrible now appear light. The most accurate evidence of the growth of national wealth is furnished by the Income Tax returns. They show that, allowing for the difference of rate, the yield of the Income Tax has increased nearly threefold since 1815, partly through the growth in the size of large incomes, and still more through the increased number of moderate incomes. The improvement in the position of the working classes has been, at least, as great as that of the richer classes; and it is, therefore, safe to assume that the average income throughout the kingdom has nearly trebled in the last eighty-five years. As the above table shows that the charge of the debt per head is little more than one-fourth of what it then was, it is within the mark to say that the real burden of the National Debt in the last year of the nineteenth century was only *one-tenth* of what it was at the end of the Great War.

With this statement, it is possible to pass from the National Debt to the subject of local indebtedness. This latter debt, though made up of a multiplicity of items, is in reality of a very simple character. The total sum owing is roughly £300,000,000, or about half the National Debt. It is divided between England, Scotland and Ireland, as follows:

England and Wales	£252,133,000
Scotland	38,452,000
Ireland	10,548,000
	£301,133,000

The whole of this money has been borrowed for local improvements, generally of a permanent character. The following analysis for England and Wales will show the class of work on which the money has been spent:

PURPOSES ON WHICH LOAN MONEY HAS BEEN EXPENDED BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Workhouses, infirmaries and hospitals	£10,080,000
Lunatic asylums	4,792,000
Municipal buildings, including Assize Courts, Police Stations, Fire Stations, and Markets	13,188,000
Schools	26,921,000
Street improvements and bridges	34,557,000
Gas works	17,434,000
Electric lighting	3,112,000
Waterworks	46,261,000
Sewerage	26,057,000
Cemeteries	2,699,000
Parks, pleasure grounds, libraries, museums, public baths, etc.	7,885,000
Harbors and docks	33,859,000
Laborers' dwellings	4,609,000
Manchester Ship Canal*	5,128,000
Miscellaneous public improvements	15,551,000
	£252,133,000

By far the larger portion of the local debt throughout the kingdom has been borrowed on such security as the different local authorities are themselves able to offer to the public. How good that security is may be inferred from the fact that British Corporation stocks are quoted on the Stock Exchange at prices which only allow to investors a return of barely three per cent. on their capital. Corporation stocks are, in fact, regarded—with one or two insignificant exceptions—as second only to Consols as a safe investment.

But, in addition to the great municipal corporations, there are many smaller local authorities who, if they attempted to borrow on their own security, would have to pay an extravagant rate of interest. To assist these bodies, a system has been devised by which local borrowers are enabled to have the advantage of imperial credit.

The principle of State loans to local bodies, or even to private individuals, is well over a hundred years old. The earliest recorded instance appears at first sight somewhat quaint. In 1793, an Act of Parliament was passed authorizing the Government to lend money to "such persons as may be desirous to accept the same." This apparently wholesale offer was, however, accompanied by conditions that choked off the majority of would-be borrowers. The only object of Parliament, in fact,

* The Corporation of the City of Manchester has lent to the Ship Canal Company large sums of money on the security of the local taxation of the city.

was to assist substantial men of business at a moment of commercial panic. Interest was fixed at ten per cent., and good security was required. On these terms, loans to the amount of over £2,000,000 were taken up, and the accommodation doubtless helped greatly to stay the panic. The experiment was repeated on a smaller scale six years later, for the "relief of merchants trading between Liverpool and Lancaster," and again in 1811 for the "relief of commercial credit." In all these cases, the money lent was punctually repaid, with interest in full. A large loan was also made by the Government in 1795, for the relief of persons in the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, and this, too, was fully repaid. On the other hand, several of the earlier public loans have had to be written off as bad debts; for example, £50,000 for the Welland Canal in Canada, £120,000 for the improvement of Leith Harbor in Scotland, and £1,370,000 for the construction of workhouses in Ireland.

Among the purposes for which State loans have been made to local bodies, the following may be mentioned: The construction of harbors, docks and piers; the construction of improved dwellings for the working classes; the building of schools, asylums and workhouses; the drainage of land, and within the last few years advances to Irish tenants to enable them to buy the freehold of their farms.

In all these cases, down to the year 1887, the Government was the actual lender of the money, borrowing with one hand from the public, and lending with the other to local bodies and private individuals. In 1887, an improved system was devised. In order to simplify the public accounts, the management of these local loans was detached from the direct operations of the Government, and a separate Local Loans Fund was created. This fund is managed by that conveniently neutral body, the National Debt Commission. The Commissioners raise money by issuing from time to time a separate stock, known as the Local Loans Stock. The amount of this stock now outstanding is a little over £38,000,000. It is a three per cent. stock redeemable in 1912, and it was quoted in January, 1901, at 98 to 99. The Imperial Government guarantees the payment of interest. With the money thus raised, the National Debt Commissioners make loans to local authorities on terms approved by the Treasury. In other words, the National Debt Commissioners, in this respect, act as middlemen between the smaller

local bodies and the public; and, having the guarantee of the Imperial Government behind them, they are able to borrow, and therefore to lend, on very favorable terms. The total amount of their outstanding loans is a little over £39,000,000, or about one-eighth of the local debt of the United Kingdom.

It will be convenient to append a condensed table showing the whole operation of the system of State loans or State-guaranteed loans, including, of course, the loans made out of the Local Loans Fund. The statement only deals with capital advances and repayments, no calculation being made of the loss to the State for unpaid interest.

GOVERNMENT LOANS TO LOCAL BODIES.

From 1793 to 1898.

Localities of Borrowers.	Advanced to Borrowers.	Repaid by Borrowers.	Remitted.	Outstanding.
	£	£	£	£
England and Wales.....	63,100,000	42,900,000	500,000	19,700,000
Scotland	10,300,000	6,700,000	400,000	3,200,000
Ireland	55,900,000	29,100,000	10,500,000	16,300,000
Colonial	3,700,000	2,700,000	900,000	100,000
Totals	133,000,000	81,400,000	12,300,000	39,300,000

Practically, the whole of the local debt of the United Kingdom has been incurred within the last sixty or seventy years, and the larger portion of it within the last twenty or thirty. It still continues to grow rapidly, although Parliament has made provision for compelling local authorities to pay off gradually each loan raised. The excuse of the local authorities for raising fresh loans is always the same, that it is unfair to throw upon the existing body of ratepayers the whole cost of improvements that may last for several generations. That argument might serve if the loans were raised only for short periods of ten or twelve years; but, when the periods are thirty, or even as long as sixty years, it is extremely doubtful whether posterity gets any equivalent return for the burden imposed upon it. New inventions and changes of fashion destroy the value of capital improvements even more rapidly than the hand of time, and it is only necessary to compare the large sum spent out of loans by municipal authorities in England on gas lighting, with the small sum spent on electric lighting, to realize the improvidence of municipal borrowing on long terms.

The practical difficulty in the way of diminishing local indebtedness is the objection of the local ratepayer to bearing fresh taxation. That objection mainly arises from the system that prevails in England of levying the whole of the "rates," or

local taxes, upon the occupiers of land or houses. Ultimately, there can be no doubt that the burden of any regular charge on fixed property falls not on the occupier, but on the owner of the property; but the average occupier—especially in districts where rents as well as rates are rising—cannot be convinced that, if he paid no rates, he would have to pay more rent, and that, consequently, the rates are a deduction from his landlord's income and not from his own. This want of economic perception on the part of the average ratepayer is, however, more intelligible than the refusal of Parliament to amend the law, so as to make the apparent incidence of the tax coincide with its real incidence. Such refusal is the less excusable, because an admirable solution of the problem already exists in what is known as Schedule A of the Imperial Income Tax—a tax upon fixed property, levied in so scientific a manner as to compel every person interested in any piece of property to pay in exact proportion to his interest. This tax is levied at a trifling cost to the State, and is an almost unique example of a direct tax which gives rise to no complaint from the taxpayer. If this imperial model were copied in the system of local taxation, and if at the same time some provision were made for taxing personalty, as well as realty, for local purposes, there is every reason to believe that local authorities would begin to reduce their present excessive debt. HAROLD COX.

THE LATE EMPRESS FREDERICK.

BY A PERSONAL FRIEND OF HER MAJESTY.

THE death of the Empress Frederick will be deeply regretted by those of the past generation who followed closely the stirring events which culminated in the unity of the German Empire, and the subsequent development of the great country in which Her Majesty, as wife of Frederick, Crown Prince of Germany, played so important a part. She enjoyed the enviable distinction of being both feared and disliked by Prince Bismarck; whilst the unseemly discussions and controversies around the death-bed of her illustrious husband gained her the sympathy of all upright, God-fearing men.

Victoria Adelaide Maria Louisa, Princess Royal of Great Britain and Ireland, eldest child of Victoria, Queen of England, was born at Windsor on the 21st of November, 1840.

Contemporary history contains but slight record of her early life. In the private life of the Queen, published anonymously in 1897, the following statement appears:

"Being sent to bed in the daytime was the chief punishment meted out to the Princesses; and the Princess Royal, who, as she grew in years, proved a very high-spirited child, spent many more hours than she can now count in the solitude of her own chamber. The Princess was in fact most difficult to manage."

In Sir Rennell Rodd's "Frederick, Crown Prince and Emperor," appears the following:

"On the 29th of September, 1855, when the Royal party were riding unattended over the moors, a spray of the rare white heather, which the Prince dismounted to pluck and offer to his future bride, drew the secret from his lips; and the happy alliance was arranged, not by the manoeuvring of diplomacy or the scheming of politicians, but naturally, and as in the everyday world, by the spontaneous impulse of two young hearts toward each other. As the Prince himself expressed it: 'It was not politics, it was not ambition; it was my heart.'"

On the nomination of the Prince, father of the bridegroom, to the Regency of Prussia, the date of the marriage was definitely settled for the 25th of January, 1858.

The wedding took place at the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace. An eye-witness describing the scene as the procession left the church wrote:

> "The light of happiness in the eyes of the bride appealed to the most reserved among the spectators, and an audible 'God bless you!' passed from mouth to mouth along the line."

The wedding rings were made of pure Silesian gold, whilst the six bridesmaids, of England's noblest families, wore the emblematic white heather, in memory of the Prince's wooing.

The short honeymoon was spent at Windsor, and then in a heavy snowstorm the beloved Princess Royal of England turned her back on the happy land of her birth and went to meet the untried and the new, to dwell with strange faces, different ideas and ideals, unfamiliar associations. The young couple were received with enthusiasm throughout their journey to Berlin, where, shortly after their arrival, they took up their residence in the Palace on the Unter den Linden. There, on the 27th of January, 1859, the present Emperor was born.

History relates but few details of her early married life, beyond the fact that her surroundings were simple and artistic. These latter efforts were recognized by the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin granting her a diploma as an honorary member in 1861. The Crown Princess was a very good artist. Those who can recall the Crimean war, the distress and sorrow caused thereby, the innumerable charities and bazaars that were started for the relief of the widows and orphans of the brave soldiers, will remember the charming water-color drawing, from the able brush of the Princess Royal, as she then was, of the tender wife bending over the body of her wounded husband, and tending him with so much care and solicitude. This picture was sold for the benefit of the Royal Patriotic Fund and brought a large sum, not only on account of its clever composition, but because it reflected the gentle nature, the sympathy for the afflicted, and the readiness to assist them, of the Royal girl of but fifteen summers. Her brilliant marriage, her exalted position in after years, in no way clouded that gentleness of heart, as was shown by the solicitude

she evinced for the stricken ones in the great German wars of 1864, 1866 and 1870, and, I may add, in the present Boer war.

Her Majesty was undoubtedly a gifted woman, and up to the day of her death she cultivated the friendship of those interested in art. She possessed a wonderful knowledge of Italian Art of the Renaissance, and was a devoted admirer of Italy, the Mother of Art. Her Castle at Friedrichshof was a museum in itself of precious works, pictures and statuary. As a linguist she was unequalled, and could carry on a conversation in four languages with consummate ease. On one occasion, when I had the honor of lunching with Her Majesty, she addressed me in Italian, saying: "You will correct my mistakes, but I do love speaking the dear language;" and she continued doing so throughout lunch.

She took a warm interest in the excavations in Crete, and kept up a long correspondence with one of their chief promoters, whilst her love of music was well known; and she ever remained a faithful friend to the Countess von Bülow, daughter of Minghetti, the well-known Italian statesman, a most gifted and distinguished pianist.

Sidney Whitman, in his life of the Emperor Frederick, describes the home life of the Princess as told by Gustav zu Putlitz, who held the office of Chamberlain to the Crown Princess, in letters to his wife:

"As I was passing through the drawing-room on the way to my room, I came upon the Crown Princess with Countess Hedwig Brühl, the former being engaged in searching for the text of a song of Goethe's which she partly knew from memory, while Hedwig played the air. They could not find the song in Goethe, and I did so for them. Then we had a most interesting conversation about literature. The Crown Princess is marvellously well-read; she has literally read everything, and knows everything more or less by heart. She showed us a print, which had just arrived, of a drawing she had executed for the benefit of the Crown Prince's fund. It consists of four pictures as a souvenir of the victory at Düppel—four soldiers, full length figures, representing four different branches of the service. The first, before the attack (morning); the second, waving the standard (noon); the third, wounded, listening to 'Now thank we all our God' (afternoon); the fourth, the victor, with helmet and laurel wreath, standing mourning at an open grave (evening). The last was finished, and was exceedingly powerful and natural, without any sentimentality. It is conceived with real genius and most artistically executed. This young Princess has more than average gifts, and, besides, is more cultured than any woman I know of her age. * * * * And then she has such charming manners, which put one perfectly at one's ease in spite of royal etiquette."

Again, on the 27th of June, 1864, he writes as follows:

"This morning I had just closed your letter when, at nine o'clock, the Crown Princess sent for me in the garden. A despatch from the Crown Prince gave her permission to remain, unless the naval captains think it likely that the Danes may land on the Island of Rügen. I telegraphed in all directions. Six Danish ships are in sight, but our naval officers think there is very little danger.

"Breakfast at ten; then a drive to the shooting box. The view from the tower gives a fine panorama of the island. A Danish ship was in sight, and also our gunboats cruising round the island. The Crown Princess ascended the tower. I do not know what she has not a passion for—music, art, literature, the army, the navy, riding and hunting. On leaving, she went down the mountain on foot, and I accompanied her through the rain-swept wood. She took the last number of the *Grenzboten* from her pocket, and gave it to me. It is astonishing that she not only reads, but commits everything to memory; and she discusses history like a historian, with excellent judgment and decision."

Up to 1864, the life of the Crown Princess had been an ideal one; she was happy in her home, contented with her lot in every sense, and she invariably accompanied her husband on his official visits. It must be recalled that, at the time of her marriage, King Frederick William the Fourth was on the throne of Prussia, although his brother was Regent; hence, she was immediately launched amongst all the differences which existed between her husband and the Ministers (Manteuffel and his colleagues). She was but a child, and should have been pardoned for the great love she bore to the home of her birth. No one sympathized with her in this strong feeling more than her loving husband, although it was never fully understood by public opinion in the land of her adoption. No cloud had crossed the horizon beyond the differences that existed between the Prince and Bismarck, and naturally the latter gave her credit for these. Dr. Moritz Busch relates that he took the liberty, in 1870, of asking Count Bismarck what sort of woman the Crown Princess was, and whether she had much influence over her husband. The Count said:

"I think not; and as to her intelligence, she is a clever woman; clever in a womanly way. She is not able to disguise her feelings, or at least not always. I have cost her many tears, and she could not conceal how angry she was with me after the annexations" (that is to say, of Schleswig and Hanover). "She could hardly bear the sight of me, but that feeling has now somewhat subsided. She once asked me to bring her a glass of water, and, as I handed it to her, she said to a lady-in-waiting who sat near, and whose name I forget; 'He has cost me as many tears as there is water in this glass.' But that is all over now."

The Danish war and the subsequent annexation of Schleswig was her first sorrow, and naturally so, as her beloved husband left her to fight against Denmark, the home of the Princess of Wales, her favorite brother's consort.

During the anxious time preceding the Austrian campaign a second daughter was born, and received the name of Victoria.

It is well known that the Crown Prince was entirely opposed to Bismarck's policy at this time; and in this he was fully supported by the Crown Princess, and very possibly influenced, as, at one period of the negotiations, the mediation of Queen Victoria was suggested but refused by Bismarck.

On the departure of the Crown Prince for the war, his illustrious Consort was in sad trouble, as her youngest son, Sigismund —born September 15th, 1864—fell seriously ill, and eventually died. But Her Royal Highness, setting aside her domestic grief, devoted all her energies to good works in the interests of the sick and wounded, fitting up a number of rooms in her palace at Berlin for the reception of wounded officers.

The Crown Princess accompanied her husband when he went to Paris as President of the Prussian Committee at the French International Exhibition of 1867, entering into all the gaieties of the Imperial Court. It was in Paris that she met Ernest Renan, the author of the *"Vie de Jésus,"* who spoke of her afterward as a "very remarkable woman."

On the occasion of the marriage of the late King Humbert of Italy, in 1868, and at the subsequent ceremony of the opening of the Suez Canal, the Crown Princess did not accompany her husband, partly because she was in delicate health, and partly because of the illness of Prince Waldemar. He was always a weakly child, and only lived to the age of eleven, dying on the 27th of March, 1879. Those of my readers who have visited the Emperor Frederick's Mausoleum at Potsdam will recollect the little side chapel, in which rest the remains of Prince Waldemar and his brother Sigismund.

On the outbreak of the Franco-German war, a third daughter, who received the name of Sophie, was born to the royal couple. As soon as the health of the Crown Princess was sufficiently restored, she by her energy and devotion to duty set an example of self-sacrifice in the interests of the sick and wounded, which was the admiration of all with whom she was thrown in contact.

It is stated that, in her letters to her husband, she discussed political questions, and there is no doubt that Prince Bismarck was of opinion that the Crown Princess influenced her husband against the bombardment of Paris, which, much against Prince Bismarck's advice, was at the Crown Prince's instigation so often postponed. Public opinion in Berlin was very wroth against her for this alleged interference.

In April, 1873, on the occasion of a visit to the Imperial Court at Vienna, Her Royal Highness made the acquaintance of the portrait painter, Heinrich von Angeli, who describes her as a lady endowed with every adornment of heart and mind. During the next few years, perhaps the happiest of her life, nothing of special moment took place. They were spent in a homely manner, in the education of her children, the development of technical training, the industrial training of women, and many other similar undertakings. State visits, happy holiday trips were paid to Venice and England. On February 18th, 1878, Princess Charlotte, the eldest daughter, was married to the Hereditary Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Meiningen, a union which promised to be a happy one in every way; and this was followed by the betrothal, in 1880, of Prince William (the present Emperor) to the Princess Augusta Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, an alliance which met with the heartiest approval of both parents, as it was one of mutual and deep-seated affection.

The anxiety of the Crown Princess as to the health of her illustrious husband was first aroused in the autumn of 1886, when, after returning from a drive on the Riviera, he contracted a severe cold, from which his throat never recovered. As the hoarseness increased, so did the apprehensions of the Princess. The ablest German specialists were called in, and it was only natural that Professor Bergmann, before finally deciding to operate, should beg the Princess to obtain the opinion of yet another specialist on diseases of throat. It was then decided that the distinguished English surgeon, Sir Morell Mackenzie, should be called in; his report, supported by the opinion of Professor Virchow, set aside the idea that an immediate operation was necessary, and Mackenzie assumed the further treatment of the case.

The Crown Princess's devotion to her dying husband during these sad days is too well known to need recapitulation. The sceptre of power was almost within her reach; her father-in-law,

the reigning Emperor, had already attained the great age of ninety-one, and it was but natural that her ambition hoped to see her loved one on the throne as Emperor.

On March 9th, 1888, the first German Emperor passed peacefully away; and on the following day the Crown Princess, now Empress, accompanied her husband to Berlin, leaving San Remo and its lovely climate with tears of regret. The controversies between the German and English surgeons, far from abating, increased a hundredfold on the accession of the Emperor Frederick to the throne. His brief reign of ninety-three days was embittered by the discussions which took place over the projected marriage of Prince Alexander of Battenberg, Prince of Bulgaria, to Princess Victoria, second daughter of the Empress Frederick. It was strongly objected to on political grounds by Prince Bismarck, but supported on those of mutual love and admiration by the Empress.

The following appears in Busch's life of Bismarck, and is interesting as showing the real feeling of the Germans toward the Empress Frederick:

"April 28th, 1888.

"This afternoon met Bucher in the Königin Augusta Strasse. * * * * He said smilingly: 'I have just heard a surprising piece of news. Grandmamma behaved quite sensibly at Charlottenburg. She declared the attitude of Prince Bismarck in the Battenberg marriage scheme to be quite correct, and urged her daughter to change her ways. Of course it was very nice of her not to forget her own country and to wish to benefit it where it was possible for her to do so, but she needed the attachment of the Germans, and should endeavor to secure it; and finally she brought about a reconciliation between Prince William (the present Emperor) and his mother.' I asked: 'Have you that on good authority?' 'On very good authority,' he replied. 'Well,' I said, 'that is highly satisfactory, and we shall act accordingly in the immediate future; for of course we do not hate Victoria II. on account of her extraction, but because she feels as an Englishwoman and wishes to promote English interests at our expense, and because she despises us Germans. The question is whether in the long run she will heed this maternal admonition.' "

Prince Bismarck thus describes his relations with the Empress Frederick at this time:

"I was always on the best of terms with the Emperor Frederick and his Consort, the Empress Victoria. Any differences of opinion between us were discussed with their Majesties in the most friendly way. The Empress Victoria is, moreover, very clever and decided. When I appeared with some business for her Imperial Consort, she

frequently entered the sick room before me to prepare him and gain him over for my project."

The Empress Frederick became a widow on the 15th of June, 1888. Her first written message is recorded as follows:

"She who was so proud and happy to be the wife of your only son mourns with you, poor Mother. No mother ever had such a son. Be strong and proud in your grief. Even this morning he sent you a greeting. Victoria."

During her widowhood, the Empress lived a very retired life, devoting herself to good works and charitable enterprises.

There was at one time an undoubted tension between Her Majesty and her son, the Emperor William, but that passed long since, and the hatchet was buried in the waters of Lethe. Within sight of the picturesque old Castle of Kronberg, at the foot of the Taunus range of mountains, and overlooking the valley of the Main, the Empress Frederick reigned supreme in the Castle of Friedrichshof, built after her own heart, and filled with treasures collected in her happy travels through Italy. Here, in her latter days, was to be found a society composed of distinguished professors in art, music and literature, officers from the neighboring garrison of Frankfort, an English ex-Cabinet Minister or two from Homburg, occasionally some lovely American who had married into one of Germany's noble families; and here, assisted by her graceful favorite daughter, Princess Margaret of Hesse, would the Empress dispense her hospitality with a simplicity and absence of pomp which put all her guests at their ease.

Her ladies and gentlemen in waiting were devoted to her. One of the latter fought a duel when once her good name was assailed, and suffered the penalty of the law for so doing with imprisonment in a fortress. A staunch Protestant through life, she was no bigot, and she respected the opinions of those who differed with her in matters of conscience. I recollect Her Majesty assisting at the opening of the new Roman Catholic Church at Homburg v. d. Höhe in 1895, and afterward, in course of conversation, strongly supporting the claims of the Little Sisters at their educational convent, simply on account of the bright example they set and the admirable system of teaching they had established.

Another interesting episode occurs to me of a visit which I paid Her Majesty on a bright Sunday afternoon in January,

1900, at the small, unpretentious Villa Pearse, beautifully situated on the Gulf of Lerici, adjoining that of Spezia. The Italian Naval Commander-in-Chief took me out in his steam pinnace from the dockyard of the famous Italian fortress. He told me she was very ill, and I must be prepared to see a great change. I sent up my card to Baron Seckendorf, who kindly received me and said: "Her Majesty is finishing a sketch in the garden, but will be pleased to receive you in half an hour." On my return, I met her walking down the garden, evidently in pain; but she greeted me with the same sweet, sad smile, never to be forgotten by those who knew her, and in the same soft, musical voice which was one of her greatest charms. When we were seated in the drawing room, she said: "Have you brought me good news? Are not these reverses in Africa awful? Has Lord Roberts arrived? What do you think will happen?" and a thousand and one similar questions. After I had replied, she said: "I am working hard all day and every day at Tam o' Shanters, comforters and socks for the poor soldiers; it is the only solace I have in these sad times, and it is the only way in which I can show my sympathy. As an Englishwoman, I could not return to Germany at the present moment; the sympathy of the public is misdirected by the press, which is misinformed; but, thank God, the sympathies of my son, the Emperor, are entirely with England, and it is to the interest of Germany that they should be so." Ah, yes! How well I knew that being of English birth was the only reproach her enemies could bring against her. From the day of her marriage, she had striven to do her duty to her adopted country, but she refused to give up the great privilege of her birthright, and endeavored to teach the advantages that she had learnt in England, and which were invariably misunderstood.

The Empress Frederick was not a beauty in the strict sense of the word; but her gracious smile, sad as it was in her latter days, always appealed to the hardest of hearts. She was of average height, with a marked presence and graceful, rounded figure. In character she resembled her mother, but she was wanting in that full measure of tact which so characterized Queen Victoria through her long life and reign. As a horsewoman she was unequalled, and up to and even within the last three years she enjoyed riding. One of her suite in talking to me one day,

attributed her fatal illness to a fall she had when riding one morning in the forest round Kronberg.

The Empress Frederick was a loving daughter, a faithful wife, a devoted mother. Her character was misunderstood in the land of her adoption, which was not ripe for the advent of such a pioneer of liberal thought; she went there fifty years too soon. Her great influence, her unbounded energy, were devoted to the cause of freedom and justice, to the emancipation of women, the protection of the weak, the development of all that is most noble in man's nature, to the cultivation of art, to the relief of the sick and the support of those in trouble. She was fearless in speech, courageous in her convictions, confident in her strength. She, alas, had many enemies, jealous of her great influence, envious of her universal knowledge; but, on the other hand, she had devoted friends, who will always cherish the recollection of her great qualities, her loving nature, and her brilliant example of uprightness. A distinguished Royal physician is reported to have said that there were three races of mankind—a Royal race, a white race, and a black race.

When the history of the Empress Frederick's life is written in years to come—not in the fierce light of popular prejudice still subsisting in Germany as illustrated by Bismarck, who, to a great extent, encouraged this feeling when he invariably alluded to her as "the Englishwoman, the Guelph"—she will be handed down to posterity as one of the most remarkable women of the Royal race—a daughter of a great Queen, the Mother of a powerful Emperor.

THE PHANTOM FORTRESS OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY J. M. BUCKLEY, LL.D.

Though man a thinking being is designed,
Few use the great prerogative of mind.
How few think justly of the thinking few!
How many never think, who think they do!

By publishing in the July number "The Absurd Paradox of Christian Science," the North American Review has done what the Court of this City in the Brush Will Case and of Boston in the Woodbury Libel Suit failed to do, namely: bring the leaders of Christian Science to book. For the apostles of Mrs. Eddy do not imitate the apostles of Christ. Those were ever ready to debate anywhere with saint or respectful sinner. Besides responding fearlessly to the Epicurians and Stoics on Mars Hill, Paul disputed daily at Ephesus for more than two years in the school of one Tyrannus, a sort of forerunner of the Nineteenth Century Club, but these prefer to speak when they cannot be answered.

But in the August Review the Publication Committee, through one of its members, has placed itself on record in the attitude of a controvertist. It is improbable that the author of "The Simple Logic of Christian Science" would issue this manifesto without the approbation of his fellow members and of the High Priestess herself. We now know as much of their "views" as Christian Scientists are willing to acknowledge to the public.

The article includes admissions, criticisms, a theory whereby to explain how any one could think Christian Science an "Absurd Paradox," personal references to the writer of that article, various passages of Scripture, some philosophic and scientific terms, one or two appeals to "common sense," and several hundred asser-

tions, most of them resembling a class of the population inquired into by the State, because they have "no visible means of support," others being connected with each other—apparently only for rhetorical reasons—by the word "therefore." The spirit of the whole seems serious, and there is an avowed attempt to state the germs of the conception known as Christian Science.

Personal allusions can be eliminated from the discussion as shedding no light on the problem.

The ADMISSIONS in the Simple Logic are of the first importance.

On page 242, August number of NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, are these statements:

"It is generally conceded that the cures effected by Christian Science are not always instantaneous; and that many of the surgical cases have been turned over to surgeons. But this does not prove that the cures in Christian Science differ in quality from those performed by Jesus and his disciples. Christian Scientists are only beginners in this wonderful work; they have barely entered upon their demonstrations of the healing power of Mind, and they are still learning their A B C at the feet of the Master. They will accomplish better results later on."

Their cures, then, are not always instantaneous. This puts them out of line with the methods of Christ and the Apostles. In trying to prove that their "cures" do not "differ in quality from those performed by Christ and His disciples," Mrs. Eddy's spokesman has searched the New Testament and found one case which he adduces as "not instantaneous." It is in Mark, vii., 23-25:

"And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw aught.

"And he looked up, and said, I see men as trees, walking.

"After that he put his hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up; and he was restored, and saw every man clearly."

Daring to the point of sacrilege is the comparison of their halting measures—by their own confession often extending to more than twenty treatments and sometimes to twice that number—with the operation of Christ in the healing of the blind man, when, at the *first* touch, sight was restored, and, at the *second*, accurately adjusted.

Another loophole is sought in the declaration that even "Jesus

was not able to do many mighty works" in his own country "because of their unbelief."

The representative did not read the accounts in Luke and John, which show that as the countrymen and kindred of Jesus refused to hear him, he left the country followed by the few who believed. Had he compared the two versions of those who speak specifically of the matter he would have been spared humiliation. For Matthew, xiii., 58, says: "And he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief." Mark, vi., 5, relates that "he could there do no mighty work because of their unbelief," but adds: *"save that He laid his hands upon a few sick folk, and healed them."* The very thing, then, which Christian Scientists usually cannot do if persons opposed are present, Christ did under these untoward circumstances.

The representative of Eddyism concedes that *"many* of the surgical cases have been turned over to surgeons." The reader should not deceive himself by the word *surgical.* For it relates only to a mode of treatment and not to disease. Broken bones, gangrene, cancer, malformations, pus that will kill unless an outlet be found for it, and the abnormal condition of an appendix, bear the same relation to "mortal mind" and its beliefs, and to Immortal Mind, that other disorders bear. Why, then, do they turn them over to surgeons? Only because they cannot effect a return to the normal by their methods. Usually the sort they turn over are such as they see with their own "mortal mind" and "human sense" will die or disgrace them if they do not. Often General Hospitals and surgeons find that such surgical cases are not surrendered till they are incurable, though they might have been made whole or helped before.

Mrs. Eddy after experiment found that she could do nothing reliable with a large class of cases, and early in her career revealed the poverty of her system by saying to her pupils:

"Until the advancing age admits the efficacy and supremacy of Mind, it is better to leave surgery and the adjustment of broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of a surgeon, while you confine yourself chiefly to mental reconstruction, and the prevention of inflammation."

"Inflammation," then, is a fact to be reckoned with.

Again, twenty-five years later, she said:

"The practice of surgery is not introduced into Christian Science,

whose rules and methods are based upon the examples of Jesus and his follows."

Her rules and methods are in all respects contrary to the methods and examples of Christ and his followers. Imagine Him who made the "maimed every whit whole" waiting for the "advancing age" and meanwhile calling for a surgeon!

The representative makes this surprising admission:

"Paul's prescription to Timothy of 'a little wine for his stomach's sake'; and often infirmities seem to have been a concession to material methods."

Paul understood himself and knew that there is no incompatibility between using natural means and faith in and prayer to God for the sick. He knew even then that much wine is most pernicious, and said: "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess." But the process of distillation not having been invented, and the fortifying of wine with alcohol being unknown, Paul knew that among the few recognized remedies wine administered with caution and restricted to *"a little"* might serve a useful purpose. A weak stomach and other infirmities were as real to Timothy as strong digestion and unfailing energy were to Peter, or as his "thorn in the flesh" was to Paul himself.

Remedies safer than wine are now known, and the attempt to inject a temperance discussion into the problem by asking whether I would repeat the advice fails to create a diversion.

Concerning a similar passage in the Old Testament the representative suggests that literal wine may not be meant but the "wine of inspiration." If so it must be very dangerous; for the passage begins: "It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine * * * lest they drink, and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted."

Mrs. Eddy, says her representative, "deprecates petitioning an All-knowing God for special favors." This is contrary to the teaching and practice both of Christ and his disciples. To seem to harmonize the Lord's prayer with her own teaching Mrs. Eddy has produced what deserves no better name than a travesty, as it practically eliminates every petition. Christian Scientists call it "a spiritual interpretation." The wine could have done no worse for Lemuel.

Of CRITICISMS of my quotations and statements there are few.

The anonymous quotation on the fly leaf of "Science and

Health," beginning, "I, I, I, I itself I, The inside and outside, the what and the why," was described as a characterization of the Infinite Ego. The representative declares that "No such explanation accompanies the text," and adds, "but even if this interpretation be correct, he (author of Absurd Paradox, etc.) does not tell us what conclusions he draws therefrom."

Why does *he* not reveal the true interpretation? Shall it forever remain uncertain? Is it revealed to Mrs. Eddy's private disciples only? It was not introduced to support a conclusion, but to bring forward the question of personal identity, to determine whether there is a human ego that suffers, feels, wills and acts. If it be not stark nonsense, that apostrophe to "I" is either a characterization of the Infinite Ego, or of some other ego. If it be the characterization of another ego than the Infinite, it undermines the foundation of Christian Science as expounded in the "Simple Logic, etc." If it is a characterization of the Infinite Ego, it is bald Pantheism, leaving no place for human personality and responsibility.

The representative complains that in the quotation beginning "Compared with the inspired wisdom and infinite meaning of the Word of Truth," Berkeley and others writers mentioned, "are * * * as Stygian night to the kindling dawn," I inserted after "Word of Truth" in brackets the title "Science and Health." The connection led to the belief that the "Word of Truth" referred to "Science and Health;" but if the reference is to the Bible it does not affect the result; for Mrs. Eddy declares that the sole author of "Science and Health" is God, and she but a "scribe echoing the harmonies of heaven in Metaphysics."

The Manual of services for Christian Science churches requires this address to be read, which has one word italicized:

"The canonical writings, together with the word of our textbook, * * * constitute a sermon undivorced from truth, uncontaminated and unfettered by human hypotheses, and *authorized* by Christ."

It is claimed by Mrs. Eddy that even the by-laws of the mother church in Boston were definitely inspired by God.

"The Rules and By-Laws in the Manual of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, Boston, originated not in solemn conclave as in ancient Sanhedrim. They were not arbitrary opinions nor dictatorial demands such as one person might impose on another.

"*They were impelled by a power not one's own,* were written at different dates, and as the occasion required." *

Leo XIII would not be allowed by the most ancient and venerable organization of which he is the head to make such claims, neither could the holy apostles or prophets claim more. The correction gives opportunity to emphasize the stupendous claims of this irresponsible medium of alleged special communication with the Infinite.

The representative charges against me a grave error in quotation:

"A quotation from Mrs. Eddy's writings, which he designates as drawn from 'elsewhere,' is an incorrect rendering from 'Miscellaneous Writings,' pp. 361-2. Here the word 'elucidates' has been changed to 'eliminates'—totally changing the sense of Mrs. Eddy's words. Owing to a certain similarity in the appearance of these printed words, and to the fact that they contain the same number of letters, I think this mistake must be ascribed to a typographical error."

A member of the Publication Committee of an institution not yet forty years old should certainly be acquainted with the authorized documents of his Church. The quotation was *not* from "Miscellaneous Writings," copyrighted in 1896, but from the *Christian Science Journal,* December, 1886, article first, entitled "Science and Philosophy," by Rev. Mary B. G. Eddy. The word in the original is "eliminates" and not "elucidates." No mistake was made.

Further, "elucidates" in the passage referred to seems strangely out of place. "He eliminates (elucidates) his own idea wherein principle and idea are not one—or God and man are one —and who could say which that one was?"

Either "eliminates" or "extirpates" or "mystifies" might be substituted for elucidates without making more or less sense; and the whole was introduced to show that Mrs. Eddy in that rhapsody ran, not into transcendentalism or mysticism, but into mere fog.

As these are all the criticisms attempted, it may be assumed that the other statements of fact and quotation are correct.

The SCRIPTURES quoted in "The Simple Logic, etc.," are in every case mutilated, misunderstood, or misapplied. These errors, apart from the subject, are so peculiar as to deserve preservation as curiosities. The writer endorses Mrs. Eddy's statement that

* 21st Edition Manual of the Mother Church. Extract from a letter in "Miscellaneous Writings" by Mary Baker G. Eddy.

diet, dirt and exercise can neither help nor harm except as belief causes it, and remarks, "Concerning exercise, I find Mrs. Eddy's words wonderfully corroborated in I. Timothy, iv., 7-8."

Here follows the passage, of which the proxy gave only part:

> **"But refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness. For bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."**

All that men can do in the natural world if done without godliness profiteth but for a little time, but godliness has the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come. It has no relation to what is called "exercise" for health's sake. What were the "old wives' fables" that were to be refused does not appear, but that dirt, diet and exercise can neither help nor harm, except as one thinks, might well be among the number.

To prove that one should not ask God specifically for anything, the representative says: "The warning of James must not be disregarded: 'Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss.'" Here he splits the sentence, improperly punctuates it, and wholly perverts the sense. The purpose was to teach disciples to ask for special favors of God from right motives, and to be used for right purposes. "Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, *that ye may consume it upon your lusts.*"

The Sermon on the Mount is distorted by affirming that Christ showed that man is not dependent upon material remedies, and never taught sanitation. The proof he gives of this is, "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on." He forgot that the same sermon declared that "your Heavenly Father knoweth that *ye have need of these things.* But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you"—you shall have what is necessary to eat and to drink, and your body shall have something to wear.

These are examples of emergency logic. There is a remarkable similarity between them and the style of Brigham Young when Horace Greeley asked him how he could harmonize Polygamy with the command, "A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife." Young replied, "He must not be a celibate; he must have one wife *at least!*"

There is an almost entire absence of LOGICAL REASONING, even where its forms are employed. This is an illustration:

"Darkness is not an entity or a reality, but merely the absence of light; black is not a color, but rather the negation of color. So disease is viewed in Christian Science as the absence or negation of health, and not as a positive quantity."

These analogies are not just. Health is a condition of or process in the human clothing of the spirit of man; so also is disease. Neither is a "positive quantity" that can be bottled up or weighed. Change the condition or obstruct the processes which naturally give ease in thinking, feeling, acting—otherwise health—and the result will be dis-ease.

That man cannot comprehend the process by which he sees, hears, touches, tastes and smells, is no reason why he should deny either the existence of spirit or body, or accept as Divine Wisdom the contradictory statements and inconsistent actions of Christian Scientists.

The representative distills the essence of unreason into the following:

"Humanly speaking, disease is distressingly real while it lasts; but when it is entirely gone, destroyed, by whatever means, where is its reality? It might be termed, paradoxically, a temporary reality; but, in point of fact, the real is the eternal and indestructible, and disease certainly does not belong to such a category."

Whoever supposed that when it is "entirely gone" it is real? Neither is health more than temporary reality; for "when it is 'destroyed' * * * where is its reality?"

Why, he asks, if there be any power in drugs, did not Christ use them. This is a constantly recurring question in Mrs. Eddy's works, but it is "logic" walking on one leg. How could a prophet or Divine teacher who uses natural means prove thereby that he had supernatural power? Christ might as well have been asked to calm the waves of the sea by pouring oil upon them.

"What authority is there," he asks, "for the statement that 'the disciples lost no patients,' or that 'those whom they healed suffered no relapses?' There was no record kept of these cases so far as we know."

Then, so far as we know, most of them might have relapsed. This is another instance of Christian Science healers' reading back their methods into the New Testament. *They* keep no records of failures or relapses.

The influence of Mrs. Eddy's personality and habit of mistaking disconnected assertions for logic, afflicts all her devotees. A few months is sufficient to make a marked change in the few who had formerly been capable of coherent and concentrated thought.

It having been reported that Mrs. Eddy resorted to anæsthetics to deaden the sense of pain when undergoing the extraction of a tooth, it became necessary to secure testimony from the dentist. Accordingly the following was printed in the *Christian Science Journal:*

"The following over Dr. Fletcher's own signature is also given *verbatim:*

"The story told by the Rev. Dr. Whitaker and others, to the effect that Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy called at my office in Concord, N. H., in great pain, and had a carious tooth extracted, requesting me to use a local anaesthetic before extracting the tooth, is incorrect. Mrs. Eddy did call at my office and had a troublesome tooth extracted. But it was not a carious tooth, neither was she in pain at the time. She did request me to extract the tooth, allowing me to use my own painless method for extracting teeth, which I had recommended.

"I shall take no further notice of inquiries on this subject.

"(Signed) JOHN M. FLETCHER.

"Concord, N. H., November 22, 1900."

With this Mrs. Eddy published the following attempt at the the vindication of her course:

"Bishop Berkeley and I agree that all is Mind. Then, consistently with this premise, the conclusion is, that if I employ a dental surgeon, and he believes that the extraction of a tooth is made easier by some application or means which he employs, and I object to the employment of this means, I have turned the dentist's mental protest against myself; he thinks I must suffer because his method is interfered with. Therefore, his mental force weighs against a painless operation, whereas it should be put into the same scale as mine, thus producing a painless operation as a logical result."

Mrs. Eddy's votaries received this, not only without laughter, but with awe!

The ESSENTIAL FALLACIES of Christian Science are in these passages:

"Christian Science, then, teaches that God is Spirit, or Mind. But if God is infinite and perfect, He must also be Infinite Good, and this Infinite Good is what we term Love. The idea of a God knowing good and evil, capable of love and hate, rewarding and punishing His children at will, gives place in Christian Science to a new concept.

'God is divine Principle, supreme incorporeal Being, Mind, Spirit, Soul, Life, Truth, Love.'

* * * * * * * * *

"If God is Spirit, and He made man in His image and likeness, then man must be spiritual, and must reflect God's nature, as the creature reflects the Creator. Everything, therefore, which seems unlike God, or Good, in man must be the result of some false belief, and cannot form a part of the real and indestructible Creation."

The writer and all who think with him are confused because they use terms without a fixed and rational meaning. "God created all *things;* therefore if *evil* exists, God, Infinite Good, must have created it." But evil is not a thing; neither is *good.* Righteousness is not a thing to be created, or unrighteousness.

Recently its most popular lecturer thus argued. In a manner most beguiling, yet authoritative, he said: "God is infinite intelligence and wisdom." This seemed solid ground. Thence he proceeded: "The one infinite mind." This also seemed solid.

Edging a little nearer his objective, and growing somewhat obscure in respect of the sense connection, but still keeping the word connection, and the sound connection, well to the front, he exclaimed: "This infinite mind includes all consciousness and continuity of life, and therefore is life."

Thus he had progressed from "God" to "intelligence," to "wisdom," to "mind," to "consciousness," to "life."

It was only one step further, and he exclaimed: "He is not only life, but hath ordained eternal life, and is the law of life and health to men."

A prominent citizen, who went at the request of a friend, reports that: "At this point nine-tenths of the lecturer's hearers, capable under any circumstances of becoming adherents, regarded the case as made out, and stopped thinking altogether. He had juggled 'God' and 'Health' into a sort of juxtaposition, and what more would you have?"

When Mrs. Eddy defines God "as divine Principle, supreme incorporeal Being, Mind, Spirit, Soul, Life, Truth, Love," she jumbles together the most incongruous ideas. Some are terms for the Essential Deity, others attributes or qualities. Righteousness, goodness, love, could not exist except as acts or qualities of a moral being. Decay in a tree or disease in a body is not moral evil, nor, considered as a part of the Universe, any kind of evil,

but a step in the universal and necessary change. If moral evil (that is, sin committed by a free, responsible being) exists, God is not responsible for it, only as he would be responsible for the creation of free beings. He could not cause a free being to become morally evil against that being's will. So that, unless all his creatures are to be machines, moral evil must be possible.

Mrs. Eddy tries to impale on the horns of a dilemma those who do not accept her notions; but there is no dilemma for any one who holds firmly that God is a moral being, knowing, loving and lovable, without limitations of space, power or wisdom. He has created man also a moral being, capable of knowing, loving, obeying and disobeying. All these inhere in his spirit. But his spirit is mysteriously related to the universe through a something, for the want of a better term, known as "body." This is taken cognizance of by the senses. Christianity and Philosophy alike speak of the body as the house, tabernacle, and the spirit, as the man. While God is everywhere and is Spirit, the spirit of man is distinct from that of God, and is a finite centre of consciousness, reason and will, clad, as Shakespeare describes it, "a muddy vesture of decay." Human bodies and the material universe of which the senses take cognizance are not spirit.

Aiming to show that the author of "Absurd Paradox" cannot understand Christian Science without practising it, the writer of the "Simple Logic of Christian Science" begins with the words in which Christ gave thanks to the Father because He had hidden these things from the wise and prudent and revealed them unto babes.

Of this passage he has misunderstood the meaning. Christ did not declare that his teachings could only be received by the ignorant and the incautious, and that literal infancy is its best preparation. It is those so self-sufficient as not to feel the need of Him he contrasted with the teachableness of the babe. The representative obviously confounds childlikeness with childishness. Both Christ and Paul addressed the "natural man" in the plane of reason, answered their questions, and proved the truth of their teachings *before* they were fully accepted.

The representative of Mrs. Eddy has a low opinion of the intellectual faculty. In the "Simple Logic of Christian Science" he declares it to be "mortal mind;" "mortal mind" he identifies with the "carnal mind." This, Paul says, is "enmity against

God!" After this the authorized exponent declares that "the intellectual faculty is only another name for mortal mind."

The only phenomenon to explain in Christian Science is Mrs. Eddy and her bewildering effect upon those whom she attracts. Nothing could more effectually prepare the way for such enslavement than the disparagement of the intellectual faculty.

By the insufficient exercise of "the intellectual faculty" the representative of Christian Science has allowed himself to make several incredible ASSERTIONS.

He has said, "Christian Science has already healed virtually every disease known to the medical profession." Men rarely insert "virtually" into an affirmation, unless their object is to secure the effect of an unqualified assertion without taking the responsibility. In this case, with, or without, virtually the statement is untrue.

They have never cured a case of cirrhosis of the liver, nor of multiple sclerosis—a disease in which nodules are formed in the brain which destroy the nervous elements, nor an unmistakable case of that most distressing disease locomotor-ataxia, nor of general paresis of the insane, nor of organic dementia, nor of progressive muscular atrophy.

Another assertion to be taken *cum grano salis* is this:

"The failures of Christian Science are relatively rare. A very high percentage of cures is effected."

Relatively to what? the number of patients, the failures of physicians, or of Dowie, Simpson, or the Mormons. "They turn over most surgical cases to surgeons." Their failures are numerous. The dead are silent; of the uncured living, some hope against hope, others have returned to medical and surgical treatment. Some of their failures are charged up to physicians called in just before death in order to secure a certificate; many, though they may be kept alive for days or weeks, have died because physicians have not been called till too late to restore them. Often physicians are sent for by those who, depending on Christian Science, had refused their aid. Their delays often render curable stages of disease incurable. Twenty-four hours' neglect may make a case of laryngeal diphtheria hopeless, or a short time cause an acute attack of Bright's disease to prove fatal or transform it into a chronic case when by prompt attention to diet or medicine this disaster might have been averted. When scandals arise the

Bureau of Publication is always ready to take the testimony of the healers and disclaim responsibility.

There is no justification for the title of Christian Science. It is *unchristian* because it differs from Christ's teachings concerning God; man; prayer; the relations of the human spirit to its body; to the healing of disease; and to Christ's teachings concerning Himself. It is not scientific because its results are not uniform or ascertainable, and, such as they are, can be explained by natural causes whose existence disproves the theory of Christian Science. It is a web of half truths and whole errors, deftly woven by a woman subtle enough to deceive and entangle herself by isolating herself from all but her subordinates, dependants, flatterers and devotees.

An officer reported to his superior the name of a prisoner as Johnson and was answered, "I thought the name was Thomas." Said the officer, "'Thomas' is his name, but 'Johnson' is his Ananias." Presumptuous Superstition is the real name of this invention. Christian Science is a misnomer.

I began the study of this class of subjects from the scientific point of view, and soon found that all that the human race had learned is false if this fad is truth. When its religious phase was elaborated, I found it to be a most inconsistent fanaticism, since, while using natural and "material" means for all other ends, it rejects them for the preservation and restoration of health.

As President of the Board of Managers of the Seney Hospital in Brooklyn since its foundation, I have witnessed such miracles of surgery and medicine as would have caused the physicians and surgeons to be hanged by the pious Puritans of Massachusetts two centuries ago, had such mighty works been performed without explanation. And as one of the Managers of the State Hospitals of the Insane at Trenton and Morris Plains, I have seen the maniac whose screams and violent conduct had for many doleful nights and dismal days horrified those who loved him, and terrified those who essayed to restrain him, sink—under the magic of sulphonal, trional, or paraldehyde—into a sleep as quiet if not sweet as that of a babe. I have seen him in the morning, the spell broken, the blood less rapid, the voice less strident, and, in a few months, returning to his old self and to his home. I have seen the young girl, anæmic, and muttering in the stupor of melancholia, in six weeks respond to the blood-making elements

of well-selected foods, to the tonics, the sedatives, the baths, the exercise prescribed, the light of reason returning in the very month prophesied by the Medical Director.

To "be out of one's senses" is a grievous affliction, to disparage the senses and the mental faculties which interpret their reports is a crime against human nature, and an imputation upon its Creator.

For when disease undermines and tissues waste, when the brain reels under stress of agonizing pain, there is demanded a Science which ages of research and experimentation have brought to the opening century—a Science understanding and respecting both the body and the mind, which employes as medicine what God has endowed with suitable properties and which enforces the regimen His order in nature and man requires.

Understanding, faith, and prayer have their place, but if blood gushes from a desperate wound, stay not to pray; except, indeed, in that swift appeal to God for help which a true worshipper instinctively breathes in dire extremity—but lose no time in applying the cautery to stanch the blood, the cordial to sustain the patient; and, if necessary, the opiate to preserve him in quietude, or the stimulant to aid his failing heart.

The deification of unreason called Christian Science cannot long survive the triumph of "mortal mind" over its Foundress. Mankind will not permanently adopt it, and her death, whether painless or painful, will "demonstrate" that "it is appointed unto man once to die," whatever his creed or character. Then another will be added to the interminable procession of meteors of fancy which the credulous have accepted as Truth.

J. M. BUCKLEY.

ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—IV.

BY H. G. WELLS.

VI. WAR.

In shaping anticipations of the future of war there arises a certain difficulty about the point of departure. One may either begin upon such broad issues as the preceding forecasts have opened, or one may set all that matter aside for a space, and, having regard chiefly to the continually more potent appliances physical science offers the soldier, may try to develop a general impression of theoretically thorough war. The latter course will be taken here.

The great change that is working itself out in warfare is the same change that is working itself out in the substance of the social fabric. In warfare this takes the form of the progressive supersession of the horse and the private soldier, and the obliteration of the old distinction between the *leaders,* who pranced in a conspicuously dangerous and encouraging way into the picturesque incidents of battle, and the *led,* who cheered and charged and filled the ditches and were slaughtered in a wholesale, dramatic manner.

The revolution that is in progress from the old war to a new war different in its entire nature from the old is marked, primarily, by the steady progress in range and efficiency of the rifle and of the field gun—more particularly of the rifle. The rifle develops persistently from a clumsy implement that any clown may learn to use in half a day toward a very intricate mechanism, easily put out of order and easily misused, but of the most extraordinary possibilities in the hands of men of courage, character and high intelligence. One can conceive it as provided in

the future with cross-thread, telescopic sights, the focussing of which, corrected by some ingenious use of hygroscopic material, might even find the range and so enable it to be used with assurance up to a mile or more. It will probably also take on some of the characters of the machine gun. It will be used either for single shots or to quiver and send a spray of almost simultaneous bullets out of a magazine evenly and certainly over any small area the rifleman thinks advisable.

It will probably be portable by one man, but there is no reason, with the possible exception of the bayonet tradition the demands of which may be met in other ways, why it should be the instrument of one sole man. It will just as probably be slung with its ammunition and equipment upon bicycle wheels, and be the common care of two or more associated soldiers. Equipped with such a weapon, even a single couple of marksmen, by reason of smokeless powder and carefully chosen cover, might make themselves practically invisible and capable of surprising, stopping and destroying a visible enemy in quite considerable numbers who blundered within a mile of them. And a series of such groups of marksmen, so arranged as to cover the arrival of reliefs, provisions and fresh ammunition from the rear, might hold positions of a vast extent, and a few thousands might hold a frontier.

The only really effective and final defeat such an attenuated force of marksmen could sustain would be from the slow and circumspect advance upon it of a similar force of superior marksmen creeping forward under cover of night or of smokeshells and fire, digging pits during the snatches of cessation obtained in this way, and so coming nearer and nearer and getting a completer and completer mastery of the ground, until the approach of reliefs, food and fresh ammunition ceased to be possible. Thereupon, there would be nothing for it but surrender or a bolt in the night to positions in the rear—a bolt that might be hotly followed if it was deferred too late.

Probably, between contiguous nations that have mastered the art of war, instead of the pouring clouds of cavalry of the old dispensation, this will be the opening phase of the struggle, a vast duel all along the frontier between groups of skilled marksmen, continually being relieved and refreshened from the rear. Probably for a time there will be no definite army here or there, no controllable battle, no Great General in the field at all. But,

somewhere far in the rear, the central organizer will sit at the telephonic centre of his vast front, and he will strengthen here and feed there and watch—watch perpetually—the pressure, the incessant, remorseless pressure that is seeking to wear down his countervailing thrust. Behind the thin firing line that is actually engaged, the country for many miles will be rapidly cleared and devoted to the business of war. Big machines will be at work making the second, third and fourth lines of trenches that may be needed if presently the firing line is forced back, spreading out transverse paths for the swift, lateral movement of the cyclists who will be in perpetual alertness to relieve sudden local pressures. And all along those great motor roads our first Anticipations sketched, there will be a vast and rapid shifting to and fro of big, long range guns. These guns will probably be fought with the help of balloons, which will hang above the firing line all along the front, incessantly ascending and withdrawing.

It will be evident that such a warfare as this inevitable precision of gun and rifle forces upon humanity will become less and less dramatic as a whole, more and more as a whole a monstrous thrust and pressure of people against people. No dramatic little general, spouting his troops into the proper hysterics for charging, no prancing, merely brave officers, no reckless gallantry or invincible stubbornness of men will suffice.

The battalion commander will be replaced, in effect, by the organizer of the balloons and guns by which his few hundreds of splendid individuals will be guided and reinforced. In the place of hundreds and thousands of more or less drunken and untrained young men marching into battle, muddle headed, sentimental, dangerous and futile hobbledehoys, there will be thousands of sober men, braced up to their highest possibilities, intensely doing their best. For eight miles on either side of the firing lines —whose fire will probably never altogether die away while the war lasts—men will live and eat and sleep under the imminence of unanticipated death. Such will be the opening phase of the war that is speedily to come.

And behind the thin firing line on either side, a vast multitude of people will be at work. Indeed, the whole mass of the efficients in the state will have to be at work, and most of them will be simply at the same work or similar work to that done in peace time—only now as combatants upon the lines of communi-

cation. The organized staffs of the road managements, now become a part of the military scheme, will be deporting women and children and feeble people, and bringing up supplies and supports. The doctors will be dropping from their civil duties into pre-appointed official places, directing the feeding and treatment of the shifting masses of people, and guarding the valuable manhood of the fighting apparatus most sedulously from disease. The engineers will be entrenching and bringing up a vast variety of complicated and ingenious apparatus, designed to surprise and inconvenience the enemy in novel ways. The dealers in food and clothing, the manufacturers of all sorts of necessary stuff, will be converted by the mere declaration of war into public servants.

The spontaneous traffic of the roads in peace will fall now into two streams; one of women and children coming, quietly and comfortably, out of danger; the other of men and material going up to the front. There will be no panics, no hardships, because everything will have been amply prearranged—we are dealing with an ideal state. Quietly and tremendously that state will have gripped its adversary and tightened its muscles—that is all.

Now, the strategy of this new sort of war, in its opening phase, will consist mainly in very rapid movements of guns and men behind that thin screen of marksmen, in order to deal some forcible blow, suddenly and unexpectedly to snatch at some position into which guns and men may be thrust to outflank and turn the advantage of the ground against some portion of the enemy's line. The game will be largely to crowd and crumple that line, to stretch it over an arc to the breaking point, to secure a position from which to shell and destroy its supports and provisions, and to capture or destroy its guns and apparatus. A factor of primary importance in this warfare, because of the importance of seeing the board, a factor which will be enormously stimulated to develop in the future, will be the aerial factor. Already we have seen the captive balloon as an incidental accessory of considerable importance, even in the wild country warfare of South Africa. But in the warfare that will go on in the highly organized European states of the opening century, the special military balloon used in conjunction with guns, conceivably of small calibre, but of enormous length and range, will play a part of primary importance.

These guns will be carried on vast mechanical carriages, pos-

sibly with wheels of such a size as will enable them to traverse almost all sorts of ground. The aeronauts, provided with large scale maps of the hostile country, will mark down to the gunners below the precise point upon which to direct their fire; and over hill and dale the shell will fly—ten miles, it may be—to its billet, camp, massing night attack, or advancing gun. Great multitudes of balloons will be the Argus eyes of the entire military organism, stalked eyes with a telephonic nerve in each stalk, and at night they will sweep the country with search-lights, and come soaring before the wind with hanging flares. Probably, they will be steerable. And, so far as the resources of the men on the ground go, the balloons will be invulnerable. The mere perforation of balloons which shot does them little harm; and the possibility of hitting a balloon that is drifting about at a practically unascertainable distance and height so precisely as to blow it to pieces with a timed shell, within the little time before it is able to give simple and precise instructions as to your range and position to the unseen gunners it directs, is certainly one of the most difficult and trying undertakings for an artillery-man that one can well imagine. I am inclined to think that these considerations against a successful attack on balloons from the ground will stimulate enterprise and invention enormously in the direction of dirigible aerial devices that can be fought. Few people, I fancy, who know the work of Langley, Lilienthal, Pilcher, Maxim and Chanute, but will be inclined to believe that long before the year 2000, A. D., probably before 1950, a successful aeroplane will have soared and come home safe and sound. Directly that is accomplished, the new invention will be most assuredly applied to war. This opening phase, therefore, of deadlocked lines of marksmen below will be accompanied by a desperate and finally decisive struggle for the command of the sky. They will lie warily in their shelter pits and see—. What will they see?

The nature of the things that will ultimately fight in the sky is a matter for curious speculation. We begin with the captive balloon. Against that the navigable balloon will presently operate. I am inclined to think the navigable balloon will be first attained by the use of a device already employed by nature in the swimming bladder of fishes. This is a closed gas bag, that can be contracted or expanded. If a gas bag of thin, strong, practically impervious substance could be enclosed in a net of closely inter-

laced fibres (interlaced, for example, on the pattern of the muscles of the bladder in mammals), the ends of these fibres might be wound and unwound, and the effect of contractibility attained. A row of such balloons hung over a long car, which was horizontally expanded into wings, would not only allow that car to rise and fall at will, but if the balloon at one end were contracted, that at the other end expanded and the intermediate ones allowed to assume intermediate conditions, the former end would drop, the expanded wings would be brought into a slanting condition over a smaller area of supporting air, and the whole apparatus would tend to glide downwards in that direction. The projection of a small vertical plane upon either side would make the gliding mass rotate in a descending spiral—and so we have all the elements of a controllable flight. Such an affair would be difficult to overset. It would be able to beat up even in a fair wind, and then it would be able to contract its bladders and fall down a long slant in any direction. From some such crude beginning a form like a soaring, elongated, flat-brimmed hat might grow, and the possibilities of adding an engine-driven screwtail are obvious enough.

Between flying machine and flying machine it will be a fight of hawks complicated by bullets and little shells. They will rush up and up to get the pitch of one another, until the aeronauts sob and sicken in the rarified air, and the blood comes to eyes and nails. The marksmen below will strain at last, eyes under hands, to see the circling battle that dwindles in the zenith. Then, perhaps, a wild adventurous dropping of one close beneath the other, an attempt to stoop, the sudden splutter of guns, a tilting up or down, a disengagement. What will have happened? One combatant, perhaps, will heel lamely earthward, dropping, dropping, with half its bladders burst or shot away, while the other circles down in pursuit. "What are they doing?" Our marksmen will snatch at their field-glasses, tremulously anxious. "Is that a white flag, or no?"—

Once the command of the air is obtained by one of the contending armies, the war must become a conflict between a seeing host and one that is blind. The victor in that aerial struggle will tower with pitilessly watchful eyes over his adversary, will concentrate his guns and all his strength unobserved, will mark all his adversary's roads and communications and sweep them with

sudden, incredible disasters of shot and shell. The moral effect of this predominance will be enormous. All over the losing country, not simply at his frontier, but everywhere, the victor will soar. Everybody everywhere will be perpetually and constantly looking up, with a sense of loss and insecurity, with a vague distress of painful anticipations. By day, the victor's aeroplanes will sweep down upon apparatus of all sorts in the adversaries' rear and will drop explosive and incendiary matters upon them, so that no apparatus or camp or shelter will any longer be safe. At night, his high floating search-lights will go to and fro, and discover and check every desperate attempt to relieve or feed the exhausted marksmen of the fighting line. The phase of tension will pass—the weakening opposition will give, and the war, from a state of mutual pressure and petty combat, will develop into the collapse of the defensive lines. A general advance will occur under the aerial van. With that advance the phase of indecisive contests will have ended and the second phase of the new war, the business of forcing submission, will begin. This should be more easy in the future even, than in the past, in spite of the fact that central governments are now more elusive and small bodies of rifle-armed guerillas far more formidable than ever before. It will probably be brought about in a civilized country by the seizure of the vital apparatus of the urban regions, the water supply, the generating stations for electricity (which will supply all the heat and warmth of the land), and the chief ways used in food distribution. Through these expedients, even while the formal war is still in progress, an irresistible pressure upon a local population will be possible; and it will be easy to subjugate or to create afresh local authorities who will secure the invader from any danger of a guerilla warfare upon his rear. Through that a very obdurate loser will be got down to submission area by area. With the destruction of its military apparatus and the prospective loss of its water and food supply, however, the defeated civilized state will probably be willing to seek terms, as a whole, and bring the war to a formal close.

In cases where instead of contiguous frontiers the combatants are separated by the sea, the aerial struggle will probably be preceded or accompanied by a struggle for the command of the sea. Of this warfare there have been many forecasts. In this, as in

all the warfare of the coming time, imaginative foresight, a perpetual alteration of tactics, a perpetual production of unanticipated devices, will count enormously. Other things being equal, victory will rest with the force mentally most active. What type of ship may chance to be prevalent when the great naval war comes is hard guessing; but I incline to think that the naval architects of the ablest peoples will concentrate more and more upon speed and upon range and penetration and above all upon precision of fire. I seem to see a light type of ironclad, armored thickly only over its engines and magazines, murderously equipped and with a ram, as alert and deadly as a striking snake. In the battles of the open she will have little to fear from the slow, fumbling treacheries of the submarine. She will take as little heed of the chance of a torpedo as a barefooted man does of a needle in his path. Unless I know nothing of my own blood, the English and Americans will prefer to catch their enemies in ugly weather, or at night, and then they will fight to ram. The struggle on the high seas between any two naval powers (except, perhaps, the English and Americans, who have both unparalleled opportunities for coaling), will not last more than a week or so. One force or the other will be destroyed at sea, driven into its ports and blockaded there, or cut off from its supply of coal (or other force generator), and hunted down to fight or surrender. An inferior fleet that tries to keep elusively at sea, will always find a superior fleet between itself and coal, and will either have to fight at once or be shot into surrender as it lies helpless on the water. Some commerce-destroying enterprise on the part of the loser may go on, but I think the possibilities of that sort of thing are greatly exaggerated. The world grows smaller and smaller, the telegraph and telephone go everywhere, wireless telegraphy opens wider and wider possibilities to the imagination, and how the commerce-destroyer is to go on for long without being marked down, headed off, cut off from coal and forced to fight or surrender, I do not see. The commerce-destroyer will have a very short run. It will have to be an exceptionally good and costly ship, in the first place. It will be finally sunk or captured; and altogether I do not see how that sort of thing will pay when once the command of the sea is assured. A few weeks will carry the effective frontier of the stronger power up to the coast line of the weaker, and permit of the secure resumption of the overseas trade

of the former. Then will open a second phase of naval warfare, in which the submarine may play a larger part.

I must confess that my imagination, in spite of spurring, refuses to see any sort of submarine doing anything but suffocate its crew and founder at sea. It must involve physical inconvenience of the most demoralizing sort simply to be in one for any length of time. Imagine yourself in one, that has ventured a few miles out of port. Imagine that you have headache and nausea, and that some such ship as the *Viper* is flashing itself and its search-lights about whenever you come up to the surface, and promptly tearing down on your descending bubbles with a ram, perhaps trailing a tail of grapples or a net as well. You may, of course, throw out a torpedo or so—with as much chance of hitting vitally as you would have if you were blindfolded, turned round three times and told to fire revolver shots at a charging elephant. The possibility of sweeping for a submarine with a seine would be vividly present in the minds of a submarine crew. If you are near shore, you will probably be near rocks—an unpleasant complication in a hurried dive. Probably there would very soon be boats out, too, seeking with a machine gun or a pom-pom for a chance at your occasionally emergent conning tower. In no way can a submarine be more than purblind; it will be, in fact, practically blind. It will shut its eyes to charge; it will always be shutting its eyes. Given a derelict ironclad on a still night, within sight of land, a carefully handled submarine might succeed in groping its way to it and destroying it; but then it would be much better to attack such a vessel and capture it boldly with a few desperate men on a tug. At the utmost, the submarine will be used in narrow waters, in rivers, or to fluster or destroy ships in harbor. That is to say, it will simply be an added power in the hands of the nation that is predominant at sea. And even then it can be merely destructive, while a sane and high-spirited fighter will always be dissatisfied if, with an indisputable superiority of force, he fails to take.

The military advantages of the command of the sea will probably be greater in the future than they have been in the past. A fleet with aerial supports would be able to descend upon any portion of the adversary's coast it chose, and to dominate the country inland for several miles with its gun fire. All the enemy's sea-coast towns would be at its mercy. It would be able to effect

landings and send raids of cyclist marksmen inward, whenever a weak point was discovered. Landings will be enormously easier than they have ever been before Once a wedge of marksmen has been driven inland they would have all the military advantages of the defense, when it came to eject them. They might, for example, encircle and block some fortified post and force costly and disastrous attempts to relieve it. The defensive country would stand at bay, tethered against any effective counter blow, keeping guns, supplies and men in perpetual and distressing movement to and fro along its sea frontiers. Its soldiers would get uncertain rest, irregular feeding, unhealthy conditions of all sorts in hastily made camps. The attacking fleet would divide and reunite, break up and vanish, amazingly reappear. The longer the defender's coast, the more wretched his lot. Never before in the world's history was the command of the sea worth what it is now. But the command of the sea is, after all, like military predominance on land, to be insured only by superiority of equipment in the hands of a certain type of man, a type of man that it becomes more and more impossible to improvise.

All this elaboration of warfare lengthens the scale between theoretical efficiency and absolute unpreparedness. In practice the fight will never be between equal sides, but between the more efficient and the less efficient, between the more inventive and the more traditional. While the victors, disciplined and grimly intent, full of the sombre, yet glorious delight of a grave thing well done, will be fighting like one great national body without shouting or confusion, the losers will be taking that pitiless exposure of helplessness in such a manner as their national culture and character may determine. War for the losing side will be an unspeakably pitiable business. There will be, first of all, the coming of the war, the wave of excitement, the belligerent shouting of the unemployed inefficients, the flag waving, the secret doubts, the eagerness for hopeful news, the impatience of the warning voice. I seem to see, almost as if he were symbolic, the gray old general, the general who learned his art of war away in the vanished nineteenth century, the gray old general with his epaulettes and decorations, his uniform that has still its historical value, his spurs and his sword, riding along on his obsolete horse, by the side of his doomed column. Above all things he is a gentleman. And the column looks at him lovingly with

its countless boys' faces; and the boys' eyes are infinitely trustful, for he has won battles in the old time. They will believe in him to the end. They have been brought up in their schools to believe in him and his class, their mothers have mingled respect for the gentlefolk with the simple doctrines of their faith; their first lesson on entering the army was the salute. So the gray general rides, and his doomed columns march by in this vision that haunts my mind.

I cannot foresee what such a force will attempt to do against modern weapons. Nothing can happen but the needless and most wasteful and pitiful killing of these poor lads who make up the infantry battalions, the main mass of all the European armies of to-day, whenever they come against a sanely organized army. Yet, in the ampler prospect, even this haunting tragedy of innumerable, avoidable deaths is but an incidental thing. The ampler fact, after all, is the inexorable tendency in all this to make a soldier a skilled and educated man and to link him in sympathy and organization with the engineer and the doctor and all the continually developing mass of scientifically educated men—that new social organism which the advance of mechanism is producing. The warfare of the coming time will really be won in schools and colleges and universities wherever men write and read and talk together. The nation that produces, in the near future, the largest proportional development of educated and intelligent engineers, agriculturists, doctors, schoolmasters, professional soldiers, and intellectually active people of all sorts; the nation that most resolutely picks over, educates, sterilizes, exports or poisons its People of the Abyss; the nation that succeeds most subtly in checking gambling and the moral decay of women and homes that gambling inevitably entails; the nation that, by wise interventions, death duties and the like, contrives to expropriate and extinguish incompetent families, while leaving individual ambitions free; the nation, in a word, that turns the greatest proportion of its irresponsible adiposity into social muscle will certainly be the nation that will be the most powerful in warfare, will certainly be the ascendant or dominant nation before the year 2000. In the long run, no heroism and no accidents can alter that. No flag waving, no Patriotic Leagues, no visiting of essentially petty Imperial Personages hither and thither, no smashing of windows of outspoken people,

nor seizures of papers and books, will arrest the march of national defeat. And this issue is already so plain and simple, the alternatives are becoming so pitilessly clear, that even in the stupidest court and the stupidest constituencies it must presently begin in some dim way to be felt. A time will come when so many people will see this issue clearly that it will affect gravely both political and social life. The patriotic party will be forced to become an efficiency party, in profession at least, to stimulate and organize the educational and social development that may at last bring even patriotism under control. The rulers of the gray, the democratic politician and the democratic monarch, will be forced year by year by the very nature of things to promote the segregations of colors within the gray, to foster the power that will finally supersede democracy altogether, the power of the scientifically educated, disciplined specialist, the power of the thing that is provably right.

I propose at last, in these Anticipations, to give some reasons for looking towards one particular nation which will, I believe, upon the assumptions here made first get itself organized and equipped upon the new lines and emerge to predominance throughout the world during the next century—so great is my prophetic temerity! But before that is done a certain body of considerations affecting language and the sentiment of nationality and, indeed, the very meaning of "nation" will have to be dealt with. These considerations will constitute the matter of the paper immediately following this. H. G. WELLS.

(To be continued.)

ON REFORM IN WOMEN'S DRESS.

BY PRINCESS YSENBURG.

"LIGHT, more light," were the last words of Goethe. Could light be poured into the darkness which surrounds the question of women's dress in its relations to the health and happiness of womankind, it would bring about a speedy and far-reaching reformation.

Until the present day fashion has ignored the ill effects resulting to her followers from strict adherence to her rule which injures their health, and the health of the whole of civilized humanity through them. It has been reserved for the end of the nineteenth century to bring about a change in the view of the world on the subject of Women's Dress; and the question has been raised as to whether it would not be better for humanity in general if women were to dress rationally according to the rules of health, instead of dressing according to the variable dictates of dressmakers, whose only object is to discover something new and who are indifferent to everything but the task of filling their own pockets. With this laudable purpose they have been in a manner reintroducing those old German instruments of torture, which are to be seen in the old castle of Nuremberg. Which of my readers who has been to Bayreuth has not also visited Nuremberg and taken an interest in those horrible relics of a barbarous age? Perhaps many have shuddered when looking at the "Giserne Jungfrau," who embraced her victims and squeezed them to death!

Does it not remind you of our modern torture instruments called "corsets"? Are not corsets the most unhealthy article of dress you can find, and does it not stand to reason that they must be the ruin of their unfortunate wearer's health, tightened

as they are to their smallest possible limit? One of our celebrated medical authorities in Berlin, Dr. Gulenburg, says on the subject as follows: "The criticisms we make on the dress of the modern woman are on the whole most justified, and are to be classified into three divisions: First, the hygienic and medical; second, the universal, and, third, the practical."

Let us first look at the universal point of view, which is apt to appeal to women's sense of beauty and find its way to their understanding quicker than the hygienic and practical point of view, though all these points are in close connection and corroboration. What is the first fault to be found in the modern woman's dress from a universal point of view? Let us leave for the present those faults which are most evident: the headgear, covering for the feet, length of the walking skirt, etc., and let us concentrate our attention on the waist. The biggest fault of the dress of our modern woman is that it is moving the waist out of the place where nature intended it to be, and forcing it lower down, compressing the organs in a manner that must have the worst effect on their development. In another part of Dr. Gulenburg's article he says that the unnatural compression of the waist is causing ænemia—the special complaint of our time—hindering the circulation of the blood, creating heart disease and all the evils that follow in its train. Does not that seem a rather serious consequence of an irrational way of dressing, and is it not most important to find some more healthy mode of dress to save humanity from further suffering?

It is here that the reform of woman's dress must begin. What we require is a bodice or blouse which will give the whole trunk of the body sufficient room in which to come to its full natural development, a development that is in my opinion a far more beautiful sight than an unnaturally small waist, which gives its owner the appearance of a half-cut tree. The bodice which would fulfill this condition is one that is suspended from the shoulders by wide straps, thus making the whole body participate in the burden of the dress. This is an eminently rational costume.

Another instrument of torture worn as an article of dress is the high collar, against which our doctors and specialists indignantly cry out. The oculist condemns it on the ground that it is a source of danger to the eyes, pressing upon the eye nerves and

occasioning various ailments from which these valuable organs suffer.

It is condemned by the throat specialist as swathing the throat and rendering it susceptible to changes of temperature. The throat in their view should be left open as much as possible to the air, which exercises a hardening and strengthening influence. Regarding the high collar from the point of comfort, it makes it almost impossible for us to turn our heads. I am reminded of another form of torture used in the Netherlands to punish garrulity, used also to punish women for quarrelsomeness. There was a sort of iron cage in the market-place where they had to stand from sunrise to sunset, the cynosure of all eyes. They sat facing each other in close proximity, their necks compressed within high iron collars. Though the modern collars are made of softer stuff, they are little more comfortable to the wearer. Let us then put them away, and take with a good grace to the turned down ones, such as are worn by our marines and colonial troops.

What do you say to the trailing skirts? Are they not in a different way another danger to the general health? Is it not absurd to walk about trailing behind you a bit of stuff which sweeps the streets, performing the office of an unpaid scavenger, and bringing illness and death into your houses by means of all the mud you have swept off the streets and all the horrible bacilli finding their way to your homes? Unfortunately, a good many of our ladies like the trailing skirt, because it makes them look taller and more stately, giving an elegant shape to the figure. That is certainly true, and I am quite willing to let it have its due. I only want to put it in its place, and that is—the drawing-room.

So far I have only shown the dangers the trailing skirt entails on the wearer, but there are more dangers lurking in the background. I think of the poor servants whose duty it is to clean them. Are they not obliged to inhale all the dust stored up in these garments, making themselves liable to all sorts of illnesses, and to spread them? I should think the trailing skirts need the most speedy reform!

At a ball the other day I was struck by a new extravagance of fashion, which made me think of the necessity for reform in ball dresses. My reader is sure to know what I mean—skirts unduly long in front. Is it not dangerous in the highest de-

gree, this dancing with a train in front of your feet? You enter a ballroom a joyous girl, beaming all over with smiles at the prospect of an enjoyable night, and at the first steps your partner treads on your front trail, falls down with you, and you may have received lifelong injuries. Is not this newest folly of fashion more insane even than the trailing skirt itself? It has not even the excuse of *fin de siècle.*

This dangerous outgrowth of fashion must be abolished with as little delay as possible, and I think I have found a means of doing away with it! Would it not be simple to put a remark on the invitation such as: "Ladies are requested to wear dresses not reaching below the instep in front"?

Young ladies who are the leaders of fashion by right of rank, wealth and beauty, I appeal to you personally to take up this special lead! Have the courage to walk in the streets of your cities in a skirt reaching to the ankles; show off your pretty feet; and in a short time all women will follow your example, and the trailing skirt will have been expelled like the "crinoline" and the not less abominable "tournure" of former times.

Even though the celebrated Berlin professor is willing to overlook other details of necessary reforms I do not feel inclined to draw the line at the waist, and I beg my reader with her mind's eye to follow me down to the feet of my supposed model. Here are excessively small shoes pinching the feet supported by Louis Quinze heels. We all know how very injurious these heels are to the spine. They throw the weight of the body to the middle of the foot, instead of supporting it at the natural place. Here the only proper thing is worn by the practical Englishwoman, who wears broad, low heels, enabling her to walk miles and miles, to do mountaineering and join in every sport which the Louis Quinze heels simply forbid to their disciples. There are also india-rubber soles and heels which are worn to break the force of the step. The newest invention of this kind has been made quite recently in England and is going to be tried by English postmen. This invention consists in boots, the heels of which have springs. The idea is the same as in the above-mentioned india-rubber heels, but it has many more advantages. Besides the feeling of walking on cushions, the spring heels are said to allow the air to penetrate to the feet, thus excluding foot soreness even after long walks. It stands to reason

that the pointed shoes ought to make way for broader ones, at least for walking purposes.

Now allow me to take a leap upwards again, and say a few words on the subject of veils. I am afraid I must find fault with them, too, from a health standpoint. Can it be good for the eyes, for instance, to have a thick veil before them, covered with all sorts of big, dark points, or long-drawn snakes crossing your face, coming between your eyes and the object of their contemplation? Does it not stand to reason, too, that your eyes become irritated by such treatment and that you run the risk of seriously injuring them? In summer veils are a nuisance, making one feel hotter than necessary, and in winter you think they preserve you from the cold. If you think so, I am sorry to have to destroy that illusion. On the contrary, they imprison your breath. It freezes to ice on your face, and you are in danger of having your nose frozen. I am sorry to say I have personally had the experience during the recent cold weather, so that I am sure it is much better and healthier to allow the air to flow freely round your face, hardening it against the influences of temperature.

I resume: The leading idea of reform in woman's dress is that every garment ought to fit according to the natural lines of the figure, without any impediment, without pinching or exclusion of free air that is supposed to penetrate as freely as possible through the clothing. I am afraid that elegance will be the sufferer for some time to come; for the medical celebrities, who are thinking only of the practical side and wishing to give relief to their patients suffering through their mode of dressing, leave it to those whose profession it is to think how to introduce their planned reforms into practical use. Yet this form of suffering of elegance will only wear so long as fashion ignores those reformatory views. If the leaders of fashion would take the reform of woman's dress in hand, and go in boldly for it, breaking with the traditions of high collars and pinched waists, Louis Quinze heels, veils, etc., the dawn of the reformed woman's dress would quickly come, the scale would turn in accordance, and the fashion of to-day would be scorned by those who are now its warmest followers and adorers.

MARY PRINCESS YSENBURG.

HAWTHORN AND LAVENDER:

SONGS AND MADRIGALS. PART III.

BY W. E. HENLEY.

ONLY a freakish wisp of hair?—
Nay, but its wildest, its most trivial whorl
Stands for a slim, enamoured, sweet-fleshed girl!
And so, a tangle of dream and charm and fun,
Its every crook a promise and a snare,
Its every dowle, or genially gadding
Or resolutely curled,
Heartening and madding,
Impales a novel and peculiar world
Of right, essential fantasies,
And shining acts as yet undone,
But in these high, romantic days
Soon, soon to ask our sovran Lord, the Sun,
For countenance and praise,
As of the best his storying eye hath seen,
And his vast memory can parallel,
Among the darling victories—
Beneficent, beautiful, inexpressible—
Of life on time!—
Yet have they flashed and been
In millions, since 'twas his to bring
The heaven-creating Spring,
An angel of adventure and delight,
In all her beauty and all her might and worth,
Home to the citizens of this good, green earth,
To fill them full of joy and pride and spright . . . .

Poor souls—they have but time and place
To play their transient little play,
And sing their singular little song,
Ere they are rushed away
Into the antient, undisclosing Night;
And none is left to tell of the fair eyes
That filled them with God's grace,
And turned the iron skies to skies of gold!
None; but the sweetest She herself grows old—
Grows old, and dies;
And, but for such a lovely snatch of hair
As this, none—none could guess, or know
That She was kind and fair,
And He had nights and days beyond compare—
How many dusty and silent years ago!

I send you roses—red, like love,
  And white, like death, sweet friend:
Born in your bosom to rejoice,
  Languish, and pine, and end.

If the white roses tell of death,
  Let the red roses mend
The talk with true stories of love
  Unchanging to the end.

Red and white roses, love and death—
  What else is left to send?
For what is life but love, the means,
  And death, dear heart, the end?

When, in what other life,
Where in what old spent star,
Systems ago, dead vastitudes afar,
Were we two bird and bough, or man and wife?
Or wave and spar?
Or I the beating sea, and you the bar
On which it breaks? I know not, I!
But this, O this, my very dear, I know:
Your voice awakes old echoes in my heart;

And things I say to you now are said once more;
And, sweet, when we two part
I feel I have seen you falter and linger so,
So hesitate, and turn, and cling—yet go,
As once in some immemorable Before,
Once on some fortunate yet thrice-blasted shore . . . .
Was it for good?
O, these poor eyes are wet;
And yet, O, yet,
Now it comes back, I would not, if I could,
Forget.

June, and a warm, sweet rain;
  June, and the call of a bird:
To a lover in pain
  What lovelier word?

Two of each other fain
  Happily heart on heart;
So in the wind and rain
  Spring bears his part!

O, to be heart on heart
  Out in the warm June rain,
God with us from the start,
  And no more pain!

Silence, loneliness, darkness
  These and of these my fill
While God in the rush of Maytide
  Without is working His will.

Without are the wind and the wall-flowers,
  The leaves and the nests and the rain,
And in all of them God is making
  His beautiful purpose plain.

But I wait in a horror of strangeness—
  A tool on His workshop floor,
Worn to the butt, and banished
  His hand for evermore.

In Shoreham River, hurrying down
To the live sea,
By working, marrying, breeding Shoreham Town,
Breaking the sunset's wistful and solemn dream,
An old, black rotter of a boat
Past service to the labouring, tumbling flote,
Lay stranded in mid-stream:
With a horrid list,
A frightening lapse from the line,
That made me think of legs and a broken spine:
Soon, all too soon,
Ungainly and forlorn to lie
Full in the eye
Of the cynical, discomfortable moon
That, as I looked, stared from the fading sky,
A clown's face flour'd for work. And bye-and-bye
The wide-winged sunset wanned and waned;
The lean night-wind crept westward, chilling and sighing;
The poor old hulk remained,
Stuck helpless in mid-ebb. And I knew why—
Why, as I looked, my heart felt crying.
For, as I looked, the good green earth seemed dying—
Dying or dead;
And, as I looked on the old beast, I said:
"Dear God, it's I!"

W. E. Henley.

SOME ANOMALIES OF THE SHORT STORY.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

THE interesting experiment of one of our great publishing houses in putting out serially several volumes of short stories*, with the hope that a courageous persistence may overcome the popular indifference to such collections when severally administered, suggests some questions as to this eldest form of fiction which I should like to ask the reader's patience with. I do not know that I shall be able to answer them, or that I shall try to do so; the vitality of a question that is answered seems to exhale in the event; it palpitates no longer; curiosity flutters away from the faded flower, which is fit then only to be folded away in the *hortus siccus* of accomplished facts. In view of this I may wish merely to state the problems and leave them for the reader's solution, or more amusingly, for his mystification.

I.

One of the most amusing questions concerning the short story is why a form which is singly so attractive that every one likes to read a short story when he finds it alone is collectively so repellant as it is said to be. Before now I have imagined the case to be somewhat the same as that of a number of pleasant people who are most acceptable as separate householders, but who lose caste and cease to be desirable acquaintances when gathered into a boarding-house. Yet the case is not the same quite, for we see that the short story where it is ranged with others of its species within the covers of a magazine is so welcome that the editor thinks his number the more brilliant the more short story writers he can call about his board, or under the roof of his *pension*. Here the boarding-house analogy breaks, breaks so

*Harper's Portrait Collection of Short Stories. Harper & Brothers: New York.

signally that I was lately moved to ask a distinguished editor why a book of short stories usually failed and a magazine usually succeeded because of them. He answered gaily that the short stories in most books of them were bad; that where they were good, they went; and he alleged several well-known instances in which books of prime short stories had a great vogue. He was so handsomely interested in my inquiry that I could not well say I thought some of the short stories which he had boasted in his last number were indifferent good, and yet, as he allowed, had mainly helped sell it. I had in mind many books of short stories of the first excellence which had failed as decidedly as those others had succeeded, for no reason that I could see; possibly there is really no reason in any literary success or failure that can be predicated, or applied in another case.

I could name these books, if it would serve any purpose, but, in my doubt, I will leave the reader to think of them, for I believe that his indolence or intellectual reluctance is largely to blame for the failure of good books of short stories. He is commonly so averse to any imaginative exertion that he finds it a hardship to respond to that peculiar demand which a book of good short stories makes upon him. He can read one good short story in a magazine with refreshment, and a pleasant sense of excitement, in the sort of spur it gives to his own constructive faculty. But if this is repeated in ten or twenty stories, he becomes fluttered and exhausted by the draft upon his energies; whereas a continuous fiction of the same quantity acts as an agreeable sedative. A condition that the short story tacitly makes with the reader, through its limitations, is that he shall subjectively fill in the details and carry out the scheme which in its small dimensions the story can only suggest; and the greater number of readers find this too much for their feeble powers, while they cannot resist the incitement to attempt it.

My theory does not wholly account for the fact (no theory wholly accounts for any fact), and I own that the same objections would lie from the reader against a number of short stories in a magazine. But it may be that the effect is not the same in the magazine because of the variety in the authorship, and because it would be impossibly jolting to read all the short stories in a magazine seriatim. On the other hand, the identity of authorship gives a continuity of attraction to the short stories

in a book which forms that exhausting strain upon the imagination of the involuntary co-partner.

II.

Then, what is the solution as to the form of publication for short stories, since people do not object to them singly but collectively, and not in variety, but in identity of authorship? Are they to be printed only in the magazines, or are they to be collected in volumes combining a variety of authorship? Rather, I could wish, it might be found feasible to purvey them in some pretty shape where each would appeal singly to the reader and would not exhaust him in the subjective after-work required of him. In this event many short stories now cramped into undue limits by the editorial exigencies of the magazines might expand to greater length and breadth, and without ceasing to be each a short story might not make so heavy a demand upon the subliminal forces of the reader.

If any one were to say that all this was a little fantastic, I should not contradict him; but I hope there is some reason in it, if reason can help the short story to greater favor, for it is a form which I have great pleasure in as a reader, and pride in as an American. If we have not excelled all other moderns in it, we have certainly excelled in it; possibly because we are in the period of our literary development which corresponds to that of other peoples when the short story pre-eminently flourished among them. But when one has said a thing like this it immediately accuses one of loose and inaccurate statement, and requires one to refine upon it, either for one's own peace of conscience or for one's safety from the thoughtful reader. I am not much afraid of that sort of reader, for he is very rare, but I do like to know myself what I mean, if I mean anything in particular.

In this instance I am obliged to ask myself whether our literary development can be recognized separately from that of the whole English speaking world. I think it can, though, as I am always saying, American literature is merely a condition of English literature. In some sense every European literature is a condition of some other European literature, yet the impulse in each eventuates, if it does not originate (if I may be permitted the apparent tautology) indigenously. A younger lit-

erature will choose, by a sort of natural selection, some things for assimilation from an elder literature, for no more apparent reason than it will reject other things, and it will transform them in the process so that it will give them the effect of indigeneity. The story among the Italians, who called it the *novella,* and supplied us with the name devoted solely among us to fiction of epical magnitude, refined indefinitely upon the Greek romance, if it derived from that; it retrenched itself in scope, and enlarged itself in the variety of its types. But still these remained types, and they remained types with the French imitators of the Italian novella. It was not till the Spaniards borrowed the form of the novella and transplanted it to their racier soil that it began to bear character, and to fruit in the richness of their picaresque fiction. When the English borrowed it they adapted it, in the metrical tales of Chaucer, to the genius of their nation, which was then both poetical and humorous. Here it was full of character, too, and more and more personality began to enlarge the bounds of the conventional types and to imbue fresh ones. But in so far as the novella was studied in the Italian sources, the French, Spanish and English literatures were conditions of Italian literature as distinctly, though, of course, not so thoroughly, as American literature is a condition of English literature. Each borrower gave a national cast to the thing borrowed, and that is what has happened with us, in the full measure that our nationality has differenced itself from the English.

Whatever truth there is in all this, and I will confess that a good deal of it seems to me hardy conjecture, rather favors my position that we are in some such period of our literary development as those other peoples when the short story flourished among them. Or, if I restrict our claim I may safely claim that they abundantly had the novella when they had not the novel at all, and we now abundantly have the novella, while we have the novel only subordinately and of at least no such quantitative importance as the English, French, Spanish, Norwegians, Russians, and some others of our esteemed contemporaries, not to name the Italians. We surpass the Germans, who, like ourselves, have as distinctly excelled in the modern novella as they have fallen short in the novel. Or, if I may not quite say this, I will make bold to say that I can think of many German novelle that I should like to read again, but scarcely one

German novel; and I could honestly say the same of American novelle, though not of American novels.

III.

The abeyance, not to say the desuetude, that the novella fell into for several centuries is very curious, and fully as remarkable as the modern rise of the short story. It began to prevail in the dramatic form, for a play is a short story put on the stage; it may have satisfied in that form the early love of it, and it has continued to please in that form; but in its original shape it quite vanished, unless we consider the little studies and sketches and allegories of the Spectator, and Tatler, and Idler, and Rambler, and their imitations on the continent, as guises of the novella. The germ of the modern short story may have survived in these, or in the metrical form of the novella which appeared in Chaucer and never wholly disappeared. With Crabbe the novella became as distinctly the short story as it has become in the hands of Miss Wilkins. But it was not till our time that its great merit as a form was felt, for until our time so great work was never done with it. I remind myself of Boccaccio, and of the Arabian Nights, without the wish to hedge from my bold stand. They are all elemental; compared with some finer modern work which deepens inward immeasurably, they are all of their superficial limits. They amuse, but they do not hold the mind, and stamp it with large and profound impressions.

An Occidental cannot judge the literary quality of the Eastern tales; but I will own my suspicion that the perfection of the Italian work is philological rather than artistic, while the web woven by Mr. James or Miss Jewett, by Kielland or Björnson, by Maupassant, by Palacio Valdés, by Giovanni Verga, by Tourguénief, in one of those little frames seems to me of an exquisite color and texture and of an entire literary preciousness, not only as regards the diction, but as regards those more intangible graces of form, those virtues of truth and reality and those lasting significances which distinguish the masterpiece.

The novella has in fact been carried so far in the short story that it might be asked whether it had not left the novel behind, as to perfection of form; though one might not like to affirm this. Yet there have been but few modern fictions of the novel's dimensions which have the beauty of form many a novella em-

bodies. Is this because it is easier to give form in the small than in the large, or only because it is easier to hide formlessness? It is easier to give form in the novella than in the novel, because the design of less scope can be more definite, and because the persons and facts are fewer, and each can be more carefully treated. But on the other hand the slightest error in execution shows more in the small than in the large, and a fault of conception is more evident. The novella must be clearly imagined, above all things, for there is no room in it for those felicities of characterization or comment by which the artist of faltering design saves himself in the novel.

IV.

The question as to where the short story distinguishes itself from the anecdote is of the same nature as that which concerns the bound set between it and the novel. In both cases the difference of the novella is in the motive, or the origination. The anecdote is too palpably simple and single to be regarded as a novella, though there is now and then a novella like *"The Father,"* by Björnson, which is of the actual brevity of the anecdote, but which, when released in the reader's consciousness, expands to dramatic dimensions impossible to the anecdote. Many anecdotes have come down from antiquity, but not, I believe, one short story, at least in prose; and the Italians, if they did not invent the story, gave us something most sensibly distinguishable from the classic anecdote in the novella. The anecdote offers an illustration of character, or records a moment of action; the novella embodies a drama and develops a type.

It is not quite so clear as to when and where a piece of fiction ceases to be a novella and becomes a novel. The frontiers are so vague that one is obliged to recognize a middle species, or rather a middle magnitude, which paradoxically, but necessarily enough, we call the novelette. First we have the short story or novella, then we have the long story or novel, and between these we have the novelette, which is in name a little short story longer than a short story. We may realize them physically if we will adopt the magazine parlance and speak of the novella as a one-number story, of the novel as a serial, and of the novelette as a two-number or a three-number story; if it passes the three-number limit it seems to become a novel. As a two-number or three-number story it is the despair of editors and publishers.

The interest of so brief a serial will not mount sufficiently to carry strongly over from month to month; when the tale is completed it will not make a book which the Trade (inexorable force!) cares to handle. It is therefore still awaiting its authoritative avatar, which it will be some one's prosperity and glory to imagine; for in the novelette are possibilities for fiction as yet scarcely divined.

The novelette can have almost as perfect form as the novella. In fact the novel has form in the measure that it approaches the novelette; and some of the most symmetrical modern novels are scarcely more than novelettes, like Tourguénief's "Dmitri Rudine," or his "Smoke," or "Spring Floods." "The Vicar of Wakefield," the father of the modern novel, is scarcely more than a novelette, and I have sometimes fancied, but no doubt vainly, that the ultimated novel might be of the dimensions of "Hamlet." If any one should say there was not room in "Hamlet" for the character and incident requisite in a novel I should be ready to answer that there seemed a good deal of both in "Hamlet."

But no doubt there are other reasons why the novel should not finally be of the length of "Hamlet," and I must not let my enthusiasm for the novelette carry me too far, or, rather, bring me up too short. I am disposed to dwell upon it, I suppose, because it has not yet shared the favor which the novella and the novel have enjoyed, and because until somebody invents a way for it to the public it cannot prosper like the one-number story or the serial. I should like to say as my last word for it here that I believe there are many novels which, if stripped of their padding, would turn out to have been all along merely novelettes in disguise.

It does not follow, however, that there are many novelle which, if they were duly padded, would be found novelettes. In that dim, subjective region, where the æsthetic origins present themselves almost with the authority of inspirations, there is nothing clearer than the difference between the short story motive and the long story motive. One, if one is in that line of work, feels instinctively just the size and carrying power of the given motive. Or, if the reader prefers a different figure, the mind which the seed has been dropped into from Somewhere is mystically aware whether the seed is going to grow up a bush or is going to grow up a tree, if left to itself. Of course, the mind to which the seed is entrusted may play it false, and willfully dwarf the

growth, or force it to unnatural dimensions; but the critical observer will easily detect the fact of this treason. Almost in the first germinal impulse the inventive mind forefeels the ultimate difference, and recognizes the essential simplicity or complexity of the motive. There will be a prophetic subdivision into a variety of motives and a multiplication of characters and incidents and situations; or the original motive will be divined indivisible, and there will be a small group of people immediately interested and controlled by a single, or predominant, fact. The uninspired may contend that this is bosh, and I own that something might be said for their contention, but upon the whole I think it is gospel.

The right novel is never a congeries of novelle, as might appear to the uninspired. If it indulges even in episodes it loses in reality and vitality. It is one stock from which its various branches put out, and form it a living growth identical throughout. The right novella is never a novel cropped back from the size of a tree to a bush, or the branch of a tree stuck into the ground and made to serve for a bush. It is another species, destined by the agencies at work in the realm of unconsciousness to be brought into being of its own kind, and not of another.

V.

This was always its case, but in the process of time the short story, while keeping the natural limits of the primal novella (if ever there was one), has shown almost limitless possibilities within them. It has shown itself capable of imparting the effect of every sort of intention, whether of humor or pathos, of tragedy, or comedy, or broad farce, or delicate irony, of character or action. The thing that first made itself known as a little tale, usually salacious, dealing with conventionalized types and conventionalized incidents, has proved itself possibly the most flexible of all the literary forms in its adaptation to the needs of the mind that wishes to utter itself, inventively or constructively, upon some fresh occasion, or wishes briefly to criticise or represent some phase or fact of life.

The riches in this shape of fiction are effectively inestimable, if we consider what has been done in the short story, and is still doing everywhere. The good novels may be easily counted, but the good novelle, since Boccaccio began (if it was he that first began) to make them, cannot be computed. In quantity they are

inexhaustible, and in quality they are wonderfully satisfying. Then, why is it that so very, very few of the most satisfactory of that innumerable multitude stays by you, as the country people say, in characterization or action? How hard it is to recall a person or a fact out of any of them, out of the most signally good! We seem to be delightfully nourished as we read, but is it, after all, a full meal? We become of a perfect intimacy and a devoted friendship with the men and women in the short stories, but not apparently of a lasting acquaintance. It is a single meeting we have with them, and though we instantly love or hate them dearly, recurrence and repetition seem necessary to that familiar knowledge in which we hold the personages in a novel.

It is here that the novella, so much more perfect in form, shows its irremediable inferiority to the novel, and somehow to the play, to the very farce, which it may quantitatively excel. We can all recall by name many characters out of comedies and farces; but how many characters out of short stories can we recall? Most persons of the drama give themselves away by name for types, mere figments of allegory, and perhaps oblivion is the penalty that the novella pays for the fineness of its characterizations; but perhaps, also, the dramatic form has greater facilities for repetition and so can stamp its persons more indelibly on the imagination than the narrative form in the same small space. The narrative must give to description what the drama trusts to representation; but this cannot account for the superior permanency of the dramatic types in so great measure as we might at first imagine, for they remain as much in mind from reading as from seeing the plays. It is possible that as the novella becomes more conscious, its persons will become more memorable; but as it is, though we now vividly and with lasting delight remember certain short stories, we scarcely remember by name any of the people in them. I may be risking too much in offering an instance, but who, in even such signal instances as "The Revolt of Mother," by Miss Wilkins, or "The Dulham Ladies," by Miss Jewett, can recall by name the characters that made them delightful?

VI.

The defect of the novella which we have been acknowledging seems an essential limitation; but perhaps it is not insuperable;

and we may yet have short stories which shall supply the delighted imagination with creations of as much immortality as we can reasonably demand. The structural change would not be greater than the moral or material change which has been wrought in it since it began as a yarn, gross and palpable, which the narrator spun out of the coarsest and often the filthiest stuff, to snare the thick fancy or amuse the lewd leisure of listeners willing as children to have the same persons and the same things over and over again. Now it has not only varied the persons and things, but it has refined and verified them in the direction of the natural and the supernatural, until it is above all other literary forms the vehicle of reality and spirituality. When one thinks of a bit of Mr. James' psychology in this form, or a bit of Verga's or Kielland's sociology, or a bit of Miss Jewett's exquisite veracity, one perceives the immense distance which the short story has come on the way to the height it has reached. It serves equally the ideal and the real; that which it is loth to serve is the unreal, so that among the short stories which have recently made reputations for their authors, very few are of that peculiar cast which we have no name for but romanticistic. The only distinguished modern writer of romanticistic novelle whom I can think of is Mr. Bret Harte, and he is of a period when romanticism was so imperative as to be almost a condition of fiction. I am never so enamored of a cause that I will not admit facts that seem to tell against it, and I will allow that this writer of romanticistic short stories has more than any other supplied us with memorable types and characters. We remember Mr. John Oakhurst by name; we remember "Kentuck" and "Tennessee's Partner," at least by nickname; and we remember their several qualities. These figures, if we cannot quite consent that they are persons, exist in our memories by force of their creator's imagination, and at the moment I cannot think of any others that do, out of the myriad of American short stories, except Rip Van Winkle out of Irving's "Legend of Sleepy Hollow," and Marjorie Daw out of Mr. Aldrich's famous little caprice of that title, and Mr. James' Daisy Miller.

It appears to be the fact that those writers who have first distinguished themselves in the novella have seldom written novels of prime order. Mr. Kipling is an eminent example, but Mr. Kipling has yet a long life before him in which to upset any theory

about him, and one can only instance him provisionally. On the other hand, one can be much more confident that the best novelle have been written by the greatest novelists, conspicuously Maupassant, Verga, Björnsen, Mr. Thomas Hardy, Mr. James, Mr. Cable, Tourguénief, Tolstoy, Valdés, not to name others. These have, in fact, all done work so good in this form that one is tempted to call it their best work. It is really not their best, but it is work so good that it ought to have equal acceptance with their novels, if that distinguished editor was right who said that short stories sold well when they were good short stories. That they ought to do so is so evident that a devoted reader of them to whom I was submitting the anomaly the other day, insisted that they did. I could only allege the testimony of publishers and authors to the contrary, and this did not satisfy him.

It does not satisfy me, and I wish that the general reader with whom the fault lies, could be made to say why, if he likes one short story by itself and four short stories in a magazine, he does not like, or will not have, a dozen short stories in a book. This was the baffling question which I began with, and which I find myself forced to end with, after all the light I have thrown upon the subject. I leave it where I found it, but perhaps that is a good deal for a critic to do. If I had left it anywhere else the reader might not feel bound to deal with it practically by reading all the books of short stories he could lay hands on, and either divining why he did not enjoy them, or else forever foregoing his prejudice against them because of his pleasure in them.

W. D. Howells.

THE GROWTH OF AN ART IDEAL

By James Beebee

TO have the sense of creative activity is the great happiness and the great proof of being alive," said Matthew Arnold in his famous essay on Criticism. It is this creative element that endures in all worthy human accomplishment and that makes any lasting impression upon human life. No visitor to such an exhibition as the one now being held at Buffalo can fail to be impressed with the profound and wide-reaching spiritual aspects that underlie the merely objective features, or appreciate in some measure, at least, the evidences there of creative power and of a stimulating and gratifying æsthetic impulse.

Quite apart from the general spectacular effect and an impression of the many-sided human energies that have entered into the satisfactory realization of such an enterprise is the feeling that there is something still better than the abundant evidences of a merely material progress. The novel and distinctly show features, the architecture, the landscape, the statues, the color scheme, in a word, the grand appeal to the eye, are but the visible expression of the dominating artistic motives that have unified the whole. Beginning with the Centennial in 1876, when we were for the first time really brought face to face with our artistic limitations, we have made steady progress toward something better. We have been taught to compare our achievements with the world, and with a ready spirit of adaptation and an energy that has always characterized us as a nation, we may now fairly lay claim to having a distinct and worthy place in the arts, as well as in the things that count for power and commercial prosperity. Indeed it is an acknowledged fact that in all the arts we have attained a creditable and dignified place before the world. Our painters and sculptors take rank with the foremost of the time, and in the domain of the arts especially allied with craftsmanship we have long held a most enviable place. In this direction, no less than in what are more commonly considered the fine arts, there is ample room for the display of

Vase Martelé

distinctly creative genius, and for the working out of high art ideals. The realization of this in the broadest and most liberal sense, and a wise appreciation of the fact that it is as fatal in business as in life to yield to what we may call "mere commercialism," has been the foundation upon which many great businesses have been established.

ham Company. This great house, established more than seventy years ago, has been from the first imbued with the artistic spirit of the old guilds, vivified and aided by the best ideas in modern art, and has taken special pride in its development along purely artistic lines.

Believing that no permanent and completely satisfactory work in the industrial

Tea Set

Renaissance

Not even the most casual observer of the artistic exhibits at Buffalo will overlook the beautiful displays of work in the precious metals. From the earliest days both silver and gold, notably the latter, have been used as a medium for artistic expression. In mediæval times the guilds of the metal workers were famous for the beauty of their work. Cellini, than whom a vainer man never lived, was a master craftsman as well as a famous sculptor, and it would be easy to cite a list of names of men famous as painters and sculptors who have left some record of their genius in the metals. The old master-craftsmen were artists in the true sense. Theirs was an individual expression, the only sort that is worth the name of art at all. This is the starting-point for some of the beautiful modern work in silver and gold shown at Buffalo. I was particularly impressed with this fact in looking at the special display of the Gor-

TRADE MARK
MARTELÉ
950-1000 FINE.

arts can be maintained without the constant and sympathetic association of men trained with a definite purpose and high aims, this company has for many years had its own school of design. Here every encouragement and opportunity has been given to native talent, while at the same time the best designers of the world have been invited to contribute their ideas. In no sense has their work ever been allowed to become merely the copying of accepted standards of designs. An appeal is made for individual expression, and it is to this that the Gorham product owes its distinctive reputation.

No more beautiful examples of the delicate handiwork of the silversmith have ever been shown than the exquisite Martelé exhibited by the Gorham Company at the Pan-American Exposition. These are in every sense creations. Each individual piece is beaten out of the bullion with all of the nicety of touch, the feeling for form, and the appreciation of beauty in the love-

ly surfaces of the metal itself, that the sculptor knows in dealing with the rarest marble. It is by such work as this that artisanship is raised above the more ordinary place it usually holds in our minds as identified chiefly with the utilitarian, and becomes allied with the fine arts. Every example of Martelé is unique. There is no possibility of exact repetition, for each piece is the embodiment and realization of a particular artistic conception. There can be nothing of the formal stereotyped design in this work.

Every great business is so full of the vitality that has gone into its upbuilding, and is so representative of the men who have made it possible, that it is always an interesting human document. We are all more or less interested in learning something of the way a large enterprise has grown, something of the methods, the character, and training of the men who are behind it. From a knowledge of its history we can trace those elements that have contributed to its advancement and given it a place before the world as an example of the value of purpose, business integrity, and wise administration.

The policy of the Gorham Company, directed by its president, Mr. Edward Holbrook, who is himself a graduate from its ranks, has always been one that includes among its principles a care for the comfort and well-being of its aids. The assumption is that every individual unit is a worthy part of the entire organization, and that only by conserving the spirit of unity and encouraging personal pride in even the humblest service, can the best results be obtained. This is not philanthropy, but simply a wise and genuine feeling of human fellowship and mutual dependence.

TRADE MARK
STERLING
925-1000 FINE.

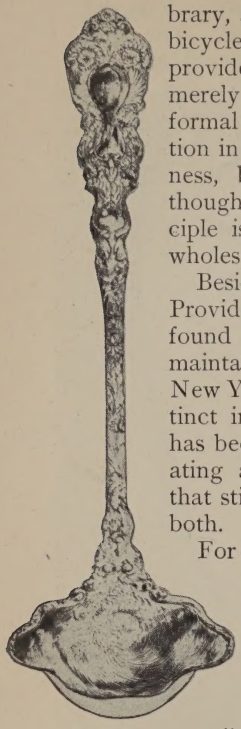
From the little old-fashioned frame house in Providence where the founder of the Gorham Company began work in 1831 the business has expanded until it occupies a great factory covering several acres. With the demand for increased space and new buildings came the problem of planning every detail of construction with a view to providing the best and most sanitary conditions for conducting the new work.

Nothing was willingly left undone that should contribute to this end. The working comfort of the employees upon whose

Ewer-Martelé

faithful service so much of every business success depends was a first consideration.

In furtherance of a closer relationship and a more general feeling of mutual interest, the president has erected, at his own cost, a casino where all the workers may meet on a common footing. Here are lecture-rooms, a finely equipped li-

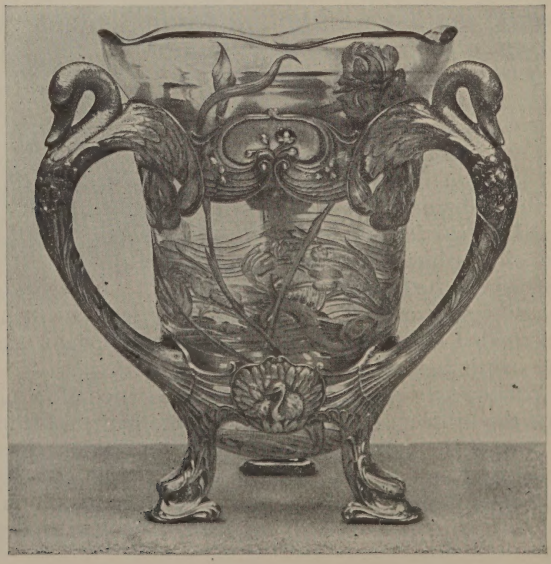


brary, a place for the storage of bicycles, and a restaurant that provides for the inner man at a merely nominal cost. There is no formal declaration of co-operation in the conduct of this business, but it is evident to the thoughtful observer that the principle is carried out in its most wholesome and enduring way.

Besides the great works in Providence, the Company has found it advisable also to maintain a large factory in New York. This, quite distinct in its administration, has been the means of creating a wholesome rivalry that stimulates the work of both.

For the distribution of the immense output of the Gorham works, large branch wholesale houses are maintained in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, while the fine retail stores in New York, notably the one that is such a familiar landmark on Broadway at the corner of Nineteenth Street, have long been looked upon not only as places where every possible taste in silverware might be gratified, but, too, as attractive public exhibitions where visitors may always see the newest and most representative examples of the silversmith's art. A trade-mark is justly looked upon as a synonym of business character. It readily assumes the value of a maker's personal endorsement. Those of the Gorham Company, one with the familiar lion, anchor, and letter G, together with the word Sterling and 925-1000 fine, the other with the same symbols surmounted by an eagle, with the word Martelé and 950-1000 fine below, are accepted the world over as an absolute guarantee of the intrinsic as well as of the artistic value of every piece that bears them. This makes it easy for buyers and jewelers who sell Gorham Silver to avoid any question regarding the quality of their wares. By its beauty of design and exquisite workmanship Gorham Silver has always appealed especially to the connoisseur and art lover. At the recent Paris Exposition, where all things artistic came before what is considered the most discriminating art tribunal in the world, the Gorham Company's exhibit was deemed worthy of the very high honor of a Grand Prize.

Loving Cup



Glass and Silver Martelé

The tragedy that fell upon this country early in the month, the week that followed while the nation waited by the bedside of its dying President, the sad ending in the early morning of the now memorable fourteenth of September—all this has properly taken the attention of the American people to the exclusion of all other questions. The North American Review, in common with the universal sympathy, mourns its dead ruler. The tragedy is yet too close at hand to say anything of William McKinley—who has so suddenly, so recently gone from his work—except that a brave man is dead, and that he was as great in his death as in his life. Later, we shall attempt to tell of the man who has gone.

We can, however, open the columns of this number to a consideration of the social forces which have made this senseless murder possible. The two leading articles of the Review discuss this question from two widely different, but equally important points of view—the legal and philosophical.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

S. C. T. Dodd

was born February 20, 1836, in Franklin, Pa. He graduated from Jefferson College in 1857, and spent the next two years in studying law at his home in Franklin. From 1859 to 1881 he practiced law in his native place, and in the latter year was appointed General Solicitor of the Standard Oil Company, which position he has filled from that time to the present. He organized the Standard Oil Trust in 1882. Mr. Dodd is unquestionably the best living authority on the State laws of the United States, especially with regard to corporations; but his wide knowledge of the legislative history of the States of the Union, the difficulties of unanimous action on the part of the States, the complications arising from conflicting laws on general subjects, such as matters referring

to corporation laws, to divorce, anarchy, etc., make his opinions on such subjects more valuable than those of any other one man.

CHARLES JOHNSTON,

the distinguished British author on economic questions, was born in Ballykilbeg, County Down, Ireland, February 17, 1867. He came to the United States and took out naturalization papers in 1896. In the REVIEW for September, 1900, he contributed an article on "Nihilism and Anarchy."

THE MOST REVEREND JOHN IRELAND,

Archbishop of St. Paul, contributed an article in the March, 1901, issue of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, where an extensive biographical note will be found.

GEORGE L. RIVES.

The four articles published in this number of the REVIEW under the general heading of "Vital Phases of Modern City Government, With Special Reference to New York City," will attract considerable attention at this moment in view of the coming elections in New York City, and because, applying as they do more or less directly to the government of the first city of the United States, they also discuss questions which are quite as important to other great cities of the country.

Mr. Rives, the eminent New York lawyer, was born in New York on May 1, 1849. He graduated from Columbia College in 1868, and from Trinity College, Cambridge, England, in 1872. Returning to America, he entered the Columbia Law School, in 1873. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1874, and has continued to practice in the city since then. In 1900 Mr. Rives was chosen President of the Commission to Revise the Greater New York Charter. The work which as president of that commission he carried out and which resulted in the new charter for New York City going into effect with the Mayor who will be elected in November of this year, as well as the fact that Mr. Rives is himself candidate for the office of Mayor, makes the article of the utmost significance and value.

BIRD S. COLER

was chosen Comptroller of Greater New York at the first election held to fill the municipal offices in the new and enlarged city. The duties of this position he has discharged with conspicuous ability and fearless fidelity to the interests

of the people. He has kept a close eye upon the working of the charter under which the various boroughs were consolidated into one municipality, and he made valuable suggestions and recommendations to the commission appointed to revise the New York City Charter in 1900, many of these being put forth in an article which appeared in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for June, 1900.

FRANK MOSS,

the distinguished New York lawyer, was born March 16, 1860, at Cold Spring, New York. He was educated in New York at the College of the City of New York, and practised law here until, in 1897, he was appointed President of the Board of Police of New York City. His experience in this position, and later as counsel to the Lexow Investigation Committee in 1899, to the Mazet Investigating Committee, and to the Society for the Prevention of Crime, have all placed the history and the workings of the New York municipal police at his command.

WALTER L. HAWLEY.

A biographical note regarding Mr. Hawley will be found in the REVIEW for August, 1900.

CLINTON E. DAWKINS,

the eminent English financier, was born in 1859, and educated at Cheltenham College and Balliol College, Oxford, receiving his B. A. in 1882. In 1895 he became Under-Secretary of State for Finance in Egypt. His experience in this office gave him rare opportunities to become master of the situation in Egypt at a time when the finances of that country appeared likely to cause estrangement, if not war, between France and Great Britain. Mr. Dawkins is, therefore, eminently fitted to contribute to the series of articles running in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, under the title of "The Debts of the Nations," the present article on "The Egyptian Public Debt." After finishing his work in Egypt, Mr. Dawkins was appointed financial member of the Council of the Governor General of India in 1899, and he stands at present as perhaps the leading banker and financier in England.

MRS. KATE GANNETT WELLS,

the daughter of the well known Unitarian clergyman of Boston, Rev. Ezra Stiles Gannett, was born in England in 1838. She has lived in Boston most of her life, and is well known

throughout the United States as one of the ablest essayists and writers upon educational and religious topics in this country. She is a distinguished member of the American Unitarian Association, and also a member of the Massachusetts State Board of Education.

F. York Powell,

Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University since 1894, is one of the most eminent historians at present connected with Oxford. He was educated at Rugby and at Christ Church, Oxford, became a barrister of the Middle Temple in 1874, and then tutor, law lecturer and student at Christ Church, and lecturer upon history at Trinity College, Oxford. He is the editor and author of numerous historical works, including a history of Alfred the Great and William the Conqueror. Prof. York Powell was one of the delegates appointed by the University of Oxford to attend the Alfred Millenary Commemoration.

W. D. McCrackan,

a short biographical note of whose career was published in the August, 1901, issue of the Review, contributed an article entitled "The Simple Logic of Christian Science" in that number, which attracted much attention as a reply to an article by Dr. J. M. Buckley, published in the preceding number. Dr. Buckley, writing a second article on "The Phantom Fortress of Christian Science," replied in turn to Mr. McCrackan, in the September issue, and now, in the present issue, Mr. McCrackan gives a final word on his side of the question. In these four articles, two upon each side of the question, the Review has opened its columns to probably the most exhaustive discussion of the subject that has appeared in current periodicals. And with this final word, the discussion is closed.

H. B. Marriott Watson,

the well known English novelist and author, was born at Caulfield, Melbourne, December 20, 1863. He was educated at the Grammar School, Christ Church, New Zealand, and at Canterbury College, and in 1885 came to England, taking up journalism as a profession the following year. He is one of the leading younger novelists of England to-day.

H. G. Wells.

A short note regarding Mr. Wells will be found in the Review for August, 1900.

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CONGRESS AND ANARCHY: A SUGGESTION.

BY S. C. T. DODD, GENERAL SOLICITOR OF THE STANDARD OIL CO.

THE desirability of securing uniformity throughout the Union in the laws regulating trade, commerce, marriage and divorce, citizenship, and the treatment of such diseases as insanity and phthisis has been increasingly apparent in recent years. Some progress has been made in this direction. In many of the States practically uniform enactments have been made as to rules affecting commercial paper, and, since the recent cases of kidnapping, numerous measures of severity have been introduced into the legislatures of Iowa, Wisconsin, South Dakota, North Dakota and Wyoming, as well as of some Eastern States.

Uniformity of State legislation can only be obtained by the legislatures of all the States passing and their Governors signing laws which shall be essentially identical. That this should be done so far as concerns the regulation of marriage and divorce, insanity, the conditions of State citizenship, arrest of the person and attachment of property, the qualifications for the right to practice certain professions, the crime of kidnapping, and perhaps the use of hypnotism and the custody and treatment of the sufferers from phthisis, many authorities agree. Under the Constitution of the United States these subjects can be dealt with only by the sovereign States.

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So far, experience has shown it to be so difficult as to be almost impossible to bring about the passage of uniform State laws.

It is true that a German Code of Commerce, drawn under a resolution of the Frankfort Diet, some years ago, was enacted into law by the legislative bodies of the practically independent German states. This, it has been argued, shows that communities connected by bonds of trade, and of a common race and speech, can be bound still more closely by common laws.

It is also true that the States of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia and New York have appointed Commissioners, from year to year in the past decade, to devise a plan for securing uniform State legislation, and that these Commissioners have had a number of meetings, at some of which as many as thirty-one States have been represented.

But no uniform law has yet been enacted.

There are "many men of many minds" in each of the two bodies which constitute each State legislature; and there are forty-six States.

How mighty must be the impulse, and how far reaching, that will impress with a common purpose and a common zeal the majority in each of these double legislatures!

The universal detestation felt for the crimes of anarchy might suffice to ensure this result. Had every State legislature been in session when the attempt was made on the life of President McKinley, in Buffalo, had practiced hands prepared immediately and presented to all the legislatures a uniform enactment against anarchistic incitement to crime, against attempts at violence in pursuance of such incitement, as well as against the overt act of assassination itself, then in the heat of popular indignation all the legislatures might have passed and all the Governors signed such a bill. And yet had laws been passed under the hurried pressure of such excitement, the courts called upon to construe them would probably have found them contravening that provision of our Constitution which permits a freedom of speech by many believed to be dangerous.

The difficulty of securing uniform State legislation upon any subject leads many to advocate such amendments of the Federal Constitution as will enable Congress to legislate upon many subjects now forbidden to it. But to secure an amendment to the

Constitution enlarging the powers of Congress will be found as difficult, I may almost say as impossible, as to secure uniform State laws. In order to become an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, a measure must be proposed by both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds majority, or by a convention called on application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States, and after being so proposed must be introduced into the legislatures of all the States and be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. Considering the views of the people of at least one-third of the States upon the question of State sovereignty, it is doubtful whether the Constitution will ever again be amended so as to increase Federal power.

It has been suggested that attempts upon the life of the President and other high officials be made treason. This would be impossible without an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which defines treason to consist only in levying war upon the United States or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

Neither can freedom of speech nor of the press be abridged without an amendment to the Constitution.

It is fortunately not necessary to wait for uniform State legislation nor an amendment of the Federal Constitution in order to take steps which might prove efficacious against the hideous crime of anarchy.

There is in the Government of the United States an inherent power to deal practically with anarchists.

This power is clear when anarchists assault or threaten to assault officials of the Government in the discharge of the official duties.

"It is inherent in the executive department of any Government to protect itself" (L. R. A., vol. 5., p. 91). It is the duty of the President, under Article II., Section 3, of the Constitution, to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," wherever he may be. It was said that "the Chambers of the Judge are wherever he happens to be in his Circuit" (in re Neagle), in which case the United States Circuit Court in California held United States Marshal Neagle not answerable to the State tribunals, and to have been acting only in accordance with his duty as a Federal peace officer, when, on August 14, 1889, he shot and killed Judge Terry as the latter was in the act of assaulting Justice Stephen Field.

The President's obligation to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" rests on him wherever he is in the United States. The inherent power of the Government to protect his person seems to follow him.

In *Ex Parte Siebold* the Supreme Court of the United States declared:

"We hold it to be an incontrovertible principle that the Government of the United States may, by means of physical force, exercised through its official agents, execute on every foot of American soil the powers and functions that belong to it." Is not the power of self-protection the chief of these?

If the power of appointment of United States peace officers to guard the President should be held not clear under existing statutes, "Congress has power," the Supreme Court of the United States decided in *Ex Parte Royal* (17 U. S., 249) "to pass all laws necessary and proper to carry into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States."

Congress certainly has power, if severer laws are necessary, to make all attempts upon the life of the President of the United States, or other high officials, including all conspiracies of a like nature, punishable with death. It also has power to prevent the importation into the United States of persons known to hold anarchistic sentiments, whose presence would be dangerous to our peace and security.

The present emergency demands Federal rather than State legislation, and need not await the delay and uncertainty of Constitutional amendment.

S. C. T. Dodd.

THE ANARCHISTS AND THE PRESIDENT.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

JUST a year ago, in a study of Nihilism and Anarchy, a comparison was drawn between the great Russian movement of twenty years ago and the present condition of international unrest, with its series of sensational attacks against the rulers of states, whether monarchies or republics. During that brief period of twelve months there have been added to the already long list of homicidal attempts three more crimes against the heads of states: Sipido's shooting at the King of England, the almost maniacal attack on the German Emperor, and, finally, the tragedy at Buffalo—all in line with the previous outbreaks of anarchical passion, which had as their instruments Caserio, Luccheni and Bresci, and as their victims the French President, the Austrian Empress, and the King of Italy. Unhappily, this regular progression in violence is a fulfillment of a prophecy embodied in the essay above mentioned: that, as the causes which engender anarchy were increasing rather than decreasing, no cessation of these wild outbursts was to be expected or could reasonably be hoped for. Recent events show that this is tragically true still; the causes which make for anarchy are waxing rather than waning.

A main difference between the great movement which culminated in the Nihilism of the Russian Terrorists and the present spread of anarchy was then pointed out: the abundance of intellectual force and culture among the Russians—visible not less in the writers of that movement, like Hertzen, Stepniak and Kropotkin, than in the workers, like Bakunin, Vera Zassulich, Sophie Perovskaya, Geliaboff, and so many others—so strongly contrasted with the evident ignorance and intellectual poverty of unfortunates like Bresci, Sipido, Caserio and Luccheni. This difference

in moral equipment as was natural led to a wide difference in method. The Russian movement was marvelously organized, with a strong central Executive Committee, regular officers, and a system of correspondence and communication almost as complete as the bureaucracy of the Russian government against which it had proclaimed war. The anarchists seem to be without any close affiliation or defined plans, or any clear conceptions for the future beyond their lurid utopian dreams.

In reality this lack of organization, this poverty of intellectual light and leading, makes the working of anarchy very much more formidable. The sporadic occurrence of anarchical passion in so many different lands, under such contrasted forms of governments, points to conditions far more serious and dangerous than the successful propaganda of a few masterful spirits. This movement is not the outcome of the genius of a few Hertzens and Bakunins; it is the tragical harvest of ancient seeds of evil sown long ago in medieval Europe and now coming to life and growth not only in Europe but in America. For those who have eyes to see, and not merely wrath to denounce, these terrible outbreaks are but the visible signs of conditions very widespread, conditions of terrible hardship and oppression, even of grinding, heartbreaking suffering; and it is impossible not to look forward with the gloomiest apprehension to the results of these conditions in the future and even more to the results of the widespread cry for vengeance which the outbreaks of anarchy have evoked.

We gain our first clear insight into the causes of anarchy when we consider the nationality of its militant apostles. Caserio, Luccheni, Bresci, Sipido—all Italians—are but the most desperate and despairing sons of a nation whose peasants have long suffered and at this moment suffer almost measureless deprivations, exactions and oppressions. Writer after writer has described for us with that unanimous testimony which is the voice of truth itself the degradation, spiritual, moral and material, of the Italian peasants and working classes; the wretched hovels they dwell in amid squalor and filth, the foul food which they are driven to as sole means of sustenance, the grinding oppression of the system under which they live, compelled out of the meagre pittance they wring from the overtaxed earth to support two great classes in idleness and luxury—the land owners and the administrators—officeholders multiplied indefinitely, for

the salaries they are to receive, not for the services they are to render. Read the horrible pictures of peasant life which d'Annunzio has painted. Compare them with the vignettes of squalid misery occasionally inserted by Marion Crawford among his magnificent portraits of princes and grandees of Quirinal or Vatican, and one is filled with horror and despondency to think that twenty centuries of Christianity in the oldest of Christian countries have done so little to mitigate this boundless suffering; that human beings with hearts and souls like ourselves can be condemned to such seemingly issueless misery. It is the old bad division into masters and serfs continued by evil fate into our modern world of freedom and humane liberty for all; it is the grasping selfishness of those who will not work contriving by a hundred artifices to fix themselves parasite-like on the lives of those who toil. The earth, mother of all and ready to render sustenance to all, is by force of arms monopolized by a few powerful families, who do not till the land themselves and only allow their fellow men to sow and reap on condition of servitude—the payment of never-ceasing tribute—for which nothing is given in return.

Besides this first tribute to the "land owners," there is the second tribute to the administration; and this double levy the Italian peasant, had he the best will in the world, is simply unable to pay, or is able to pay only at the cost of such suffering and hardship as reduce him to the level, or below the level, of a beast of burden. We are accustomed to the spectacle of Italian immigrants, poor, illiterate, unkempt, furtive; we must remember that only the most vigorous emigrate, and from the condition of these we can infer the misery of those who are left behind. Their passionate love of their fair motherland leads many to return; they can do this the more easily because the almost universal poverty around their homes enhances their savings to the position of comparative wealth.

The mention of immigration reminds us that we have here a very delicate barometer of the poverty of European countries, a gauge whereby we can estimate the intensity of the struggle for life in those older lands to which our whole white population may look back as their original homes. Thus the famine in Ireland brought almost two million immigrants from that country within a few years. The increase of commercial competition,

added to military burdens, then gave the palm to Germany. Now Italy leads, sending nearly a hundred thousand immigrants yearly to our shores. When we think of the long struggle with poverty which must precede the determination of a passionately home-loving people to sell all their possessions and seek refuge across the seas, we have an index of the condition of peasant life in Italy, a window through which we can see at work the forces which engender desperate anarchists like Caserio, Sipido, Bresci and Luccheni.

Next after the Italians the Slavs, including Poles, Bohemians and Slovaks, are the most numerous contingent among our present immigrants. As yet they are only half as numerous as the Italians, but they are already as numerous as the Germans and Irish together—a striking proof of the shifting of storm-pressure in the Old World. From this Slavonic contingent the actors in the Buffalo tragedy seem to have been entirely drawn. Here is a new page in the history of anarchy, very strongly reminiscent of the old Nihilist days. We have the same types of personalities and names—Polish, Slovak, Russian, or Jewish—which Nihilism made us so familiar with; the same super-excited, inflammable temperaments, half-dreamer, half-revolutionary, and the same real misery as the underlying cause and motive-power. For it has become very evident that these masses of Italian and Slavonic immigrants sent forth from their motherlands by the grinding deprivations of their lives have brought with them not only their languages and mental idiosyncrasies, but the whole psychic atmosphere of their homes; so that we have districts of Poland and Bohemia and Italy with all their bitter memories caught up, as it were, and carried bodily through the air to this country. The impress of oppression has worn too deep to be easily cast off, and the difficulty of establishing themselves in a new country is often construed by them as a continuation of the old bad forces which drove them forth from their homes. Therefore, we see that the anarchists of this country, and especially those of the class to which Czolgosz belongs—Slavs, Polish and Russian Jews—are in no sense a product of American conditions, but rather a growth transplanted from the Old World, where they were engendered not through any diabolic malice of their own, but as the result of dreadfully burdensome conditions of life, steadily accumulated and added to since the red days of medieval Europe.

It is a startling reminder to us of the endless complexity of life in the United States—this presence among us of numberless miniatures of older European lands, clinging to their own tongues and customs, and still haunted by wraiths and vampires that drove them forth from their homes. The States are, indeed, nothing but such a composite, a congeries of fragments broken from Britain, Germany, Italy, Ireland—every land in the Old World. Bringing with them their contribution of new inhabitants, they have brought with them not less their store of old evils, their scars burned into heart and mind, their old furtive habits of fear and the thirst for vengeance on the oppressor. In two or three generations this inherited virus will wear itself out, and we shall have a new race with new vital forces drawn from our prolific and teeming land, and cherished by the spirit of humane and generous liberty which is the deep inspiration of the New World. The welcome which this country has given to the oppressed of every nation will be amply repaid, and the pressure of example will slowly, but not less surely, lighten the heavy burdens of those who remain behind, unable or unwilling to cross the ocean and seek new homes on virgin soil. We shall not talk in a spirit of silly vanity of beating Europe in competition, but, remembering that one or another part of Europe is the motherland of each and all of us, the home of our fathers for countless generations, we shall view the old lands more generously, and therefore more justly, ready to give rather than to receive, and seeing that true pre-eminence consists in worthy service.

These islands of the Old World, therefore, thus transplanted to our midst, with the murky clouds still hanging about them, are the hotbeds of anarchy in this country, and in every case those among whom the anarchical spirit is strongest are the sons and daughters of races which have most heavily suffered, ground down under injustice and oppression. Poles, robbed of their place and nation, forced to lose their own character and blend themselves with Russians, German or Austrian Teutons and Magyars, have within them the gnawing hunger for national life and the free expression of their peculiar genius; their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched; with their strong and excitable imaginations, their vivid fancy and quick, passionate tempers, they are like tinder only waiting for the spark to kindle them to revolt—revolt against the whole world and the system

which has fallen with such crushing weight upon their own land; or Jews from the ghettos of Eastern Europe, sore with unnumbered slights and degradations, feeling themselves looked down upon and shunned, and feeling, too, within them the rare genius and fire of their most gifted nation, their nervous, over-sensitive natures easily wrought up to frenzy by the memory of old evils or the picture of fancied wrongs; or sons of Italian peasants, looking back to the hovels and squalor they have left behind, and feeling the keen degradation still resting upon their kindred at home—these are the men and women from whom the anarchist centers are recruited, who make up the groups we hear so much of in these days, the anarchist clubs seemingly found in every chief city of the Union.

What, then, is the remedy for all this? Shall it be drawn from the Old Testament or the New? Shall we try once again the bad old law of retaliation—eye for eye and tooth for tooth—formally and categorically repealed in the Sermon on the Mount, or shall we take the better way, the way of generous sympathy, and, seeing the source of anarchy in the boundless oppression and injustice of systems still lingering in the Old World, shall we also see the cure in steady progress in humanity and enlightenment, in mutual understanding and help, in the idea that eminence consists not in wealth but in the service of others—the one and only patent of true nobility?

It is a frightful thing to see such outbreaks of homicidal violence on the part of the poor and unprivileged, the neglected and oppressed of the earth, as we had in the attacks on the French President, the Austrian Empress, the Kings of Italy and England, the Emperor of Germany, and now the President of the United States. But even more shocking, more discreditable to our humanity, more unworthy of our twenty centuries of Christian faith, is the almost universal cry for vengeance, for the infliction of cruel and inhuman penalties on those who perpetrate these crimes, for their extermination, as though they were evil beasts and not immortal souls—blinded and sinning, it is true, but not the less immortal. That outcry is the real anarchy, the real and formidable evil. The failure to see that these unhappy plotters of violence are the victims of evils from which we have happily escaped, the failure to see that it is our duty to help them and the whole class from which they spring—the servile

class in all European lands, and especially in those lands which have suffered most—the failure to deal generously even in imagination and understanding, if not in act with these unprivileged ones, and the cowardly cry for revenge, for blood, for extermination of these poor creatures—this is true anarchy, and a most formidable menace for the days to come!

It was just this spirit of panic cowardice masquerading as a fine sense of justice which drove the Russian Nihilists into frenzies of crime, into cruel and atrocious retaliations. And we may say, with the certainty of seeing our words made good by facts, that the same fierce and cruel spirit of repression will bring forth the same evil fruit once again, that violence will engender violence, that hate will sow the seeds of hate. Generous human sympathy is the one and only cure for human evil, and no craven fear for our own comfort and well-being should chill our hearts and check that sympathy. Thus only shall we escape the doom pronounced on those who, through vileness, make the great betrayal. If it was the panic fear of the Russian administration which drove the Terrorists to their fiercest excesses, not less was it the serene and quiet courage of Alexander III. that restored health to the body politic of Russia. And so it will be again. Every real and sincere attempt to lighten the burden of those who toil, to see their lives as we see our own, to make allowance and deal generously, is a step toward the eradication of anarchy. Every deed of violence in the outraged name of justice breeds anarchy, and is anarchy itself.

The thought that human wrong can be righted by new wrong, that violence and oppression are cures for social ills, is anarchy itself, whether it be embodied in some hunted fugitive of justice, or in the person of one sworn to administer justice. Hatred ceases not by hatred. Hatred ceases only by love. On whom is it most incumbent to remember this—on the unprivileged alien, son of a race for ages downtrodden and oppressed, or on those who have every gift of prosperity and culture, on whom fortune seems to have poured forth all her treasures? The really gloomy and formidable fact called forth by the recent anarchist outbreaks is not the spread of revolutionary ideas amongst the masses, but the spirit of anarchy amongst those who have every privilege, their appeal to violence as the cure for violence, their cry for vengeance, for cruel and exemplary punishments of those

who already have suffered much. What is the difference in spirit between these three—the anarchist who thinks the dagger and the bullet will right human wrongs, the prosperous person who cries out for vengeance and violent death as the cure for anarchy, and the citizen who takes the law into his own hands and lynches some negro guilty or suspected of assault, torturing him with a fiendish cruelty which no anarchist has ever been guilty of? Is not the same spirit present in all three?

While the horrible anarchy of negro-burning remains as a stain upon the United States we would do well to speak less of anarchists brought here from the older countries across the seas. The methods of these are merciful compared with the fiendish cruelty of the stake thus frightfully revived in our own days; while the claim that the individual may take the law into his own hands and inflict the death penalty without the law makes anarchists of both lyncher and assassin alike. If cruelty and violence be resorted to as the cure for anarchy, we shall have instead of the hoped-for cure a fresh crop of violence and cruelty, fresh outbreaks more frequent and more widespread, until some man of true courage and wide vision arises, as Alexander III. arose in Nihilist-haunted Russia—some man who, in a generous and wise spirit, shall set himself to remedy those ills through which anarchists are bred, and thus with the cause of the disease shall take away the symptoms, bringing peace to the nations and to himself lasting honor among the great ones of the earth.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

PERSONAL LIBERTY AND LABOR STRIKES.

BY THE MOST REVEREND JOHN IRELAND, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL.

THE most sacred inheritance of the citizen is personal liberty. The right to employ his powers as he wills, to dispose of his affairs as he wills, save only in so far as it is limited by the rights of others, or the welfare of the community—this is nature's gift to man. "All men are born equal." By nature no man is endowed with authority over his fellows; no man is warranted in depriving his fellows of one jot or tittle of their liberty. Civil society, indeed, is superior to the individual citizen, and in certain circumstances may abridge his liberty. Civil society, however, is endowed with this privileged pre-eminence for the sole purpose of rendering secure the personal liberty of its members by fostering among them the spirit of reciprocal justice, and repressing attempts on the part of some to invade the rights of others. If a fraction of this personal liberty is surrendered by the individual citizen to civil society, this is only with a view to the better protection of the .reminder; and, even then, what is surrendered to civil society is what is strictly needed for its corporate life and integrity, so much and no more—so inalienable by will of nature and of nature's God is the boon of personal liberty!

Personal liberty is the sovereign end and aim of civil society. It is in civil society that personal liberty finds its safeguard against anarchy, the deadly foe, whose reign is that of might over right, of the strong over the weak, of the animal over the rational man.

Where personal liberty is violated—be the citizen who is the victim of lawlessness the poorest of the poor, the lowliest of the lowly—if civil society were to tolerate the outrage, it would betray its mission and forfeit the trust of its members who recognize in the liberty of one the liberty of all.

I desire to deal in particular with such violations of personal liberty as are not unfrequently attendant upon strikes of labor unions.

Usually, when a strike is entered upon by a union, measures are at once taken to prevent non-union workmen, or such union workmen as may not be in sympathy with the strike, from offering their labor to employers blacklisted by the edict of the union.

Although the recent strike of the Amalgamated Steel Association has been, in comparison with other strikes the records of which are not out of memory, free from acts of violence to persons or to property and from other riotous excesses, yet numerous incidents have occurred which challenge the serious attention of the upholders of personal liberty. In the districts covered by the strike hundreds of men willing to work have not been allowed to work. The approaches to the mills have been picketed by relays of strikers. Non-union men seeking to enter have been set upon and forced to retrace their steps, under penalty of bodily injury. When occasionally by stealth and ruse a few succeeded in evading the vigilance of the picketing lines, they were as prisoners in a jail, not daring to venture out and only with much difficulty providing themselves with the necessaries of life. At railroad stations and in streets men known or supposed to be non-union men have been pelted with stones, policemen being powerless to defend them even by making a display of bludgeons and firearms. In some cases non-union men have been kidnapped and locked up in hotels or empty storehouses; in other cases they have been roughly handled and badly beaten, specially harsh treatment being reserved for negroes who happened to appear on the scene. One Sunday morning in Chicago a squad of non-union men who had been imprisoned during the preceding week within their mill enclosures had the hardihood to believe that they would be secure from attack while going to hear mass in a neighboring church: they had to run the gauntlet of sticks and blows and were forced to regain hurriedly their hiding places.

In these and similar incidents the sufferers were not merely those who were the immediate victims of violence and of intimidation, but the much larger number of people throughout the country, who, were it not for the menace and injury that awaited them, would have come forward and obtained employment.

I am not discussing the question of strikes in the abstract,

apart from incidents such as I now record; much less am I discussing the question of labor unions, to which I could readily assign numerous useful and praiseworthy purposes. I confine myself to those acts of violence and of intimidation which usually accompany strikes. Such acts, I assert, we cannot too strongly reprobate; nor can we, for the sake of public order and of personal liberty, be too zealous in awakening public opinion in condemnation of them.

That such acts constitute utter lawlessness edicts of legislators and decisions of courts leave no room for doubt. The English statute of 1875, known as "The Conspiracy and Protection Act" —a law, by the way, passed for the express purpose of enlarging the legal rights of labor unions in connection with strikes, and for this reason welcomed by the unions—so clearly sets forth what occurrences are to be taken as running counter to law in England, and so fully summarizes the sense of the scattered enactments and decisions of our legislatures and courts in America that I take the liberty of quoting from it at some length:

"Section 7. Every person who with a view to compel any other person to abstain from doing or to do any act which such other person has a legal right to do or abstain from doing, wrongfully and without legal authority.

"1. Uses violence or intimidates such other person, or his wife, or children, or injures his property, or,

"2. Persistently follows such other person about from place to place, or,

"3. Hides any tools, clothes, or other property, owned or used by such other person, or deprives him of, or hinders him in the use thereof, or,

"4. Watches or besets the house or other place where such other person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, or the approach to such house, or place, or,

"5. Follows such person with two or more other persons in a disorderly manner in or through any street or road, shall on conviction be punished as provided," etc.

As to legislation in America, instances of laws and of decisions in a few of the States speak for the whole country.

In the State of Pennsylvania the statute on labor, most liberal as it is granted to be in its concessions to strikers, concludes with these words:

"Provided, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the prosecution and punishment under existent laws of any person or persons who shall in any way hinder persons who desire to labor for their employers, from so doing, or other persons from being employed as laborers." (Penn. Laws, 1875.)

In South Carolina, in 1894, an injunction was issued against strikers who conspired to prevent the employer from employing workmen other than those suggested by the employees, and endeavored to accomplish their purpose "by threats, menaces, intimidations and opprobrious epithets addressed to plaintiff company's officers and workmen, and by gathering in crowds about the company's place of business and at the boarding places of their workmen, and by following said workmen to and from their work, stopping them on the highways, interfering with them in their work, and by holding them up to ridicule and contempt of bystanders."

The principle which underlies these and similar laws has been admirably enunciated by a judge of the State of Massachusetts (Carew vs. Rutherford), "Freedom is the policy of this country. But freedom does not imply a right in one person, either alone or in combination with others, to disturb or annoy another, either directly or indirectly, in his lawful business or occupation, for the sake of compelling him to buy his peace."

Such acts of violence and intimidation as are covered by the enactments and decisions quoted are, for the most part, far less detrimental to personal liberty than those that have been happening under our own eyes. Strange indeed is it that such things should be in America, the country of all countries where personal liberty is supposed to be most sacredly safeguarded. More strange still is it that such things are tolerated by State authorities who are either unwilling or unable to repress them!

A man's right to work is one of the most intimate rights of his being. It is the right to the exercise of his mental and bodily faculties. It is more—it is the right to his life, which depends for sustenance on the fruits of his labor. It is, for the same reason, the right of his wife and children to their lives. Of this right no man can with any shadow of equity deprive another; neither can any man by his own authority dictate to another when and how this right is to be used, else this other were his subject, his slave. And when in order to deprive a man of this right violence is done to him and bodily injury inflicted, then there is no measure to the injustice put upon him; all semblance of liberty is effaced; physical force becomes the ruling law in the relations of man to man.

Nor is it to be said that what is denied to one man may be

allowed to many banded together in associations or unions. Voluntary associations of citizens possess no right which is not inherent in the members as individuals. Associations, or unions, are mere aggregations of private citizens having no rights other than such as belong to private citizens.

I should be sorry to say a single word against the personal liberty of the strikers themselves, or of their friends. I should willingly allow them to use all peaceful means to lay their case before non-union workmen, to argue with them persuasively and eloquently, with a view to win their sympathy and co-operation. Neither should I object to the practice of picketing, so long as the purpose of picketing be merely to gain knowledge of the movements of employers or of non-union workers. But farther than this I cannot go. Where intimidation begins, where physical violence is brought into play, or where threats are used likely to put non-union workers in reasonable fear of life, limb or property —there must I stop, in obedience to the imperative dictates of natural justice and of Christian morality.

This is the position taken by men who are recognized to be among the distinguished moralists of the day. Father Matteo Liberatore, in his "Principles of Political Economy," dealing with the evils accompanying strikes, writes as follows:

"Worst of all is the iniquitous and brutal terrorism by which they (the strikers) compel their comrades to join them. If some workmen think it better to continue working on the same terms as before, what right have the others to force them into the strike by threats, insults and bad usage? Are they not free agents in their own affairs, to act as they think best? This is an unjust claim, an offence against the liberty of the subject, a disturbance of public peace, and deserves the utmost rigor of the law."

A higher authority than Father Liberatore is Leo XIII. In a letter addressed by him in 1888 to the Episcopate of Ireland on the system of boycotting which the Land League—with most admirable intentions, though with mistaken views of distributive justice—put in vogue in that country, the Sovereign Pontiff declares:

"It is in every way abhorrent to natural justice and Christian charity that those should be pursued by a novel kind of persecution and interdict (boycotting), who either are content with

the rents which they have agreed upon with the landlords of the estates and prefer to pay them, or who take empty farms as they have a right to do."

The argument of Leo plainly is that no private person, no association of private persons, however large and influential its membership, should attempt to prevent others from doing what they have a natural and legal right to do. That this argument which so forcibly vindicates the principle of personal liberty finds its application in the labor boycott of American strikers, as it did in the land boycott of Irish Land Leaguers, is easily seen.

To men who are entering upon a strike it should be clear that in preventing others from working they are acting in direct contradiction to the very principle of personal liberty, in virtue of which they justify themselves in ceasing to work. When individual workmen or combinations of workmen refuse to continue to work, no one claims the right to compel them to work, for the simple reason that in the enjoyment of their personal liberty they are free to work or not to work. But, evidently, the corollary of this is that men who choose to work must be allowed to work. Not many years ago an association of workmen initiating a strike had reason to expect summary treatment from law courts, prone as these were to interpret in a manner unfavorable to such collective action the various so-called Conspiracy Statutes strewn over the pages of English and American law books. Against such statutes and against the interpretations usually attached to them the friends of labor waged unceasing war in the name of personal liberty with the result that now, except in cases involving a breach of contract or entailing serious damage on public interests, labor unions may without risk of incurring the displeasure of the law initiate a strike and continue it as long as they may deem fit. Is it not strange that, after labor unions have won the long-fought battle for their own personal liberty, they should turn around and strive to wrest personal liberty from non-union workers? It would seem that labor unions sought to be a law to themselves apart from and above the law of the land.

I do not forget that labor unions often refuse to be responsible for the riotous excesses that accompany strikes, attributing these excesses to mobs which they cannot control and which see in strikes an opportunity of indulging in lawless passion. And, indeed, acts of violence do occur in connection with strikes, which

the labor unions do not approve and for which they cannot be held responsible. Is it not, however, true that much at least of the interference with personal liberty of which we complain is the direct act of the unions? Are not the pickets of the unions usually the first to have recourse to threats and violence? And even where mobs are the guilty party are not the unions indirectly responsible? Should they not have foreseen the acts of violence to which the mobs so easily resort, and should they not have taken measures to obviate such acts? Should they not at least protest when such acts have unfortunately taken place?

The duty of the State in presence of strikes is clear and imperative. It is to protect personal liberty in all cases and at all costs. The entire authority of the State should, if necessary, be put in motion to protect the liberty of a single citizen, whether that citizen be one who refuses to work or one who desires to work. The State ascertains the will of the citizen in this regard, and then extends over it the shield of law. The law should be uniform for all and universal in its application without regard to person, or position, or class. "The duty of the public in trade disputes," once said Lord Derby, "is to make a ring and see fair play." The law should mercilessly put down intimidation and violence whencesoever they come. Its action should always be directed towards the freedom of the individual, be he workman or employer, unionist or free laborer. The refusal or the failure of the State to repress and punish violations of personal liberty is the introduction of anarchy.

It is sometimes urged on behalf of strikers that the workman has a sort of proprietary interest in his place, and that when another steps into it such a one is to a cerain extent an unjust aggressor, who deserves to be summarily dealt with. It is further maintained that, as strikes must fail if employers are allowed to fill the places of the strikers, compulsion brought to bear upon non-union men to prevent them from working is necessary as a measure of war and therefore justifiable. Statements of this kind, however, are social sophistries, which, if put into practice, would speedily undermine the structure of civil society. It is well understood by both parties to a labor contract—better understood, perhaps, by the employee than by the employer—that, in the absence of special covenants, the contract is rescindable at the will of either party. Moreover, when the workman as a matter

of fact and of his own violition has vacated his place, it is not easy to understand how he can still retain a right in it. Again, if, as it is maintained, strikes must fail unless compulsion be employed to prevent non-union men from working, I have only to say, so much the worse for strikes. If strikes necessarily require as a condition of success the violation of personal liberty and the subversion of social order, then strikes stand self-condemned. Personal liberty and the good order of society must above all else be made secure. Whatever militates against the one, or the other, can have no toleration in the court of social justice, and must at all costs be put down. To speak of certain methods of action as measures of war when such methods are the devices of private citizens, or of associations of private citizens, is to characterize them by a name which of itself condemns them. Private citizens, or associations of private citizens, have no right to institute war; this is the exclusive right of public authority. To grant such a right to any class, or to any number of citizens, would be to open the flood-gates of lawlessness and anarchy. Measures of war adopted by employers against workmen would be permissible, and even the lynchings which we so much deprecate as blots upon American civilization would be justifiable. Law and public opinion are the natural and ultimate remedies for social grievances; any movement that ignores these two elements of social power is doomed to fail; any movement that puts its trust in them is sooner or later, if its cause be just, assured of success.

Still another specious argument in defence of violations of personal liberty in labor strikes is that in vast business combinations, and in the fierce competition resulting from them, capital is guilty of offences against personal liberty far more injurious to the public weal than those that can be laid to the charge of labor unions. This is not the place to enter upon a discussion of the operations and methods of capital. But, if wrong be done by capital, it does not follow that wrong should be done by labor; wrong in one case does not justify wrong in the other. If capital violates personal liberty and menaces social peace, let capital also be brought to the bar of law and public opinion.

To condemn the abuses against personal liberty which have marked the course of strikes in this and other countries is to serve the cause of labor and of labor unions. The most praise-

worthy cause may be ruined by the adoption of methods that reason and religion reprobate. Public opinion will not long tolerate what conduces to lawlessness and anarchy; it will put the ban upon associations which, however legitimate their purpose may be, tend to undermine law and order in society. The purpose will be forgotten in presence of the methods. Under the pressure of evil methods associations will inevitably suffer disintegration. Conscience and patriotism are alive in the bosoms of the men who constitute associations; conscience and patriotism rise higher than allegiance to any association.

The cause of labor is of itself so holy that all right-minded men, all Christians, must lend to it their sympathy and support. It is the cause of humanity; it is the cause of religion. Why should it not in its onward march so bear itself that no censure can attach to it, that no friend must be obliged to withdraw from it his esteem and his love?

JOHN IRELAND.

THE MAYOR AND THE REVISED NEW YORK CITY CHARTER.

BY HON. GEORGE L. RIVES, PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION TO REVISE THE NEW YORK CITY CHARTER.

THE City of New York now exists under a Charter enacted in 1897, and which went into effect on the first day of January, 1898. It will be superseded on the first day of January, 1902, by what is, in many respects, a new instrument.

The occasion for the Charter of 1897 was the consolidation of the then City of New York—containing something less than two million inhabitants—with the City of Brooklyn and with a wide extent of agricultural and suburban territory included in nearly ninety towns and villages. The entire population of the municipality thus created is, in round figures, about three and a half millions, and the conditions of its different parts are heterogeneous to a remarkable degree. The lower east side of Manhattan, inhabited largely by Russian and Polish Jews, is believed to be the most densely populated spot in the world. In Queens, the largest in territory of the five boroughs into which the city is subdivided, as also in Richmond, there are large stretches of purely agricultural land, and much lonely marsh and salt meadow. Brooklyn consists chiefly of a great extent of small houses without any excessive congestion of population. Flushing, Westchester Village, and New Brighton are typical centres for suburban homes.

The scheme of the Charter of 1897 looked to a complete administrative and legislative centralization of all this conglomeration of parts. The city, it is true, was subdivided into the five boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, The Bronx, Queens and Richmond; but these boroughs were little more than geographical expressions, and (except in the case of their public schools) possessed not the very least autonomy. In the main the features of the Charter of the former City of New York were re-enacted

and extended throughout all the boroughs. Their finances were managed and their taxes collected by a central department. There was one Police Department, one Fire Department, and one Board of Health. There was a Department of Highways, a Department of Sewers, a Department of Public Buildings, a Department of Water Supply, a Department of Bridges—each practically independent of the others, and each charged with duties extending through the whole area of the city.

Over all the departments was the Mayor, in appearance supreme, but in reality nearly powerless as an executive during the greater part of his term of office. He had indeed the unrestricted power as vacancies might occur to appoint every head of a department, except the head of the Department of Finance. And during the first six months of his term he had the unrestricted power to remove any public officer holding office by appointment from the Mayor, except members of school boards and minor magistrates. During the other three years and six months the Mayor could only remove his subordinates "for cause upon charges preferred and after opportunity to be heard," and then only with the approval of the Governor of the State.

At first sight, and to the ordinary mind, the requirement that a city official should not be dismissed by the Mayor except for cause and after an opportunity to be heard, seems but a reasonable provision to prevent hasty or arbitrary action. But the courts take quite a different view of this seemingly harmless provision. The Court of Appeals decided twenty years ago that it was not a mere administrative regulation; that a charge, when preferred, must be sustained by formal proof; that the accused had a right to appear by counsel; that the Mayor, in hearing charges against his subordinates, acted in a quasi-judicial capacity; and that his decision was in consequence reviewable by the courts.* The Mayor, therefore, if he wished to dismiss a head of department who had turned out to be careless or inefficient, was required first to conduct a trial with all the formality of a court of law; next to get the Governor of the State to approve his action; and finally the Supreme Court of the State and the Court of Appeals must be induced to confirm the sentence. The results were deplorable. In the words of one learned and experienced judge, "Such a construction virtually prevents all removals, and reduces the scheme

*People *ex rel.* Mayor v. Nichols, 79 N. Y. 582.

of the Charter to an incongruous absurdity."† Under the Charter of 1897 every head of department, for the last seven-eighths of the Mayor's term of office, was in effect relieved from any fear of punishment—except so far as he might be affected by public opinion or reached by the criminal courts. He certainly was not in any effective way under the control of the Mayor.

The Mayor on his part was relieved of responsibility for the conduct of the several departments. Having but six months in which to remove at will, any Mayor would almost of necessity make within that time what is called "a clean sweep" and fill all the offices with his own friends—or at least with the nominees of the political faction to which he happened to belong. When the six months were at an end his powers were exhausted. The administration of the city's affairs were vested thenceforward in eighteen separate and independent departments, each with its irremovable head and subject to no common official control. The Mayor might be held responsible for the wisdom or unwisdom of his original appointments. He could not be held responsible otherwise. He might disapprove the acts of a subordinate, but he had no effectual means of forbidding them. He might scold, but he could not command.

Another feature of the Charter of 1897 which was of great importance was the peculiar system of financial administration inherited from the former City of New York. Nominally the annual budget was voted by the local legislature—the Municipal Assembly. Actually the Assembly was limited to a mere formal approval of the budget as drafted by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. This Board, which had been doing valuable service in the city for twenty-five years, consisted of the Mayor, the Comptroller, the President of the Council, the Corporation Counsel, and President of the Tax Department. The Comptroller was the head of the Finance Department. The President of the Council was the Deputy Mayor, and presided over the upper house of the Municipal Assembly. They were both elective officers, chosen at the same time, by the same constituency, and for the same term of office as the Mayor. The Corporation Counsel and the President of the Tax Department were appointees of the Mayor.

†Dissenting opinion of DAVIS, P. J., in People *ex rel.* Nichols v. Cooper, 21 Hun. 517.

Besides the annual budget for current expenses, the city must every year raise large sums of money by loans, either to retire maturing obligations or to provide for new public improvements. Under the Charter of 1897 the authority for every loan was to be first granted by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and their action was then to be ratified by a vote of three-fourths of all the members of each house of the Municipal Assembly. The Assembly had in the matter of loans rather more power than in the matter of the annual budget, and it sometimes chose to delay the necessary ratification. But for most practical purposes it may be said that the financial policy of the city was determined in the long run by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, over which the Mayor presided, and of which he was the leadiing member.

Such were some of the more important features of the Charter of 1897, an instrument which had been severely criticized at the time of its enactment, and which had not increased in favor in actual operation. Innumerable amendments were constantly proposed, and finally the State Legislature authorized the Governor to appoint a commission to examine into the effect and working of the Charter, and to suggest amendments. The commission, as required by the terms of their appointment, presented their report to the Governor in December, 1900, in which they dwelt upon the two fundamental defects above noted of too much centralization and too little real responsibility. These defects they sought to remedy by centering responsibility and, in some measure, decentralizing administration.

For this purpose they recommended two very radical changes. First, they advised that the boroughs should be made autonomous, so far as related to the care of their own streets, sewers and public buildings—all such work to be under the sole control of a locally elected official styled the Borough President. Second, they advised that the Mayor should have power to remove any official holding office by appointment from a Mayor (except School Commissioners, Magistrates, etc.) "whenever in his judgment the public interests shall so require." As a consequence of this grant of a power of removal, they suggested that no appointed public officer should hold his office for any specific term—except in the case again of Magistrates and the members of certain boards, of which the members were to retire in rotation.

The powers of the Mayor were thus diminished by removing entirely from the control of his appointees all such matters as were to be separately administered in each borough; and inasmuch as all such public works as the construction, repair and maintenance of highways and sewers constantly require the employment of large numbers of men, the power and patronage of the Borough Presidents under the scheme of the commission became very great, and the political value of the Mayor's patronage was correspondingly diminished. On the other hand, the Mayor's real control over administration was enormously increased by his absolute power of removal, and he was thus made more effectually responsible for the efficient conduct of the departments of law, police, fire, and health, the supply of water, the cleaning of the streets, the maintenance of the city's bridges and parks, the collection of taxes, and the proper conduct of the hospitals and prisons.

One further important change was recommended which directly affected the Mayor. The composition of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment was changed, and its powers were enlarged. The change in the composition of the Board was suggested, not so much because it was thought desirable in itself, as because it seemed a necessary consequence of the proposed autonomous borough government and the unlimited power of removal conferred on the Mayor. The authority to appropriate money for the local purposes of the several boroughs—whether from annual taxation or as the proceeds of loans—seemed to make it proper that each borough should have a direct representation on the Board. As the Mayor's power of removal was to be enlarged, it was evident that his appointees would be under his influence to a far greater extent than before, and that he would have actually three votes out of five if the Board were left unchanged.

The commission therefore recommended that the Board of Estimate should be composed solely of elective officers, viz.: The Mayor, the Comptroller, and the President of the Board of Aldermen (elected by the city at large), and the Presidents of the five Boroughs (each elected locally). But, said the commission:

"In adding the Borough Presidents to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment another question required consideration. If the Borough Presidents were to possess a voting power, not only equal to that of each other, but also to that of the other members of the Board, they might together control its decisions; and this would mean that the financial control of the city would pass from the officials who are

not directly interested in the spending of the city's money to officers at the head of great administrative agencies and charged with the duty of spending large sums in the development and improvement of the particular localities they were elected to represent. It therefore seemed essential that the total voting power of the five Borough Presidents should be less than that of the officers elected from the city at large; and it was not thought just to give to the representatives of the smaller boroughs an equal vote with the Presidents of the two great Boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn.

"What should be the representation of the different elements in the Board of Estimate and Apportionment has been one of the most difficult questions which the Commission has had to answer. We propose to give three votes to each of the officers elected at large; two votes each to the Presidents of the Boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn; and one vote each to the Presidents of The Bronx, Queens and Richmond. It will be perceived that the total number of votes in the Board will be sixteen, and that nine of these votes will be cast by the officers elected at large, assuring to them a control of the Board."

The extensive modification thus proposed in the composition of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment obviously would effect a very substantial change in the relation of the Mayor toward the Board. Under the Charter of 1897 and the preceding charter of the old City of New York, the Mayor was by all odds the most important personage in the Board. Two of its five members were his appointees, while the other two, elected on the same ticket with him, were almost necessarily in political harmony with him. Under the proposed revision the Mayor would no longer be the official creator or patron of any of his colleagues on the Board; and, as the Borough Presidents were to be elected by entirely different constituencies from those that elected the Mayor, they might be and often would be politically opposed to him.

In general the recommendations of the Revision Commission were acceptable to the State Legislature of 1901. Most of the proposed amendments to the Charter were enacted into law, to go into effect on the first day of January, 1902; and the next Mayor of New York will therefore take office for the term and with the powers and duties prescribed by the revised Charter. But in two highly important respects the carefully adjusted scheme of the commission has been departed from. The Mayor's term of office has been cut down from four years to two; which means practically cutting down the term of office of his appointees in like manner. And the Mayor's responsibility for the conduct of the police has been weakened by giving both to the Governor of the

State, and also to the Mayor, the absolute power to remove the Commissioner of Police whenever in the judgment of either of them the public interest may require it. The second of these changes was made after extensive discussion and for well understood political reasons. The reduction in the length of the Mayor's term of office was unfortunately effected in the State Legislature without debate, and without any public statement by the party leaders of the object or purpose of the change.

Both changes have this effect in common, that they serve to make it more difficult for any Mayor to find fit men to take office under him. It is hard enough to get men who can earn a good living in other employments to enter the public service in any subordinate capacity. It is harder to get such men to take office for two years than for four. And it will be almost impossible to secure the services of a capable and self-respecting man where, as in the case of the Police Commissioner, the appointee to keep his place must satisfy two independent and sometimes hostile masters.

In other respects than those above referred to the amendments to the Charter do not materially affect the office of Mayor. His power to veto the ordinances of the local legislature—hereafter to be known as the Board of Aldermen—is little changed. No measure disapproved by him can take effect unless repassed by the votes of at least two-thirds of all the members of the Board; if the measure involves the expenditure of money or the creation of a debt, a three-fourths vote is necessary; while if it involves the grant of a franchise, the Mayor's veto is final. This is a tremendous weapon of defence, because indirectly the Mayor is thus given a veto over the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. On many subjects, such as the annual budget, the issue of loans for certain purposes, and the grant of franchises, the resolutions of the Board of Estimate are not valid till ratified by the Aldermen and approved by the Mayor.

The principal powers and duties of the Mayor as prescribed by the Charter are therefore: the unrestricted power to appoint and remove at will his principal subordinates; the duty of sitting on the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and shaping the financial policy of the city; and the power to veto all ordinances of the Board of Aldermen, including those framed by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. Outside of the Charter pro-

visions he has the duty, under the State Constitution, of examining acts passed by the Legislature, and the valuable power of suspensive veto. He is a member *ex officio* of some important bodies, such as the Rapid Transit Commission and the Trustees of the Sailors' Snug Harbor. He has also the really important duty of representing the city on all ceremonial occasions.

And yet, notwithstanding his possession of all this great authority, the Mayor of New York will continue to serve under the most serious limitations upon his usefulness. He must overcome, of course, such difficulties as are common to every executive officer of the United States—the exaggerated and hysterical activity of the press, the adroit schemes of individuals to reach the public treasury, the unceasing pressure of the great corporations which depend for their existence upon the possession of franchises in the public streets. Beyond this, he must also meet obstacles which are perhaps peculiar to the City of New York. In the first place, his administration will be hampered during the entire first half of his term of office by the fact that the budget for the year has already been fixed beyond recall under his predecessor.* In the second place, the Board of Aldermen under the revised Charter may exercise a very important influence in helping or hindering reforms and economies. But the recent traditions attached to the office of Alderman, and the lack of opportunities for useful public service that have heretofore existed, have induced capable men to refrain from seeking elections and make it improbable that for some time to come that Board will prove helpful to the Mayor. In the third place, there are the exasperating difficulties of filling the principal offices, upon whose efficient conduct the success of the Mayor's administration must mainly depend. The shortness of the term of office, the insufficient salaries, and the necessarily rigid system under which public business must be conducted, all combine to discourage the best men from accepting office.

But probably the most serious difficulty with which a Mayor must contend is the constant menace of legislation by the State authorities, sometimes merely useless, often in a direction opposed to the true interests of the city. In the matter of expenditure

*By a special provision of the revised Charter, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment may amend the budget for 1902 at any time before May 1, 1902. This exception was made necessary by the adoption of the new borough system, and is contrary to the general financial policy of the Charter.

alone, the efforts of the best disposed city officials will always be paralyzed so long as the salaries of the army of policemen, firemen and school teachers are fixed in Albany.

The truth is that the political conditions under which the City of New York is governed, are quite anomalous. Under the Federal Constitution the State of New York has exclusive power of legislation over all the ordinary subjects of municipal activity; and the State Legislature not only has this exclusive power to deal with city affairs, but it has always shown itself exceedingly ready to exercise it. Moreover, the vote of the city in national elections has almost always been opposed to the vote of the rest of the State, and the constituencies happen to be so made up that the Democratic party—which is in a large majority in the city—is almost always in a minority in the Legislature. Mr. Tilden's estimate was that the Democratic party must carry the State by fifty thousand majority in order to carry the Legislature; and the figure would probably be greater to-day.

We have therefore the case of a sovereign State of considerable extent, of great wealth, containing some seven million inhabitants, in which half the people and more than half the wealth are contained in one huge city. We have moreover a sovereign Legislature, not engrossed by other more important work, not friendly politically, and willing to interfere at any moment in the regulation of the city's local affairs. The consequences are, first, an enormous mass of confused, ill-digested and constantly shifting legislation, which deals with almost inconceivable minuteness with matters of the most trivial concern; and, second, an inevitable tendency on the part of the people of the city to look to the rest of the State for relief from unsatisfactory conditions, rather than to rely for help upon their own exertions.

Against such a state of things protests have been earnest and long continued, and conditions are improving. At one time the Mayor was appointed by the Governor of the State. At a later period the heads of the Police and Fire departments were appointed in the same way. Only thirty years ago the budget of the city was voted at Albany. Until 1895 laws might be finally passed by the State Legislature affecting the city's most important interests without any notice to the local authorities, and of course without any opportunity to protest. And it was the effort of the Revision Commission of 1900, as it was the effort of the framers

of the Charter of 1897, to obviate much useless or harmful State legislation by equipping the city "with power to decide for itself what it will do within the well-recognized range of ordinary municipal activity," as well as by conferring upon its executive officers adequate powers to carry out efficiently any policy it might adopt.

How far this latest experiment for home rule will prove successful must largely depend on the character and capacity of the officers whom the people elect.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that although the opportunities of the Mayor for useful public service are to some extent limited by the unyielding requirements of State statutes and by the conditions and traditions surrounding public office, yet his opportunities for harm are bounded only by the length of his term of office. An evil disposed or negligent or dull man as Mayor can always work incalculable mischief by bad appointments, or by promoting or not opposing measures intended to rob the city treasury. The ablest and best-intended Mayor cannot, perhaps, under existing conditions do much efficient or lasting work of a constructive kind; but he has ample power and will have ample opportunity to prevent an immense amount of harm. In the short period of two years he can hardly hope to effect extensive economies or to institute far-reaching and thorough reforms. What he can fairly hope to do is to see that the city takes no detriment; to insist upon and secure at least an honest administration; and to put a stop to much evil legislation. The man who can really do this, laboring for the interests of the city alone and not for himself or for the interests of any party or faction, is sure of a high place in the esteem and affection of the people.

GEORGE L. RIVES.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF A GREAT CITY.

BY HON. BIRD S. COLER, COMPTROLLER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

THE science of municipal government made great progress during the nineteenth century along several important lines, but at the beginning of the twentieth century no large city in America had a perfect financial system. Constitutional restrictions, laws, ordinances and methods for public education, sanitation, public improvements and administration have all been modernized and generally improved to meet changed conditions, but a majority of the great municipalities of the country are compelled to conduct their financial affairs under restrictions imposed fifty to one hundred years ago to safeguard the interests of towns and villages.

Banks, business houses and private corporations change their financial systems and business methods to meet new conditions, seeking always to keep abreast of the times and to utilize improvements. The financial affairs of the City of New York, with its vast population, enormous resources and extensive public interests and responsibilities, are to-day regulated by a system adapted to a period when the streets were unpaved, the value of public utilities unknown, and merchants burned oil lamps in front of their stores when the moon was not shining. Franchises granted by the city are to-day the basis of the existence of a score of great corporations, most of them of enormous earning power, yet the public revenue derived from this source is insignificant, and in many cases the method of collecting it is crude and uncertain.

New York has developed two great public utilities into profit paying investments with the net revenue steadily increasing, yet every dollar so expended is a charge against its credit limitation, and this great municipality is placed in the peculiar and unbusinesslike predicament of growing richer and poorer at the

same time. The borrowing capacity of the city is reduced by the real estate it owns, and further reduced by the amount of every bond sold to pay for a public improvement that will yield a profit on the investment. No private business could long survive such a financial system. The restriction that is now oppressive and useless was probably necessary when it was adopted, but it should be changed to meet new conditions and modern possibilities.

While most of the older cities of the country suffer more or less embarrassment or inconvenience from antiquated laws or charters, New York is especially unfortunate in this respect. The blame for the present unbusinesslike financial situation, if blame there be, is chargeable to that strong element of public and political opinion that is proved to be over conservative in all matters affecting municipal credits and finance. The Constitution of the State limits the borrowing capacity of cities to ten per cent. of the assessed value of taxable real estate, excepting from this provision only bond issues necessary for protecting the public health or providing additional water supply. The real estate owned by the City, valued on a basis of the assessed valuation of private property at more than $400,000,000, instead of increasing the credit or debt margin, reduces permanently the borrowing capacity of the municipality by more than $40,000,000. The credit of the City therefore rests not upon the property it owns, but upon the real estate of private owners on which taxes are collected. For example, if a reckless administration should give away Central Park to private individuals on a tax value of $86,000,000, the City could then borrow $8,600,000 on the land sold, but cannot borrow a cent on the same security while owning it.

This method of restricting the indebtedness of municipalities is peculiar to New York, and it was inserted in the State Constitution at a time when the wisest and most far-sighted statesmanship had not foreseen that cities might one day become great corporate enterprises, developing their natural resources into paying properties. States with more modern constitutions limit municipal indebtedness, but in most cases they do it by fixing a maximum rate of municipal taxation. When it is established by organic law that the income of a city cannot exceed a certain sum annually, the expenditures of that municipality are effectually limited. All these constitutional limitations may be wise in a way, and doubtless were necessary in the first instance, but

almost without exception they antedate the successful development of public utilities by municipal corporations. They are invariably arbitrary and cannot be adjusted to local or special conditions.

The City of New York, on account of geographical location and the magnitude of its resources and material possibilities, might reasonably expect of the State special consideration and legislation for the adjustment of its finances. Other large cities in other States possess similar claims to special privileges, but, like New York they are all confined within the same organic legal limitations that bind the smaller cities and towns of the interior. These restrictions were imposed long before the possibilities of public utilities and franchises were realized, but it is a difficult matter to obtain even moderate modifications to meet special conditions. Therefore a businesslike and up to date financial system cannot be quickly established.

In some respects the financial condition of New York is unique. It is one of the few seaport cities of the world owning its water front or possessing the right to acquire that which is not already owned. In recent years an expenditure of some $30,000,000 in the acquisition of land and the construction of modern piers and bulkheads has created a dock property that is not only of inestimable value to the commercial interests of the City, but yields a revenue ranging from two to three and one-half per cent. above the interest on the bonds issued to pay for the improvements. In brief, a Sinking Fund is provided that will offset the bonds before they mature, leaving the City a great unencumbered property paying a net revenue of six or seven per cent. on the original cost.

But with this possibility of a public utility demonstrated, the financial system forced upon the City by organic law compels the charging of all dock bonds against the borrowing capacity or debt limit of the City, and consequently greatly restricts a public improvement that not only yields direct profit, but greatly benefits the general commercial interests of the community. The controlling financial regulations of the City's water department were regarded as liberal, if not generous, at the time they were created, because an abundant water supply was known to be essential to the existence of an urban community. The original water works, costing a large sum of money, have been developed into a profitable investment, yielding revenue beyond the interest on the origi-

nal cost. The net revenue will increase steadily as the system is perfected and extended and waste is reduced to a minimum. Yet, with the fact demonstrated by years of experience that supplying water is a safe and profitable investment for the municipality, the bonds outstanding for the present system are a charge against the debt limit.

New York has developed two great public utilities into sources of net revenue—her docks and her water system—and has thereby demonstrated that old fashioned financial restrictions and limitations may be safely modified to meet modern conditions. What New York has done other cities may do, because all have many conditions in common. Existing safeguards of municipal credit antedate the general tendency to derive a fair revenue from all assets that are the property of the people. It would not be wise to remove all these restrictions at once—in fact, municipalities must be exceedingly cautious of experiments with credit and investments—but where the improvement of a public utility has been successful as a source of revenue, further development along that line should not be a charge against the general credit or borrowing capacity. Municipalities may not undo the mistakes of the past, but they need not repeat them, and like individuals they should profit by experience.

Most of the laws regulating the financial systems of great cities were enacted at a time when public franchises were not recognized as available assets. Not so long ago municipalities, instead of charging for the private use of streets and highways, readily granted almost any permit asked for with a general view to promoting growth of population and private wealth. Such a method of development may be necessary, or at least permissible, in small and struggling municipalities ambitious for a rapid growth, but in a great city where every franchise right has a dividend paying value that may be closely estimated, the financial systems of the future must make the most of all sources of revenue that lighten the burden of taxation. Franchises that are worth assured dividends to the private interests that obtain them should yield a point for the municipality, and where they represent great public utilities the revenue in question might be set aside as a sinking fund to acquire the property when it is no longer an experiment.

Public ownership of all profitable public utilities would at first

glance seem to be an essential part of any correct system of municipal finance, but cities must proceed to such a system with caution and by slow degrees. In the first place, where the franchises have been granted without adequate compensation the municipality cannot confiscate or partially destroy private right, and where an experiment is to be made it should never endanger the public credit. But where a public utility has been successfully developed into a profit yielding investment and there is opportunity to extend the development the temporary indebtedness that may be necessary for the purpose should not affect the credit of the city and should not curtail its borrowing power.

The financing of the construction of the Underground Rapid Transit Railroad in New York affords a striking illustration of the peculiarities of the financial system by which the City is so often embarrassed. The bonds of the City are issued to pay for the construction; yet the City is secured on a contract that provides for the interest and principal of the securities, the whole to be paid within fifty years and at the end of that period the road becomes the property of the City. At the end of fifty years the principal and interest of all the bonds issued for this work will have been paid from the revenue received by the municipality from the operation of the road. The entire property then reverts to the City free of cost to the taxpayers, and all receipts of the future above operating expenses go into the general treasury for the reduction of taxation. So far the plan is excellent; but under our present financial system the entire issue of bonds, $36,000,000, is a charge against the credit and borrowing capacity of the City from the time of letting the contract. While the private investment involved is paying interest and providing a sinking fund the credit of the City is curtailed for the full amount, and therefore other developments must be delayed.

The Rapid Transit Railroad is, it is true, a financial experiment, and therefore caution is essential to safety, but after the road has been in operation, say five years, if the earnings are ample to meet contract requirements, then the credit of the City that is involved should be released that it may be devoted to other profitable purposes. Along the same line the borrowing capacity of the City might be safely relieved of the charge of all bonds for completed water works and dock improvements that are yielding ample revenue for interest and sinking fund. There

would be neither risk nor experiment in such an arrangement. In fact, the City of New York under a correct financial system established by organic law might spend $100,000,000 in further improvement of its great water front and derive enough income from the investment to retire the entire debt in less than thirty years. The same principle is applicable to any municipality with similar natural resources and public utilities.

The financial problems of all cities include the much discussed and never settled question of the proper adjustment of the proportion of money spent that is to be raised by direct taxation and the amount to be taxed upon future generations through the medium of bond issues. The general and apparently popular division is to tax the present for current expenses and the future for permanent improvements. This rule, however, need not be imperative and the division may be safely adapted to special conditions. The general tendency in all financial transactions is toward lower rates of interest, and cities when they borrow money should issue long term bonds with the privilege of funding them at any time that a lower rate may be obtained.

The perfect system of municipal finance is not yet in sight, but safe and steady progress toward improvement is apparent in many directions. Ancient methods and antiquated restrictions must soon give way to the imperative demands of intellectual advance. The credit of a great municipality must not be trifled with or subjected to rash experiments, but cities must not repeat the mistakes of the past. Municipal credit cannot be protected or promoted by a policy that limits or restricts income. Great cities should not be seriously hampered in the work of developing profitable public utilities. A city is a great business corporation, and its finances must be adjusted on sound business principles.

BIRD S. COLER.

NATIONAL DANGER FROM POLICE CORRUPTION.

BY HON. FRANK MOSS, FORMER COMMISSIONER OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT OF NEW YORK CITY.

THE corruption of the police force of New York is a fact that nobody in the city denies seriously. It is believed throughout the nation and over the world. So well settled is the belief, so well sustained by a series of discoveries, confessions and revelations, so well fortified by circumstances of police activity and negligence, success and failure, so well illustrated by the character and the conduct of those who lead and direct the department, that nobody doubts the disposition and the ability of the commanders to do, or order, or permit any of the wicked acts charged against them. No serious accusation against them, however grave, is received with incredulity.

This ominous attitude of the public mind is not a sudden result of unusual revelations. It comes from the suspicion of many years, verified by the unfolding of facts during the greater part of the last eight years. These revelations all point in the same direction, and are explicable only by the theory of corruption among the higher officials of the Police Department.

The common people, with minds made acute by these revelations, have themselves verified these criminal conditions in the acts and in the omissions of the police force.

This criminal condition has never been charged to mere inefficiency or to inadequacy of means and supplies, for the force is large—seven thousand five hundred strong. It is elaborately organized; it is maintained with an extravagant outlay of public money; it is burly and brave to a fault; and it has demonstrated many times its complete co-ordination in itself and with the city government and its exceptional ability to do what it sets out to do.

With general unanimity the people lay the derelictions of the

police force to great financial and political corruption; the nation and the world approve the verdict.

In New York it is fully realized that this corrupt inefficiency exists with the permissive approval of the city government. It is indeed but one of the elements in a general system of corruptly and selfishly making money and creating political power out of the people's trust and out of the opportunities of office.

Let us enumerate some of the facts that have been proven by testimony and by the observation of the citizens.

Hundreds of gambling houses and pool rooms exist. Until they were attacked by private societies they were operated publicly, continuously and openly, like saloons or stores. The police authorities have seldom made a raid or an arrest in these places, although their attention has been directed to them by the newspapers, by hundreds of citizens, by a legislative committee and by private societies and committees These places are attended by great numbers of persons. While the police utterly fail to enforce or even attempt to enforce the law, the private societies by voluntary actions and privately contributed means make many raids, succeeding always, except where the police successfully interfere with their plans.

The police go so far as to profess ignorance and to deny the location of the pool rooms, although these are well known to many thousands of citizens. They profess ignorance not only of the location but also of the signs and the methods of the illegal business.

It has been proven by the private societies that police agencies close to the executive power of the department have invented systems for warning pool rooms and protecting them against raids; have provided money to corrupt agents of the societies and to purchase their plans, and have actually given the use of the telephone service of the Police Department itself to the pool room backers to make warnings and protection more secure!

The Deputy Chief of Police, who is the actual head of the department, is the boon companion of a man who stands at the head of one of the pool room syndicates, and he attends the race tracks and lays bets with him openly. He has never attacked a place in that man's combination.

It has been proven that this Deputy Chief with his former odorous record was placed originally in his commanding position

in consequence of the direct issue made in the former Police Board on the subject of protecting pool rooms.

It is charged and generally believed that the gambling rooms of New York City pay immense sums of money in order to secure immunity. It is clearly seen that they receive not only immunity but also friendly treatment from the police authorities, their only troubles coming from the private societies which are brilliantly successful in their attacks. The pool room condition stands fully demonstrated in New York. There is no doubt of it whatever.

There are not less than a thousand policy shops, and their condition is similar to that of the pool rooms. In the midst of these well known facts, police detectives swear in legal proceedings that they don't know how the game is operated and don't know the difference between a policy gig and a doctor's gig. Many lottery offices exist under similar conditions.

Fully a thousand disorderly houses are practically unmolested by the police. Many of them are outrageously vile, noisy and offensive. Respectable families are compelled to suffer without redress. Some of the inmates are mere children. There is a regular system of procuring girls from the country by advertising for servants and waitresses. In many localities women and children cannot look out of the back windows of their homes without seeing shocking sights in protected dens. Until the Committee of Fifteen undertook its famous work upon the East Side the children in the tenement houses were condemned by the government of New York City to grow up under the most demoralizing conditions without assistance from the police authorities, who were in the pay of criminals. The decoying and abducting and ruining of girls was, and in many places continues to be, a regular trade in houses and by persons obviously under the protection of the police. Men prominent in the Department or among its political sponsors are seen to be interested and active in these practices. In many open and frequented concert halls most disgusting performances occur regularly; many gilded amusement palaces are nothing but exchanges for vice. In these places—the so-called dives—the youth of our city in thousands are corrupted. And the youth of New York City is constantly recruited from the youth of the whole land. Many are caught in dens of nameless vice which are well known and which operate under the same apparent conditions of police aid and protection.

The violation of the excise law, which is patent to all, means money for the police.

Whole sections of the city have been terrorized by burglars. The condition has led a certain bonding company to make a special department in its business of insuring against burglaries, claiming that the risk was four times as great as the risk of fire!

Pickpockets and highwaymen flourish. Many of the disorderly women rob men in houses and on the streets—some of them even committing highway robbery—and their protectors are so careful of them that often they frighten away the victims.

Pocketbook, flim-flam, green goods swindlers and others are numerous and find many victims. There is a general accusation that the activity of these crooks is due to the friendliness of the police or the powers that control the police.

In the Lexow investigation and before the Police Board the system of blackmail and extortion which gave the police their reason for not interfering with illegal resorts was fully proven. Since then other specifications and charges have been made. Wardman Bissert, the confidential man for Captain Diamond, has just been convicted criminally on such a charge. He collected an initiation fee of $500 and monthly payments thereafter of $50. As his precinct has been full of disorderly and gambling houses, the inference is irresistible that this was but one example of many. Thus the existence of the large number of evil resorts throughout the city without any effective police interference fully satisfies the people that the same old dishonest conditions continue. The amount of tribute believed to be collected annually runs up into the millions of dollars.

The most revolting story of all is that of the women of the street. When we find a private citizen living on the gains of these miserable, diseased creatures, we execrate and spurn him. Yet there is no doubt that many of the sworn and uniformed guardians of the law take from these women unofficial license fees, and, reserving their own percentage, pass on the very wages of shame to officials higher up, who continue to pass it along until it reaches its destination.

Bob Nelson, the companion of the Deputy Commissioner of Police, has long done a thriving business in bailing out unfortunate women at a profit of $5 apiece, sometimes scores of them in a week. It has been charged that the police of one of the pre-

cincts made a special point of bringing in these women in large numbers and of notifying the Chief's friend so that he could make his fee out of them.

Even the pushcart men and the keepers of fruit and peanut stands yield blackmail. On the East Side with its hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of these humble merchants this business of police collection has been reduced to a science.

It has been abundantly proven that merchants who occupy portions of the sidewalk continuously, or during portions of the day, have to make regular contributions for the police, and that when they make these payments they are not molested. The same conditions are manifest to-day and nobody doubts that the payments are made.

To sum up, wherever there is apparent a violation of the corporation ordinances, or the possibility that a legal complaint may be but is not made, there we may be sure the hand of the blackmailer and the extortioner is at work. All believe it—know it. One business man told me that he didn't believe the Prætorian Guard could have held its own with the New York police force.

A most distressing and dangerous symptom of the degeneration of the police force is the insolence and the brutality displayed by many of its members who possess what is called a "pull." The policeman who is a chosen instrument of the political leaders, or of the blackmailers of the Department, may of course do as he pleases. He is immune.

For three years there has been through the courts and the streets a dreary procession of citizens with broken heads and bruised bodies against few of whom was violence needed to effect an arrest. Many of them had done nothing to deserve arrest. In a majority of such cases no complaint is made. If the victim complains, his charge is generally dismissed.

The police are practically above the law. Yet in these three years instances have been frequent of policemen in flagrant criminal acts, which after all were directly the result of the bad example of their superiors.

Is it any wonder that under such an official system the guardians of the law themselves commit at times such crimes as burglary and larceny?

A year ago the colored people of a certain precinct were attacked by the white rowdies of their district and were very

severely handled. For two days this race riot continued without any earnest attempt by the police to stop it and to protect the colored people. Worse than that, awful beatings and clubbings were administered by policemen to colored men when they were fleeing from mobs and when they were in the very act of begging the police for protection. It was not until the whole city was aroused with indignation and that other people poured into that precinct that the police quelled the disturbance. Storekeepers there told me privately of awful things that they had seen, and of the participation of commanding officers in them; but begged not to be called as witnesses, because, as they said, the policemen were friendly to the roughs who would be permitted to wreck their stores.

Good policemen, of whom there are very many among the patrolmen, are afraid to arrest roughs for fear that they may prove to be politicians' heelers, and thus the officers might be punished for interfering. The patrolmen say that such action on their part results usually in their being transferred to precincts distant from their homes.

It has been proved that promotions in the Police Department were made for money. Thousands of dollars have been paid for the higher positions. The symptoms of those conditions are apparent now. It is charged under oath and believed that transfers and details to special duties cost money, and that exemption from unpleasant transfers and assignments may be bought. If policemen have to pay money for these things, are they not under peculiar temptation to recoup from the criminals in their jurisdiction, and is not the Department bound to let them do so, to say nothing of the desire of the higher officials and of their political bosses to farm the system and the Department to its highest financial possibility? It is most sad to realize that the police force as a whole has small reputation for truth. Degeneration in moral character has made it necessary to develop a phenomenal power for concealing and denying the truth. The good men are forced into this position by brute force and physical fear. They believe that the man who tells the secrets of the Department is doomed to persecution and to ruin. While we know that large sums have been raised by assessing the individual policeman to influence legislation, and while many of them admit it privately in confidence, the most patient and persistent

effort has never yet been able to get the truth of the matter from policemen in public and under oath.

Recently a sergeant appeared at headquarters and made a complaint of fighting against two policemen. Every patrolman who was in the station house at the time the fight took place—and there were more than a dozen—gave the lie to his superior; the Commissioner wearily dismissed the complaint.

Untruthful testimony has frequently been given to aid in the conviction of persons whom the superior officers of the Police Department have determined to convict. The District Attorney is compelled to consider the fact that juries doubt uncorroborated police testimony. It is a fact that women and children and citizens generally do not go to the policeman for information, advice, and help with the confidence and the trust that they once did.

Yet, in spite of all this corruption, and the relentless terrorism that is used to keep the members of the police force in line with their superiors and their manipulators, there are very many who are faithful, courageous and heroic in the discharge of their ordinary duties and in their adherence to the line of honorable conduct. No doubt honest and efficient leadership would work a wonderful change for the better in the morale of the Force.

Now, what does all this mean—what does it imply?

Here, in the era in which the Nation steps out into the world's affairs full of the enthusiastic purpose of being a mighty factor for progress, right and justice, when all eyes are scanning the nation and looking for its real principles and purposes, a rotten police administration, despised and feared by the people, is held up to the eyes of the world in the world's second city—the metropolis of North America!

Worse than that! While all know and admit the facts, all too faintly portrayed above, there is grave doubt whether the people will reverse the present order of things, and the upholders of the corrupt system are proceeding boldly in the belief that the people will not. That is their plan of campaign. These men are not novices; they are trained in observation and deduction and they are working for their pockets, not for sentiment.

What is the basis of their belief and hope? It is that the people have become used to corruption; that they like it, as the high liver enjoys tainted meat. It is that manhood and citizenship generally in New York City have become so debased

by contact with vile things that for the chance of securing political jobs, of getting little shares of dirty money, of "doing business" with thrifty law-breakers, of securing the favor of the all-powerful cabal that controls things and of avoiding its enmity a majority of the voters of the city will elect deliberately to continue this carnival of nasty corruption. Is there not a practical foundation for this belief—a practical reason for this course of political action? A poor but talented young lawyer came to New York. Finding that Tammany was entrenched in power, he revised the principles and the teachings of his life and home and joined with Tammany, saying that he had not come to New York for sentiment but for success. He swallowed everything that came along. To-day he is a wealthy and successful corporation lawyer.

Another came privately and gave valuable information against certain officials, but begged secrecy because his business prospects were all locked up in apparent fidelity to The Organization.

What these lawyers have done hundreds of others are doing, and judges have found their way to the bench by suing and paying for their nominations and by grovelling at the feet of men whom they despised in their hearts.

These illustrations are typical, and they might be extended into almost every important avocation. What, then, shall we expect of the poor and the ignorant man? Let us see just what does happen.

A youth goes into a licensed dive. He watches and listens to a disgustingly licentious performance. No policeman interferes with it; on the contrary, the police have reported favorably on it and have licensed it. There he meets veterans of the other sex. There is no appearance of shame, none of fear. He plunges into the whirlpool and becomes a frequenter of disorderly houses. Perhaps he is making money by trapping and selling girls. He is a direct product of the police system, and the stream of evil started in him and in a thousand others like him is not easily or perhaps ever completely stopped.

Or the young man finds his way into one of the poolrooms or gambling rooms kept by the friends or the rulers of the police. It is a part of the established and orthodox New York system. Speedily he becomes a confirmed gambler. Perhaps he robs his employer to play the races. He resents the interference of out-

siders with his pastime. *He learns contempt of the law from the very guardians of the law.* It has no longer majesty for him.

To the young woman many downward roads are open, and the policemen stand by not to close them but to make them easy.

The newly arrived immigrant was an honest man at home. He comes to a new and strange land and expects to fall into the customs of that land. He peddles; but he must pay the police. If he refuses or acts on some old-fashioned principle of righteousness, he is abused, arrested, perhaps clubbed. He opens a little store. His neighbor keeps open on Sunday because he pays for the privilege; so does he likewise. He sees his neighbors keeping disorderly houses and getting immunity by paying the police, who by the payment are transformed from prosecutors to protectors. He says: This is, indeed, a strange country, but as the uniformed officers of the law accept money and permit the business it must be right. He yields to the temptation and he, too, opens a disorderly house. If it succeeds, he develops a fine contempt for the law and for decency. He becomes a bad citizen, and enters into other lawbreaking conspiracies. If he fails or is bled and destroyed by the police, he becomes, perhaps, an anarchist.

To a majority of the people of this city the bluecoated policeman stands as the full representative of the city, the nation, the Constitution. He is the only official power and authority that they know, unless it be the police justice. If these policemen be notoriously corrupt, immoral, brutal, what becomes of respect for the law and respect for the nation? The immense growth of anarchism on the East Side is due largely to the conduct of the police. What of the children going to school, who must on the way learn lessons of vice and crime from protected houses and criminals, who see the guilty and the infamous prosper while "justice" leers and winks for bribes! How can we expect from them steady and steadfast devotion to truth and honor, a respect for law, and a moral movement to redeem a city? What can we expect when the games of little children go through the forms of buying and selling votes, and when in answer to questions they point inquiring men to the doors of the prostitute?

We may find the same law at work in every walk of life. Young men anxious to succeed in business see on every hand the large wages of truculence, the tangible profits of collusion with

lawbreakers, the power and advantage of connection with the ruling force, though it be as corrupt as hell. It is astounding that the recital of official peculation and debasement to the best audiences is received not with groans and the evidences of indignation, but rather with amusement and laughter. This is not yet true of statements of brutality. The difference is striking!

There is a lurking feeling that it is smart to make money, and that the official is a fool who does not improve his opportunities. It has come from the simple operation of the minds of men as they have watched a guilty Police Department and other departments like it defy the law, and join the lawbreakers, and grow rich, and beat down the prosecutors.

Is it not a great object lesson to young men to see the vicious police captain protecting every known crime for money, shrewdly or boldly defying all attempts to catch him or to prosecute him, moving steadily into higher positions, openly consorting with confessed and notorious violators of the law, obviously neglecting and refusing to enforce the law against these friends or pals; to see those who ultimately profit the most by the system rolling in luxury and wealth, possessing fabulous power, worshipped almost; to see these men violate all the conventional moralities and make a farce and a spectacle of oaths of office and of laws and ordinances; and then to see that the wicked prosper with great prosperity, while those who have the temerity to fight them are abused, mocked and jeered at and suffer in business, in comfort and sometimes in reputation—does this teach good citizenship?

Nay, does it not tend to actual dishonesty? If a dealer in fire hose secures profitable city contracts by dividing his profits with city officials, why should the dealers' clerks hesitate to carry the same successful short cuts into their employers' private business and to corrupt the agents of their other competitors and customers?

It is not realized that the robbery of the treasury is the robbery of every citizen, that the sale of some indulgences opens the way to the sale of others, that by the insidious process now going on we may lose all our real liberties and live in only the shadow, the figment, the shell, the simulcrum of a free and popular government. The process that has been going on in New York, and that already has greatly damaged the civic body and the civic spirit, produces its results not only in the city but it

inevitably affects the other cities of the nation and the whole of the nation.

It is idle to say that the general lowering of official standards coupled with great gains will not be copied in other cities. New York's police-criminal alliance *has* been copied in other cities, and in many such places the same corruption is now at work. The spirit of citizenship in this city will affect all the communities in the land. Everybody comes to New York, or looks to New York, to learn how money is to be made and to copy the methods. If principles of honor and of conduct are loose here, and loose for financial gain, the standards that prevail will be copied.

The great battle for reform in New York is a battle for the nation and there is as much need as there ever was for true patriotism and true heroism.

It is in the cities that the true greatness of the country is to be won or lost, and it is to be won or lost in the essential characteristics of the people. We need a revival of simple patriotism among the common people—a patriotism that reaches to the conscience of the individual, and that puts the honor of the country and of the city above all considerations of selfish gain.

FRANK MOSS.

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF TAMMANY HALL.

BY WALTER L. HAWLEY.

THE organization that has so long dominated, demoralized and disgraced municipal government in the city of New York is mistakenly classed as a political faction—the regular form of one of the great political parties of the country. It is true that one of the elements of strength of Tammany has been nominal party regularity and ostentatious adherence to alleged partisan principles, but the mass of its membership know little, and care less, about national questions that are designated as campaign issues. Tammany is essentially a close corporation held together by a carefully adjusted community of selfish interests.

Those persons who would credit one man with a genius of organization to encompass the recent successes of the organization must lose sight of the fact that for almost one hundred years Tammany has never been exterminated and rarely defeated in city elections. No purely political reason will fully explain such a record. While party regularity is an element of strength, the chief sources of its recuperative and enduring powers must be sought for outside of partisan feeling.

Tammany avails itself of all the tricks of partisanship to unite and hold together antagonistic racial, religious and social elements of society, but no party creed in this country has endured for a century; so the real strength of this organization must be looked for beneath the surface of its campaign declarations. Americans proud of the individual liberty assured by their form of government are slow to admit that racial or religious influences exist in politics and public affairs. Tammany exists and dominates the city of New York by skillfully combining, under the creed of

self-interest, race and religious prejudice. This assertion may be denied; it cannot be disproved.

Of the thirty-five district leaders of Tammany, the men who compose the Executive Committee and decree its policy, an average of thirty are Irish Catholics. The others are Germans and Jews. These three elements of the community supply the working membership of the organization, with the Irish dominant in numbers and influence. The real voting strength of Tammany lies in channels of social and religious sentiment that are the basis of collective gratitude and individual self-interest. The Association is organized and in business at all times. It brings the lower strata of society into harmless and harmonious good-fellowship at free entertainments, and knows neither creed nor clan in the distribution of its charities and non-political favors.

In brief, Tammany relies for much of its voting and moral strength upon three elements of human nature—gratitude, avarice and religious sentiment. Those who have accepted its charity and kindly favors feel grateful; those who have learned its methods are hopeful of material reward, if they serve it; and the creeds it sustains are tolerant of its misdeeds. It keeps city government down to the level and the understanding of the majority, hiding the weakness and subterfuge of such methods under banners of alleged protection of the rights of the masses.

This system that so easily blends and binds into one harmonious whole all the antagonistic elements of races, religions, social conditions and political theories is not vicious and corrupt for the mere love of sinning. It will protect vice or promote morality with equal energy and success, if the cash consideration is the same. Tammany has no higher aim, in fact no cause for existence, except to make money for those who compose and control the organization. The control of the city government is merely a means to an end. Power provides opportunity. Therefore Tammany purchases power with the favors of politics. It aids and abets crime because criminals can be made to pay for assistance in cash and can then be frightened into silence. It fawns upon the rich and powerful when proffering the favors that will buy their aid or indifference, and crushes the weak and poor when they cease to yield revenue.

Tammany grows strong and wins with the aid of the greed and selfishness of rich and intelligent citizens, skillfully com-

bined with the ignorance and avarice of the poor. Its moral and intellectual standards are kept down to the level of the slums, because the voting strength of the tenement and the mansion are as ten to one. When secure in control of the city and county government, this system has never elected or appointed to an important office a man of great ability or high moral character. Its representatives in Congress and the State Legislature rank with the lowest in capacity and fitness. Its agents in the highest city offices and on the bench have been, as a rule, men who could be trusted to work for the interests of the organization. No man of independent spirit, no man of superior intelligence and honorable record need seek political preferment at the hands of Tammany when it is secure in power. This favoritism of mediocrity is a part of its strength, an important feature of the political policy of the organization.

The system draws an arbitrary line through the registered voters of the city. On one side of that line it places the criminals, the vicious, the unscrupulous, the poor, the partially educated and the ignorant. On the other side are placed the men of property, education and refinement, and those willing to barter money or influence for special favors of politics and government. The divisions may be classified as the taxpayers and the non-taxpayers. The latter outnumber the substantial citizens ten to one, and from the larger division come the votes that keep Tammany in power. Seven-tenths of the men on one side of the line are constantly seeking office, city employment, political preference, protection for vice and crime, or some material favor from the ruling power that will give them advantage over competition in business or professional work. Tammany strives to favor the multitudes; therefore, the moral and intellectual tone of local government is kept down to the level of the masses.

Good breeding and education do not always constitute absolute disqualification for holding office under Tammany, but there is one requirement that is essential—the applicant must be worth something to the organization in money, votes or influence. He must pay a fixed sum in cash for the nomination or appointment, must be able to deliver on election day a certain number of votes of relatives or friends, or through his social, church or society connection he must be able to exercise a certain amount of influence that will be useful in time of need. This system of elec-

tion, appointment and advancement is followed to the letter. Governing a city is a matter of business, according to the Tammany creed. The voters deliver the offices and all the power of administration into the hands of the organization. Those offices and the power to protect and to punish are for the time being the goods and chattels of Tammany to be sold to the highest bidder. It is the commerce of politics, and those who follow the trade must thrive. There are men in Tammany whose personal honesty outside of politics has never been questioned. If their moral sense is blunted, it is because of the false teaching of a criminal system. They can grant favors. What is the wrong, they ask, of accepting favors in return? The bill goes to the taxpayers in the end.

Antagonism to civil service or any other system of requiring intellectual and educational fitness for public service is a part of the Tammany policy that goes with the plan of picking out men who may control votes. During campaigns the orators of the organization rail against "Reformers" and civil service to good purpose. In the tenement districts they tell the young men that if "Reformers" got control of the city only college graduates could obtain public office. They make this lie plausible and prove the friendship of Tammany for the poor and ignorant by appointing to important offices men who are uneducated and unfit. To the half-taught, narrow-minded young generation just out of the public schools there is no lesson of debased government and indifferent public opinion so convincing as the one they see around them day after day. When they see at the head of great departments of the city government men who a few years ago were "Mike, the butcher," and "Jim of the liquor store on the corner," the example does not stimulate them to strive for the learning of books or the refinements of higher life. Such examples exist; not a few isolated cases, but many, where great public improvements, grave questions of public policy for the present and the future are in the hands of Tammany's recruits from the butcher shop, the brewery wagon and the saloon. These men promise the ideal government of the people by Tammany for Tammany. They keep the tone of the public service down to the big crowd across the dividing line, and the young voter, weak and ignorant rather than vicious, the criminal ready to pay a royalty from the profits of crime, and the loafer who shuns honest labor, all know that such is the government that has always existed and

always will exist under the system that is Tammany, and that it cannot exist under any other system. They ask no other reason, no greater inducement to vote the Tammany ticket.

The strength of Tammany is the strength of brute force and animal cunning combined, but it is strength that the good citizen who seeks better government can neither ignore nor despise. It must be met and overcome, and the real fight must be fought out in the arena, down in the slums where the Tiger was trained.

A change of leaders could not change the system. Men of property are willing to pay for special privileges and exemptions for the benefit of their private business. When in control of the city government Tammany has such favors to sell and sells them. It is the commerce of politics. Crime is always willing to share profits with a power that can make crime safe. That power is Tammany. For the voting rabble offices are created, or employment provided. Places with good pay and no work are powerful factors in building up and sustaining a political organization. The city departments are honeycombed with sinecures. One or two more places can always be provided, if the political pressure is strong enough or the cash consideration adequate. Ten thousand employees of the city of New York at the present time could be dropped from the pay-roll in a day and the public service would be benefited rather than crippled. The ten thousand surplus men are Tammany workers and voters. They know that they would soon be out of employment under honest and businesslike government; therefore they are for Tammany. This system of blackmail, favoritism, ignorance, brutality and barefaced robbery of the taxpayers holds fast to itself the ignorant, the vicious and the criminal. There lies the chief voting strength of Tammany.

The weakness of Tammany, like its strength, lies in the unchangeable characteristics of human nature. Its chief bond of cohesion is human selfishness or greed, and no other tie is so easily broken. It is never disinterested; never grateful. When the units of its strength weaken they are cast out. It is loyal to no leader, faithful to no man, beyond the stage of intense self-interest. Its party loyalty is a pretense; its devotion to principles a sham.

Three-fourths of the votes that sustain Tammany are the ballots of real or imaginary self-interest, the votes of men who have

received or expect material reward in one form or another. The other fourth are contributed by men who are sentimentally attached to the party creed and name under which Tammany masquerades. A growth of intelligent citizenship to the stage that will enable the masses to realize that their material interests will be best served by better city government will defeat Tammany and destroy it. The system has nothing to offer beyond the transient rewards of debased politics. It is a fungus growth on imperfect social and political conditions that will decay and die in the light of universal intelligence.

WALTER L. HAWLEY.

THE EGYPTIAN PUBLIC DEBT.

BY CLINTON E. DAWKINS, FORMER UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FINANCE IN EGYPT.

It might be contended that an element of romance attaches in most countries to the annals of National Debts, in respect of the struggles and vicissitudes to which they relate, but in Egypt, a land where Finance spells Politics, the story of the Public Debt is pre-eminently romantic. Recklessly and prodigally contracted, that debt for years pressed with crushing severity upon the docile Egyptian peasantry, but the astonishing feature of its history is that, in the end, out of evil came good. The Public Debt, with its associations of grinding taxation and of the koorbash was destined itself to become the salvation of the fellaheen. Foreign intervention in the interest of the creditors brought with it the foreign control which has secured the Egyptian peasantry better conditions of life than they have enjoyed for centuries, possibly better conditions for the mass of the people than have ever been known on the Nile. Reform in Egypt grew out of the necessity of protecting the labor of the fellaheen and of securing them such immunity from extortion and maltreatment that the fruit of their toil would suffice to meet the obligations imposed upon them without their knowledge and without their assent. And this proposition stands, although it is true that foreign intervention has bound the burthen of debt tightly upon Egypt, whereas other countries, it is argued, if placed in similar circumstances, would have repudiated their obligations and proceeded after long years of haggling to some illusory compromise with an exhausted creditor. This was not possible in Egypt; the cause of the foreign creditors was espoused by the most powerful Governments of the Old World, and the irresistible voice of Europe insisted on full measure being paid.

All this must be admitted, and the action of Europe may be criticised. But no repudiation, however thorough, would have

compensated the Egyptian people for the continuance of despotic misgovernment and official torture and exaction, which was the alternative before them. The necessity of securing the interest on the foreign debt involved the termination of an era of frightful misgovernment and allowed the real inhabitants of Egypt, the fellaheen, to raise their heads at last.

To trace the origin of the Egyptian Public Debt we must cast a brief glance at the modern history of the country and at its physical conditions.

Egypt emerges into modern history at the touch of Napoleon and under the auspices of that "barbarian of genius," Mehemet Ali. For centuries, after the closing of the old caravan routes from the East and the circumnavigation of the Cape, Egypt ceased to be of political interest to Europe. Resuscitating, it is more than probable, but turning to another purpose, a project suggested to Louis XIV. by the philosopher Leibnitz, Napoleon suddenly brought Egypt back into the sphere of politics by seizing it as his vantage ground for attacking India. Napoleon failed; but he had revealed the strategic possibilities of Egypt, and that country could no longer be disregarded by England or by France. Mehemet Ali, with his ambitious bid for a great Syrian Empire, did not fail to force Egypt still more prominently upon European statesmen. The organized government which he established on the ruins of the Mamelukes, his passion for introducing into Egypt all the newest appliances and inventions of Europe, invited still further attention. And before long the invention of railways and steamships and the progress of engineering brought within practical range Leibnitz's idea of re-directing Eastern trade into the old channel in which the Venetians had once conducted it with such success.

Before Mehemet Ali died, with his last moments occupied by futile dreams of restoring his old ally Louis Philippe, the overland route was an accomplished fact, and the question was actively discussed whether it should be perfected by railways or by the traditional method in Egypt, the excavation of a canal.

It was out of the ordinary though crushing taxation of the country, enforced by the relentless koorbash, that Mehemet Ali provided for the improvements he introduced. But more gigantic schemes of public works and improvements clearly could not be met by the unaided exertions of the tax-gatherer, and to prose-

cute them the accumulated savings of Europe had to be drawn upon. Moreover, as the vista of material prosperity was opened up the unchecked imagination of the rulers of a most patient, long-suffering people was intoxicated by dreams of personal magnificence and aggrandizement. The beginnings of the Public Debt in Egypt are not to be traced, as in so many countries, to costly wars. Mehemet Ali paid for his great wars, and left no debt behind him. Personal extravagance in later rulers and ambitious programmes of public works led to borrowing; and in a country, and in an epoch, when the rulers treated the whole country as their private estate until gradually forced under external pressure to distinguish between their individual property and the public resources, it was by no means easy to separate what was dissipated by the Palace from other expenditure. But it may be at once roundly stated, though the subject will be touched on again later on, that the greater part of the money borrowed by Said and Ismail Pashas was squandered by them, or stolen from them, with no benefit whatsoever to the country as a whole.

Said Pasha, genial, expansive and autocratic, was the first ruler to be fascinated by ideas of the material development of Egypt, and to launch into a wild personal extravagance foreign to the dispositions of Mehemet Ali and of Abbas. There was much to encourage him.

Owing to the American civil war, the price of Egyptian cotton had risen with startling rapidity, bringing unimagined wealth to the Pashas, while Said was dazzled by the glowing prospects of wealth and importance with which De Lesseps tempted him to grant the Suez Canal concession. Said granted the concession. Moreover, he pledged himself to supply fellaheen diggers to the enterprise (in other words the corvée was to be put at the service of what de Lesseps described as his humanitarian objects), and the Pasha further subscribed for 177,642 founders' shares. Said did not live to pay up his subscription. But his personal extravagance obliged him before his death to raise a loan. The nominal amount was £3,292,800, and the loan was issued by Messrs. Fruhling and Goschen. The rate of interest was 7 per cent., with a sinking fund of 1 per cent., and the net proceeds of the loan to Said were about £2,640,000.

Said Pasha's death in 1863 brought the great Arch-Borrower,

Ismail, on the scene. Entering upon his viceroyalty with every profession of liberal ideas and of good government on his lips, Ismail at once took up his predecessor's engagement to the Suez Canal Company, and arranged to complete the payment of the £2,080,000. But there was also other expenditure to be met. Investiture of a new Viceroy at Constantinople was then the rule, and Ismail, already bent upon enlarging his title and prerogatives, had laid out money freely on the Bosphorus in conciliating the Sultan and in securing adherents. Abdul Aziz, moreover, on his side had found his new Viceroy's attentions so profitable that he at once returned the visit, and was gratified by an offering of £100,000 in return for his imperial courtesy.

The floating debt which Said had left behind him, as well as the first loan, now began to assume unmanageable proportions, and Ismail turned to the quarter whence his predecessor had derived assistance. The second Egyptian loan was also issued by Messrs. Fruhling and Goschen. But the terms this time were stiffer. Interest, as before, was to run at 7 per cent., but a 4 per cent. sinking fund took the place of the old 1 per cent. sinking fund. The nominal amount of the loan was £5,704,200; the amount encashed by the Viceroy was £4,864,000.

That same year, however, was distinguished by an incident which at once committed Ismail to further borrowing and paved the road to eventual insolvency. The Suez Canal undertaking had run a chequered course. In 1856 the charter had been granted; the canal was to have been completed in 1864. But in 1864 the canal was very far from finished and the enterprise was in dire straits. The Sultan had interfered, objecting to the alienation of territory involved in the land grant, and though the operations of de Lesseps had not been arrested by the Suzerain's scruples, the Egyptian Government found itself obliged to resume the greater part of the land grant to satisfy the Porte. The ceded strip was narrowed to 200 metres on either bank, but the Egyptian Government was to give reasonable compensation for the shrinkage. Again, the Viceroy, so it was alleged, had been unpunctual in his supplies of forced labor. The company, therefore, caught at the chance of securing fresh funds to continue its work, for it was to all intents and purposes bankrupt, by magnifying and pressing its claims on the Viceroy, while excusing its own *lâches*. It found a powerful ally.

A settlement of these charges and counter charges had become necessary, and the whole matter had been referred to the arbitration of Napoleon III., de Lesseps having a warm partisan and supporter in the person of the Empress.

The Emperor delivered sentence in July, 1864, and history probably records few more inequitable, if not iniquitous, awards.

The company obtained an indemnity of £3,360,000, of which £1,520,000 was given on account of the irregular supply of forced labor, while the resumption of land into which Ismail had been forced by the Sultan was atoned for by the monstrous payment of £1,200,000, and £640,000 was paid for taking over the fresh-water canal from Ismailia to Suez.

Worst of all, Ismail acquired the habit of supplying funds to the canal. In 1866 the company retroceded another piece of land. Ismail bought back the Wadi Tumilat for £300,000, which the company had acquired for £74,000. But this was an unimportant item. From first to last Egypt contributed according to the usually accepted calculation, £16,000,000 in terms of money toward the canal. According to de Lessps' figures the assistance amounted to £10,000,000. From this contribution may be deducted the £4,000,000, in round figures, paid by Lord Beaconsfield for the shares subsequently purchased by the British Government. But there were other indirect and far-reaching sacrifices made by Egypt. The productive powers of the country were seriously restricted by the diversion of thousands of the fellaheen each year from agricultural operations. Dragged away from his beloved "beled" under the blows of the koorbash the fellah was condemned to scoop up the sand in baskets to make the great trench through the desert, while agricultural land went out of cultivation. No loan was raised specially and exclusively by the Viceroy to finance the canal, but the floating debt created to discharge the obligations he had incurred or accepted drove Ismail headlong forward along his dangerous path. Borrowing was not long deferred, under these circumstances, but this time Ismail went through a new form of borrowing by pledging his private estate or Daira, and began the series of Daira loans. As there was no distinction between the public revenues of the country and the private income of the Viceroy (and we shall see that subsequently the Daira loans were assimilated to the direct state loans), borrowing on the security of the Daira amounted to an

ingenious method of varying one and the same pledge, with this advantage to the lender that he insisted on a somewhat higher rate of interest in view of a pretended difference in the security.

The first Daira loan of 1865 was negotiated by the Anglo-Egyptian Bank. Terms were becoming still stiffer. The loan, with a nominal capital of £3,000,000, was issued at 90; the rate of interest was 9 per cent., with a sinking fund of 3.27 per cent. One of the objects of the loan was to pay for the estate of Halim Pasha, a surviving son of Mehemet Ali, who had been forced to consent to sell at a price of £1,000,000. Next year Ismail shifted back again to his previous method, and a loan secured on the public revenue was announced. The so-called Railways loan of 1866 was a monument of extravagant finance. The nominal amount of the loan was again £3,000,000 at 7 per cent. The amount received was £2,640,000. By way of a sinking fund it was arranged that the £3,000,000 should be repaid (and it was so repaid) by six annual installments of £500,000, a rate equivalent to a sinking fund of 18.9 per cent., constituting, therefore, during six years an average charge of over 26 per cent. on the amount actually realized. In another twelvemonth the Viceroy who had feed the Porte heavily to concede him the somewhat meaningless title of Khedive, and had paid costly visits to London, Paris and Constantinople, harked back again to the Daira system of borrowing. Ismail was, indeed, badly in want of ready cash; Treasury bonds of all kinds had been issued, but they were taken at ruinous prices, and the market was gorged. Another forced sale of property had contributed to the situation. Besides buying the title of Khedive, the ruler of Egypt, desperately anxious to establish a regal dynasty, had induced the Porte to alter the law of succession and to vest the succession in the eldest son of the Khedive instead of the eldest surviving male of Mehemet Ali's family. Prince Halim, the original heir under the old law, had already been bought out, and it had seemed expedient to apply the same process again to Mustapha Fazil, the Khedive's younger brother. The second Daira loan, and fourth of Ismail's loans, was nominally brought out by the Imperial Ottoman Bank. The Mustapha Pasha loan of 1867 was for £2,080,000, interest at 9 per cent., plus a sinking fund of 3.4 per cent. It was issued at 90 per cent., but as payment was allowed in discredited floating debt bonds received at par the actual

amount received did not furnish Ismail's coffers very amply. The floating debt, after the operation, still remained at some figure between £25,000,000 and £30,000,000, while the total revenue of the country was at this time about £6,000,000. The Treasury bills were circulating at a discount of 16 per cent., while Daira bills were discounted at 22 per cent. Such a situation obviously demanded still more heroic measures, and more heroic measures were forthcoming. A forced national loan was attempted, but proved abortive. A grand state loan for £11,890,000 negotiated by the Oppenheims was the remedy; it was issued in 1868 to provide for public works, to pay off indebtedness to the Suez Canal, and to meet maturing bonds of the public debt. The issue price was 75, and the loan bore interest at 7 per cent., with a sinking fund of 1 per cent. Commission charges were also heavy, and the net amount received by the Treasury, partly, as before, in discredited bonds, was £7,193,000; the rate, therefore, paid on the amount realized was 13¼ per cent. This grand transaction was the prelude to an outburst of extravagance. For months Cairo lived in full carnival, and the Opera House (built mainly by forced labor) was at last opened. New taxes were at the same time piled on and exacted and over-exacted with the utmost rigor. A usual procedure was for a money lender to take with him chests of hard cash and accompany the tax collector in his tours in the provinces. Called upon to pay their taxes before the crops were ripe, the villagers, under the stimulus of the koorbash, were then and there obliged to borrow from the attendant Shylock and to assign their coming crops to him in payment. But nothing could stay the rising tide of expenditure. In 1869 the Suez Canal was at last opened. The festivities cost over £1,000,000. At the same time, in order to conciliate philanthropic sentiment in England, Sir Samuel Baker was dispatched on an expedition to suppress the slave trading on the White Nile, an enterprise which accounted for £500,000, and made the Soudan a drain upon Egypt. Further difficulties with the Suez Canal Company were also settled for £1,240,000 and the coupons of the Egyptian shares were assigned for the payment. Still more heroic measures were now clearly necessary to put the Khedive in possession of funds, but for the moment the Khedive dared not again pledge the public revenues. He had, indeed, undertaken when raising the loan for £11,890,000 in 1868 not to borrow again for five

years, but this did not prevent him once more having recourse to a Daira loan, the third and last. It was necessarily a tamer operation.

The Daira loan of 1870, arranged by Messrs. Bischoffsheim, was only for £7,142,860 at 7 per cent., with a sinking fund of 2.35 per cent., amounting together to a charge of nearly 13½ per cent. on the amount actually realized of £5,000,000. Side by side with this came an internal forced loan known as the Monkabalah or "compensation" loan. Land owners were pressed to pay six years' land tax in advance and in "compensation" the tax was to be reduced thereafter by 50 per cent. With much squeezing this precious expedient brought in about £8,000,000. When Egypt's house was finally set in order, owners of land who had subscribed were indemnified by an annuity of £153,750, payable for a term of fifty years. This repayment constitutes Egypt's internal debt.

But the curtain was now rung up for the climax of the financial tragi-comedy. In 1873 Ismail was once more free to pledge the credit, such as it was, of the country, and an excuse was to hand in the desirability of effecting a great economy by converting the floating into a funded debt. The floating debt was about £28,000,000 and carried an average rate of interest of 14 per cent. It was first proposed to raise a loan of £20,000,000, then of £26,000,000, and, finally, that nothing should be left out, the colossal sum of £32,000,000 was settled for the new loan. Messrs. Oppenheim negotiated the great operation. Everything in Egypt of the nature of a public asset that remained unpledged was now pledged, and in addition all revenues already assigned were mortgaged as soon as they should be released. The rate of interest was 7 per cent., with a sinking fund of 1 per cent., but subscription in part was allowed in Treasury bonds, and the amount realized by the Egyptian Treasury was about £20,740,000, the real charge for interest and sinking fund together on the net proceeds working out at 12.36 per cent. This great stroke, however, did not quite conclude Ismail's operations. The very next year, 1874, he managed to raise £3,000,000 for a twelvemonth from the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, a sum on which he paid 14 per cent. A year later saw him surrendering the 177,642 shares in the Suez Canal, originally subscribed for by Said Pasha, to the British Government in exchange for £4,000,000. As the

coupons had been detached up to 1894, and as Ismail received £450,000 more than had been paid for the shares, the bargain was the best he had ever made. And as the shares are now worth £24,000,000, and the revenue they will bring in this year is estimated at £850,000, Lord Beaconsfield's bargain for Great Britain has turned out one of the best ever made for any country.

At this point we may take leave of Ismail as a borrower. It is true that he remained Khedive till 1879, but after 1876 until his abdication the financial destinies of Egypt and the fortunes of its public debt passed under international control. In 1876 Messrs. Goschen and Joubert, strongly supported by the Governments of Great Britain and France, proceeded to Egypt on behalf of the bondholders, who were menaced by sheer inability on the part of Egypt to pay their interest. The result of their recommendations was embodied in Khedivial decrees in 1876 and in 1877, dividing the outstanding loans into four classes. The so-called State loans of 1862, 1868 and 1873 were split up between a United Debt of £59,000,000 bearing 6 per cent. interest with a further 1 per cent. as Sinking Fund; the remainder of these debts received priority as a Privileged Loan of £17,000,000, carrying 5 per cent. The loan of 1864 was treated together with the two Daira loans of 1865 and 1867, making a total amount of £4,392,616, on the various portions of which rates of interest of nearly 11, 12 and 12¼ per cent. were fixed. The Daira loan of 1870 and the Floating Debt were amalgamated into a third loan of £8,815,000 at 5 per cent. interest. The total of the whole debt was fixed at £89,208,000, and Egypt was called upon to bear a total debt charge of £6,565,000. Two controllers-general, an Englishman and a Frenchman, were appointed, and an International Caisse of four members, English, French, Austrian and Italian, was constituted to receive the interest for the bondholders. But the recommendations made by Messrs. Goschen and Joubert were made upon imperfect information. Facts had been misrepresented to them, and other facts had been concealed. The koorbash had been applied unmercifully in the preceding years to extract revenue out of Egypt. What flogging and torture had extracted it is impossible to estimate exactly. But the revenue of the country was officially estimated by the foreign consuls-general at between £9,000,000 and £9,500,000. It was impossible for Egypt to support a charge on her foreign debt that amounted to

over two-thirds of the revenue, and, with the tribute of Turkey added, ran up to over £7,000,000. The only possible method of meeting the coupons was by continually collecting the taxes ahead, and by subjecting the broken peasantry to ever increasing extortion. It was clear that this could not go on; and a partial failure of the Nile flood in 1877, bringing famine in its train, threatened inevitable collapse and repudiation. A searching commission of inquiry into both the revenue and expenditure of the Court, and into the entire fiscal and administrative machinery, was imperative. Ismail was forced to assent. In 1879 the truth was at last laid bare and the Commission agreed that the sources of all extravagance and confusion was the Khedive himself and that as long as Ismail retained his arbitrary power improvement and economy were impossible. Ismail bowed before the storm of public opinion; but with a fixed determination to escape from the restrictions placed upon him and to regain full financial liberty. He accepted the principle of Ministerial responsibility. The progressive and enlightened Armenian Christian, Nubar Pasha, was put at the head of the Ministry, and an Englishman and a Frenchman, Sir Rivers Wilson and M. de Blignières, were entrusted with the portfolios of Finance and of Public Works. This high comedy had a short run. Ismail at once set about inciting a movement among the fanatical elements of the population and the native officers, who were in arrears of pay, against the new Ministry. It was his design to prove to Europe that Mahommedan sentiment would not tolerate a Ministry containing Christians, and that the Khedive's arbitrary power could alone repress disorder in Egypt. A riot directed against the Ministers broke out, and Ismail appeared and suppressed it. But Europe had taken his measure, and the representatives of the Great Powers advised him to abdicate. For a moment the Khedive seemed prepared to defy them, and coercion would have involved many awkward questions. But his nerve failed him, and in June, 1879, he shuffled ingloriously off the stage to die an exile. He had succeeded during his rule in piling up a debt of over £66,000,000, contracted in seven regular loans, excluding the Domains loan, to which attention will presently be drawn. How far the money borrowed was wasted; what proportion was spent for the good of the country, it is impossible to discover. Such was the chaos of accounts! "I doubt my-

self," wrote Sir Alfred Milner in "England in Egypt," "whether the portion of Ismail's loans devoted to work of public utility—always excluding the Suez Canal—was equal to 10 per cent. of the amount of debt which he had contracted."

For this nominal debt for which he rendered Egypt liable, Ismail had received perhaps £41,000,000, and he had probably repaid in interest and sinking funds as much as £30,000,000. But, side by side with repayment, he had continually added to an unmanageable floating debt, and so contrived to swell the total unpaid balance of indebtedness.

Ismail's retirement was the prelude to a second recasting of the whole debt under European control, an operation carried out this time with fuller knowledge of all the circumstances.

A preliminary step toward this had been taken during his last days, rendered inevitable by the special and crying difficulty of the Floating Debt. In order to deal with this the European controllers and "Christian Ministry" had induced Ismail to surrender 435,000 acres of his private estates as security for a loan of £8,500,000 to be devoted to liquidating floating obligations. Yet in spite of the assistance of the Rothschilds this loan, which is known as the Domains Loan, though it was issued on the same kind of security as the previous Daira loans, was only issued with an interest of 7 per cent. at 73. The net result, therefore, came to some £6,276,000: and as £1,250,000 was assigned to the November Coupon of the previous debt and a further £500,000 to the tribute due to the Porte, the balance that could be utilized for liquidating the Floating Debt was not too considerable, and this Floating Debt had still to be taken into account in the great rearrangement sanctioned by the Law of Liquidation of July 17th, 1880, to which the Great Powers became a party. The Law of Liquidation followed the same lines as the Goschen-Joubert settlement of four years previously, but it was framed, as has been stated, with fuller knowledge of the resources and needs of the country. The Floating Debt was at last extinguished and the principle of consolidating the various loans into a few great loans was carried still further, while the interest was reduced to an amount the country might possibly pay without incurring fresh debt to discharge the recurring coupons. Yet, even with these reductions, Egypt was called upon to devote nearly half of its total revenue, then about £9,000,000, to the service of the debt,

while taxation, though the actual collection of taxes was regularized and rendered less oppressive, bore very severely on the impoverished population.

The two subjoined tables will show the progress made with the debt between 1876 and 1880:

DEBT AS FIXED ACCORDING TO THE PROPOSALS OF MESSRS. GOSCHEN AND JOUBERT IN 1876 AND 1877.

	Nominal Capital.	Rate of Interest.	Interest.	Sinking Fund.	Total Charge.
Unified debt	£59,000,000	7 per cent.	£3,540,000	£637,700	£4,177,700
Privileged debt	17,000,000	5 per cent.	850,000	35,744	885,744
Loans of 1864, 1865, 1867	4,392,616	10.87 " 12.27 " 12.4 "	317,295	743,515	1,060,808
Daira	8,315,430	5 per cent.	440,771		440,771
Total	£89,208,046		£5,148,066	£1,416,957	£6,565,023

LAW OF LIQUIDATION 17TH JULY, 1880.

Unified	£58,018,240	4 per cent.	£2,320,729		£2,320,729
Privileged	22,629,800	5 per cent.	1,131,440	£55,914	1,187,404
Daira	9,386,750	4 per cent.	375,470		375,470
Domains	8,500,000	5 per cent.	425,000		425,000
Total	£98,559,790		£4,252,689	£55,914	£4,308,603

It will be seen that the Unified Debt had been reduced in the four years by redemption. The Privileged Debt was increased by a further issue in order to pay off the Floating Debt, an operation for which the Domains Loan had not sufficed, while other loans were thrown together with the old Daira loan. But the total debt was made more tolerable by the reduction of the rate of interest and by the suspension of various sinking funds, notably by a reduction from 7 to 4 per cent. in the interest on the Unified Debt. The principal of the debt was, indeed, increased, but the total annual charge on Egypt was reduced from £6,565,023 to £4,308,603.

The task before Egypt, therefore, of paying its way, hard as it was (and it was still very hard), had been rendered practicable. Success seemed assured and the service of the debt was maintained while even the capital was reduced by a million in the next two years. The door appeared closed against further borrowings. But the door was to be pushed open again by various necessities, political and administrative. The European control exercised through the English and French condominium under which the country had passed on Ismail's abdication was fated to receive rude shocks, and was destined to an early dissolution.

Ismail had sown the seeds of trouble. In inciting the Egyp-

tian officers to break out against the Nubar Ministry, he had taught them a lesson they had learnt too well. Certain revenues, the receipts of the railways, telegraphs and of the Port of Alexandria, together with the customs receipts and revenues of the four richest provinces, had been entirely assigned to the Debt. Hard retrenchment was necessary, if the £4,500,000 or so of revenue remaining to Egypt was to suffice, and retrenchment in the army was an obvious economy.

But the military officers, while protesting against retrenchment in their case, had also a special grievance. The Khedivial dynasty, foreign in its origin, had always reserved the higher posts in the army for Turks and Circassians. The military prestige of the Turks, however, had been impaired by the Russo-Turkish war, and the growing feeling of "Egypt for the Egyptians" led the Egyptian-born officers to demand admission to the higher posts. Side by side with this movement another manifestation of national feeling was making itself felt. The new Mixed Tribunals, owning jurisdiction in civil cases between foreigners and natives, had suddenly confronted the impoverished and indebted fellaheen with the summary processes of eviction, a thing practically unknown in a Mahommedan country, where interest is not recognized by Mahommedan law or sentiment, and the recovery of a debt is settled by a long process of haggling. Widespread misery and dismay lent force to what had, in its inception, some promise of being a serious national movement, with demands for reforms inscribed upon its banner, many of which have since been carried out. The two movements—military and national—at first regarded each other with no friendly eye. But the policy of the condominium was neither decided nor sincerely united, and gave rise to many false hopes and illusions. When at last, in 1881, England and France joined in Gambetta's famous Identic Note, threatening foreign intervention, an appeal was made to the fanatical prejudices of the people, and the two Egyptian parties rapidly drew together, while the guidance of the agitation passed to the more violent elements in the country. The result is well known. Foreign intervention became inevitable. France held back, the dominant sea power in the Mediterranean was forced to act, and the control and regeneration of Egypt devolved upon a reluctant, and at first half-hearted, England.

Arabi's rebellion had made Egypt in the meantime liable for

the losses incurred by foreigners when the retiring Egyptian troops set Alexandria on fire. Moreover, as a measure of sheer necessity in order to enable Egypt to pay her way, and to avoid plunging Europe once more into international complications, it had been decided to abandon the Soudan to the forces of Mahdism, and further claims for indemnities arose as a consequence of this bitter necessity. A new loan to pay off all these new obligations was necessary. And it was equally necessary to readjust the distribution of the revenue between the bondholders and the Government Under the law of liquidation the assigned revenues were devoted exclusively to the debt. If these revenues yielded a surplus after the coupons had been paid, that surplus was devoted to the reduction of debt, while, meantime, the unassigned revenues might fall far short of the inevitable needs even of a government conducted with the strictest economy. In 1883, for instance, £800,000 of debt bearing 4 or 5 per cent. interest was discharged, while the governmental expenditure was exceeded by about £1,650,000. In other words, Egypt paid off debt bearing 5 per cent. interest at most with one hand, while with the other she was obliged to contract short loans at higher rates of interest, or else to allow the administrative machinery to get out of gear on the regular working of which the collection of the revenue necessary for the service of the debt depended. The absurdity of the situation was obvious, but the assent of the Great Powers and of Turkey was necessary to any new arrangement, and negotiations were protracted. At length they were concluded, and the Convention of London emerged from out the wilderness of discussion in 1885, superseding and modifying the law of liquidation. That convention remains to this day the organic law, and it is an international law, of Egyptian finance. It dealt with two principal difficulties: the distribution of the revenues between the Government and the bondholders, and the liquidation of the Alexandria and Soudan indemnities.

The first difficulty was dealt with in an extremely ingenious manner. It was imperative not to diminish, and desirable if possible to increase, the security of the bondholders. It was equally imperative not to drive Egypt into piling up fresh obligations at a higher rate of interest while paying off debt bearing a lower rate of interest.

The service of the debt was therefore made the first charge

upon the revenues of Egypt. The second charge was a fixed amount appropriated to what was considered the necessary "administrative" expenditure of Egypt. The revenues assigned to the debt were called upon, after providing for its service, to meet, if necessary, any unpaid portion of the administrative budget. Any surplus that might remain over after providing for these first two charges was to be devoted, half to paying off debt or creating a reserve fund for the bondholders; the other half to such administrative purposes as the Government might determine. The "authorized" expenditure of the Government was fixed at £5,370,000, in round figures, one or two items being fluctuating.

But this amount, though sufficient with strict economy for the needs of the Government at the time, has since proved inadequate. The progress of Egypt has therefore depended in a great measure upon the gradual augmentation of the sum appropriated to the authorized expenditure. No addition to the appropriation can be made without the consent of the Powers, or, in other words, without the consent of France, which has viewed with inveterate jealousy any measure that, however it might tend to promote the prosperity of Egypt, may tend at the same time to ensure solvency and to remove to a further distance any prospect of a financial breakdown which would enable France to bring once more before Europe the question of Egypt and of the informal predominance of Great Britain on the Nile. Hence the additions that have been sanctioned to the authorized expenditure (while at the same time the security of the bondholders is being steadily increased by improved administration) have consisted either of items of expenditure such as city drainage, which have chiefly concerned the European residents, or of items such as a contribution to the cost of abolishing the corvée, which the French Government found itself unable to resist without incurring most undesirable political odium in Egypt.

The amount of authorized expenditure now exceeds £6,150,000. But the total administrative expenditure of the Government exceeds this figure by some £400,000. Therefore, in so far as the Government desires to increase expenditure beyond the authorized amount, it can only do so out of its half share in any surplus that may remain over after (1) the service of the debt, and (2) the authorized expenditures have been met. In other words, the Egyptian Finance Department, before meeting any extraordinary

need or undertaking any new improvement, has to see that there are two pounds before it can dare to spend twenty shillings.

No doubt this is a check upon extravagance, and would be admirably adapted to curb the extravagances of an Ismail. But, though it may be salutary, it undoubtedly does starve improvement in Egypt under the very different regime now existing.

The liquidation of the Alexandria and Soudan indemnities was an easier matter. Egypt was authorized to raise a loan of £9,000,000, guaranteed by all the Powers, to take precedence of all existing loans. An annuity of £315,000 was provided for the service of the loan, and ranked as the first of all charges upon the revenues assigned to the debt. The loan, ushered in and sponsored after this manner, was a great success. The nominal amount borrowed to obtain exactly £9,000,000 was only £9,424,000, and as the rate of interest was fixed at 3 per cent., the annuity not only provided for the interest, but left a balance over from the beginning to be applied to reduction of the principal. Eight millions of the new loan, the guaranteed loan, as it is called, were applied to paying off the indemnities and the deficits of the last few years, while a million was left over.

The story of this million is one of the most fascinating in the annals of finance. For a country which had ruined itself by borrowing, to borrow yet another million under no compulsion, but while still deeply entangled in a financial slough, seemed on the face of it a last imprudence. Yet the million was borrowed and was devoted to the great need of Egypt, improved irrigation. Nearly one-half of it was devoted to one single work, to completing and rendering practical, under the auspices of Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, the famous barrage designed by Mongel Bey, to hold up the water of the Nile at its bifurcation below Cairo, instead of allowing the flood to stream uselessly away to the sea, and thereby to raise the water level through all the canals of the Delta and run fertilizing rills into districts which had hitherto lain parched.

How many times this half million has been repaid by the consequent increased prosperity of the country it is impossible to say. In this last year, 1900, but for the barrage, the low Nile would certainly have involved the almost entire loss of the cotton crop of the Delta, Egypt's great staple crop.

From this time forward the history of the Egyptian debt flows in a less troubled stream. Yet it is full of interest, and

every detailed event throws light upon the extraordinary political circumstances of the country. In 1887 it was wisely decided, in view of the physical conditions of Egypt, in other words, Egypt's dependence upon an uncertain Nile flood, that it would be more prudent, instead of applying every surplus piastre in the hands of the International Commission of the Debt (increased in number from four to six by the addition of a Russian and German during the negotiations of 1885), to accumulate the money until a reserve fund of £2,050,000—two millions of Egyptian pounds—had been accumulated. As soon as that figure was reached reduction of debt was to be resumed; but power was given to the Commissioners to grant sums out of the reserve fund for "extraordinary expenditure incurred with the previous consent of the Commissioners of the Caisse."

How this simple and prudent provision became a source of international dispute I shall have to recount later on.

The next event in the progress of the debt bears striking evidence to the recovery of Egyptian credit under the auspices of Lord Cromer, the representative of the predominant Power in Egypt. A brilliant page has been added to the history by the extraordinary success of the steady administration and of the conservative reforms conducted under the English occupation in the teeth of much political obstruction, and in the midst of a bewildering maze of international obstacles. In eight short years Egyptian credit rose so high that it became possible in 1890 to convert the privileged debt and to reduce the interest from 5 to 3½ per cent.

Opportunity also was taken at the same time to obtain a further sum of £1,330,000 on easy terms for irrigation and an additional amount was added of £2,330,000 in order to relieve the Egyptian Treasury of certain annual payments made to the Khedivial family. These two items account for the larger part of the increase in the nominal amount of the privileged debt rendered necessary by conversion. The capital of this debt was now raised from £22,296,000 to £29,400,000, but the saving in annual interest was nearly £113,000. At the same time it was found possible to deal with the Daira debt, not in this case by a direct reduction in the rate of interest, but by reducing the capital value of this debt by 15 per cent. The saving in the total annual debt charge consequent upon these operations came to over £320,000 a

year. It was intended to apply this money to the abolition of the corvée by the substitution of paid labor instead of forced labor for cleaning the canals, the forced labor constituting a severe tax on the poorest inhabitants. But to the astonishment of all the world the consent of France was withheld to so obvious and so just an arrangement. The fellaheen might suffer, but no reform which could be stopped was to be carried out, if it redounded to the prestige and popularity of the English occupation. In the long run, after much discussion and bad feeling, the Egyptian Government achieved its object. France was obliged to consent to an addition of £153,000 to the "authorized expenditure" on account of the corvée. But France insisted, and has persisted in its original refusal. The Conversion Economies, as a result of this refusal, instead of being applied to the reduction of the corvée, and to many other useful reforms, have been passed into a Conversion Economies Fund as a further security for the bondholders. This fund is devoted to the purchase of Egyptian securities; the interest on these securities being again devoted to further purchases of Egyptian stock.

These purchases, which constitute Egypt *pro tanto* the holder of her own debt, operate as a sinking fund. But it is a very expensive and unjustifiable sinking fund forced upon Egypt by the jealousy of France. Egypt, instead of being allowed to draw bonds at par, has to gain control of them by purchases in the open market, and by this system of continual obligatory purchases Egypt forces up the price against herself. In other words, instead of paying £100 to redeem £100 of debt, Egypt has to pay £105 or £106, a figure which may conceivably rise, if the process continues, to £110, or even to £120.

Still another reserve fund remains which must be explained, though its relation to the public debt is not so direct. This is formed out of the free balances which the Egyptian Government may save out of the money coming to it for yearly expenses in the various ways enumerated above. This special reserve fund, as it is termed, amounted on the 31st of December, 1899, to some £250,000.

Here, then, we have the institution of the third of the reserve funds which render any account of Egyptian finance so puzzling. First, as we have seen, there is the general reserve fund, which must amount to £2,050,000 before the unified debt can be paid

off, and out of which grants or loans can be made by the Commissioners of the Caisse de la Dette.

At the close of 1899 this fund amounted to £3,600,000 in round figures. This amount, it will at once be observed, exceeds the £2,050,000 to be accumulated before debt is paid off. But as over £1,600,000 has been pledged or assigned as a guarantee for certain public works it is not considered that a free £2,050,000 has been accumlated. This fund is invested in Egyptian securities.

Next there comes the conversion economies fund, which cannot be applied to public objects, but rolls up automatically through the re-investment of the interest accruing on the Egyptian stock in which it is invested. The amount of this fund is over £3,640,000.

Lastly, there is the Government's special reserve fund. The history of the Egyptian debt, however, would not be complete without mention of an incident which, arising out of the international conventions regulating the debt, became a matter of moment in European politics. It grew to be the habit of the Egyptian Government to look with confidence to the general reserve fund for grants or guarantees for public works. The fund is administered by the six international commissioners in a spirit of enlightened regard for Egyptian interests, and no criticism can be passed upon the individual commissioners, who reside in Egypt, although the commission itself is an unnecessarily cumbrous and expensive body. Moreover, another consideration besides their genuine regard for the country has contributed to make the commissioners adopt a liberal attitude in regard to grants for "extraordinary expenditure." The holders of unified bonds are in no hurry, with the bonds standing at 105 or 106, to be paid off at par. This is particularly the case of French holders, who constitute a very large proportion, probably half, of the holders, and who have come to look upon Egyptian unified as a sound family investment. The commissioners fear odium if the general reserve fund exceeds the statutory £2,050,000. Whereas, therefore, in earlier days before the general reserve fund approached two millions the Egyptian Government had to make out a very strong case for a grant of money, the position is now virtually reversed. It is the Caisse which really approaches the Government nowadays to see if some justification of a grant cannot be found to keep the unpledged portion of the fund well within the two millions.

Accordingly, when the Egyptian Government determined on the Soudan War in 1896, it naturally had recourse to the Caisse for a grant-in-aid of half a million. The majority of the commissioners acceded, and the money was paid, but the French and Russian commissioners instituted proceedings in the Mixed Courts to compel the Government to restore the money. This procedure opened up a number of serious questions, besides gravely complicating the relations between Great Britain and France.

The Mixed Courts, it was generally held, had no jurisdiction over the Egyptian Government in its acts of sovereignty. Yet the Courts, though avoiding a decision on this large question, entertained and did not reject the suit. The next question was whether grants for military expenditure were or were not capable of inclusion in the extraordinary expenditure for which the Caisse was authorized to make grants. The language of the decree authorizing grants for extraordinary expenditure in no wise excludes grants for military purposes, and therefore the onus of proving that a grant for this purpose could not come within the scope of the decree clearly lay upon the objectors. But the Court, whose proceedings throughout evoked considerable suspicion of partisanship, came to a contrary decision, and eventually ordered the repayment of the money, while discreetly leaving open most of the fundamental issues involved. The Egyptian Government accepted the position, and refunded the money—which was immediately granted to the Egyptian Government by the Government of Great Britain. A curious, and, at one time, rather threatening international episode was in this way brought to a conclusion satisfactory to Great Britain and Egypt, and most unsatisfactory to France, which had provoked it.

Since this episode the Egyptian debt has not reappeared upon the political arena, but its credit has risen continually higher, and Egypt is steadily becoming a larger owner of her own securities.

At the end of 1899 the nominal capital of the Egyptian debt stood at £103,049,000, of which £7,494,000 was in the hands of the Commissioners of Debt, *i. e.*, was held by Egypt. The total amount in the hands of the public was therefore £95,555,000. And the interest charge on the whole debt was £3,862,000.

These figures may with advantage be compared with the figures of the 1877 settlement, and of those given by the law of liquidation:

	Capital of debt in hands of public.	Total debt charge.
1877	£89,208,946	£6,565,023
1880	98,559,790	4,308,603
1899*	95,550,000	3,862,000

A certain amount of these last two loans is paid off every year by the proceeds of sales of portions of the land on which they are mortgaged. But under international conventions the amount of annual redemption is limited, and these loans, as well as the privileged loan, cannot be converted or paid off till 1905.

In that year great changes may be made in the Egyptian debt. An arrangement has been made with a syndicate whereby the unsold Daira estates are to be taken over by the syndicate in that year; the outstanding capital, which is still over £6,165,000, will be cancelled, while, in addition, a certain share in eventual profits from resales of the land is secured to the Egyptian Government. Moreover, the Government will be free to deal with the privileged debt at the same date, and it will be open to Egypt, should it seem fit, to cancel this debt by turning over its railways to a company. Such an operation might pave the way to an eventual conversion of the great unified debt. However, prophesies in such a matter are unwise, but if Egypt maintains anything like her recent rate of progress the existing debt, gigantic as it may seem, might be extinguished soon after the middle of the twentieth century.

Meanwhile, those who are responsible for the welfare of Egypt are again showing their faith in borrowing for reproductive purposes, and a further issue of £1,740,000 of privileged debt has been arranged, which will be devoted to public works or to clearing off advances from the general reserve fund granted for that purpose.

C. E. DAWKINS.

* Note that between 1880 and 1899 it had been necessary to raise the Guaranteed Loan of £9,000,000.

SOME COMMENTS ON DIVORCE.

BY MRS. KATE GANNETT WELLS.

THAT the "higher criticism" has not materially impugned the authority of the Bible in relation to personal affairs to-day, is evident from the attitude of a large number of people concerning divorce. Logically, those who accept the teachings of the Bible or of the Church as infallible for all time are justified in believing that the canonical cause for divorce is the only one.

To other persons, however, the authority of the Bible is not final in matters of discipline, though they acknowledge that a Church, as an organization, has entire right to prescribe formulas of action for its members, as members, or penalties for their misdemeanors, but not for its members as individuals in the body politic. They even grant that the less authority the State has over religion, the more need is there of personal righteousness and the greater the function of preaching. But interference of Church action founded on doctrinal belief with the rights of the State over its corporate members, as arbiter, is to set up an *imperium in imperio,* and is at best in a country where there is no State church an unrepublican anomaly.

The Biblical prohibition of divorce is no more explicit than the command to give away both coat and cloak, in which charity long ago found a loophole of escape from personal impoverishment. And it was wise Roger Sherman, of the Continental Congress, who contrived to justify the Connecticut law, which then permitted divorce for three years of wilful desertion and neglect of duty, by discovering that the statute was supported by the twenty-fourth article of the Westminster Confession on the testimony of the fifteenth verse of the seventh chapter of First Corinthians, wilful desertion being a case about which "our Lord had not given any direction."

If, however, the authority of the Bible is not to be invoked in support of divorce save for one cause, the reasons for divorce are to be sought either in the good of the individual or of the community, which is a curious mixing of terms since the greater includes the less. Yet it is just this separation of terms that under the guise of a chivalric quest is leading alike to rampant individualism and to paternal legislation. Unfortunately, the sacramental view of wedlock has failed to be its protection, and therefore are there many legal limitations under which marriage is already enjoined, the number of which must shortly be increased, if the State would check the progeny of feeblemindedness.

But coincidently with state regulations concerning marriage has developed also a code of divorce laws that assumes the expediency of divorce, and the question of the validity of that assumption resolves itself into a consideration of the right of the state to annul what it has once sanctioned. Just because the "unto death" clause of the church service is fraught with possibilities of suffering, the state has mercifully taken unto itself the prerogative under certain conditions of undoing what it has done as safer on the whole than the application to marriage of indeterminate sentence concerning its duration.

As sufficient causes usually cited for the intervention of law are infidelity, non-support, "gross neglect of duty" and "extreme cruelty." In regard to the first, the injured party whether man or woman, must keenly feel the personal indignity offered by infidelity, as such a plea for divorce is an open recognition of the basis of marriage which many a woman had rather endure wrong than acknowledge in public.

The second cause, non-support, is being done away with by the modern, economic woman, who contends for her right to industrial pursuits and alleges her ability and destiny to be a wage-earner. It used to be a stigma to be so unattractive as a wife that one was not supported in comfort. Now, it is a greater stigma to be incapable of self-support. If both husband and wife are to be wage-earners, or if the unearned increment of invested capital accrues to both, it will be difficult for a woman to base a suit upon this ground, except its object be to secure an arrangement for her participation in her husband's resources, in which case it is still to be hoped the larger burden of self-support will fall upon the man, once the patron, now the equal, of woman!

The third and fourth conditions, "gross neglect of duty" and "extreme cruelty," appeal to the mind as pregnant phrases, which allow large liberty to offenders and require a nice sense of discrimination in the court. If other conditions are maligned, these can never be—susceptible as they are of individual interpretation, sheltering alike vanity and modesty. "Neglect of duty" is a much more ethical cause than the offering of "indignities" that render life "intolerable" or "burdensome," as one might be over-fastidious or too easily bored. "Extreme cruelty" depends upon that to which the victim has been accustomed. But, however bad or misleading is any "omnibus clause," it is no worse in its moral effect than restriction of divorce to a single cause.

It is acknowledged good form to speak of any one of these four causes (desertion is really included under non-support) in polite society. Yet, if one ventures to hint at other causes, which to a high-minded, sensitive person are quite as galling, society fears it is compromised, and religiosity and morality fear that The Home is to be invaded. There are more crimes committed upon The Home in its name than upon any other holy place. The daily spectacle of a discordant home is worse for a child than the known separation of its parents. It may be—it often is—edifying to see the meekness with which long-continued suffering is endured; but it does not follow that it might not be more instructive to witness a righteous self-protection. What the woman endures cannot be told, while that which the man suffers is more patent and specific in its character.

If a woman, having contracted a union which must be fatal to her purpose to protect the future from evil inheritances, seeks divorce to avoid being the mother of children with criminal or unmoral tendencies or congenital defects, she is said by some to be flying in the face of Providence, or to be forsaking her duty as wife, when her duty to the state as mother is paramount to her duty as individual. Many a brave woman has sought divorce for this publicly unalleged cause, and many more piously reared women would do so if they had not been taught as true doctrine the Biblical assumption of the supremacy of man. Yet the state can more easily afford divorce courts than the support of the infirm, or than having its industrial conditions affected by vacillating will power and an anæmic condition among its citizens.

Between the two extreme positions of a state where no divorce

is permissible, and the former famous "omnibus clause," which now has been generally repealed, there is a wide range of specific causes, each one in itself legitimate provided the character and intentions of the parties are righteous, which would make the court a judge of what constitutes character over and above specific statutory acts. "Extreme cruelty" usually means grievous bodily injury, but in some States it also includes great mental suffering inflicted by either party to the marriage. Elsewhere it is ruled that "habitual drunkenness" must have been acquired after marriage in order to be alleged as cause for divorce—presumably because no one need marry a drunkard; though it might also be contended that the acquisition of such habit after marriage was due to wedded unhappiness for which one of the parties must have been responsible, and that no divorce should be granted to the end that the guilty might do penance.

The habitual, excessive and intemperate use of opium, morphine and chloral is also admitted as cause for divorce; and in one State at least incurable insanity subsequent to marriage is cause. There is much variation in the States in regard to conviction of felony or infamous crime or imprisonment, as offering legitimate cause for divorce—ranging from temporary incarceration in the penitentiary to imprisonment for life. In some States nothing is said about conviction. Certainly, the most cursory glance at State variation of causes indicates the need for greater uniformity, but yet again such variation—or laxity, if that word is preferred—is better than no divorce, or divorce for "canonical" cause alone.

Such variation, however, affords proof of the different valuations placed upon the "holy estate of matrimony," which when all is said is still a matter of personal values. The woman in an English court who said she would not have minded her husband's cruelty or drunkenness if he had only noticed what she wore, uttered a cry of personality. The craving, not for clothes (albeit hers were of rags) but for personal recognition of something in herself beyond being his cook, was the longing of her soul. Weak or feminine as was such an utterance, it emphasizes the personal character of the marriage relation.

An amusingly personal provision of one State law made it a misdemeanor for a married man "to make proposals of marriage or to represent himself as unmarried," which is here quoted as in-

dicative of the difficulties inherent in special paternal legislation of any kind.

Many of the varying statutory causes for divorce may be summed up under the general term of "incompatibility," a word that still carries with it opprobrium, as if it represented the opposite of Platonic affection. Incompatibility is as much a proven fact as any other condition developed by social and moral forces. It may mean much or little. Because it may signify little, shall it cease to be a cause for divorce? Better, say the moralists in the name of The Home, that a thousand couples shall suffer in married wretchedness than that one couple should have their bonds loosed. Such moralists usually have very tired-looking wives, children and homes. Yet it is the state that suffers most through the prolonged union of the thousand incompatible couples.

Because incompatibility is temperamental, it is none the less real; the greater the sensitiveness or refinement of either party the stronger is the repulsion. The self-control of social civilization often enables husbands and wives who have good incomes to pose in public conformably to etiquette; but, as the income lessens, such posing increases in difficulty, until it is almost impossible for a discordant married couple living in close quarters to get out of each other's way.

"Alas!" exclaims the Moralist of The Home, "one must not let feeling get the upper hand!" Of course, one must not. Neither must the incompatibility that eventuates in divorce be merely the climax of hysterics. It must be founded on deliberate judgment, intelligent forethought and persistent endeavor to have fulfilled all one's social, moral and religious obligations.

The plea of incompatibility carries with it a fearful breadth of laxity, before which the state may well be timorous, and the individual shrink lest he or she have yielded to "mere feeling." No other cause for divorce suggests such a weight of personal responsibility, which it seems as if an omniscient archangel alone could adjust. All of social, ethical, impulsive—all of modern altruism or of ancient self-sacrifice—still more, all the force of the direct relationship between God and man, the religious obligation of the created to the Creator, should be appealed to before one dared to present incompatibility as a plea for divorce. But the fact that most persons are not or will not be alive to this moral sense of personal responsibility, is no reason why such cause for

divorce should not be alleged, to be proved or disproved by the investigation of the court into the previous character rather than the acts of the libellant.

Nevertheless, the selfishness that is generally mixed up with incompatibility increases the difficulties of "interviewing" either party with satisfactory results. It is so easy to humbug one's self into a delectable selfishness on the excuse of the need for moral or intellectual growth, or on the feeling born of a specious self-respect, that, since one cannot do good work for the world when the self is cramped by home conditions, one should not run the risk of lowering one's self to another's level. Truly, the delusions of selfishness are so chimerical it can almost be averred that a divorce for incompatibility should never take place between a childless couple, inasmuch as divorce is not wholly for the sake of one's self, but for one's children, actual or possible, and for the welfare of the state. Certainly under any circumstances incompatibility should endure for a considerable length of time before it is alleged as cause for divorce.

It is not to be denied, moreover, that divorce has been sought with abnormal avidity by people who ought to have got along together, and who often would have done so if opportunities for divorce had not multiplied themselves. Therefore is it that the necessity for more uniform legislation than now exists has become evident, that the peculiarity may cease of the validity of a marriage in one State which is invalid in another, or of the granting of a divorce in one part of the country which is not recognized elsewhere. Since it is said that forty-five different codes of law relating to marriage obtain there should be approximately uniform marriage and divorce laws, if only for the sake of children who legitimate in one State may not be, or indeed are not, in another. Yet if Congress should enact national marriage and divorce laws, it must do so either on very broad grounds or else on such narrow ones that human nature will provide for itself a mode of escape from the intolerable interference of legislation, by refraining from marriage.

Preferable to the latter alternative is the escape which is now possible through the opportunity of going from one State to another to obtain divorce, as a second legalized marriage is more agreeable even to those careless of conventions than the odium that now rightly rests upon a man and woman living together out-

side of marriage, even if they shelter themselves under the pretext of thus developing their souls. Better yet is it that the uniformity which is so earnestly to be desired should be the accretion of slow, interstate growth, than of an obligatory national statute, which there is grave reason to fear would be prohibitory to such a degree as to increase illegitimacy rather than to protect the Home.

Scarcely any other subject becomes more involved with the personal point of view than marriage and divorce. One may argue from expediency, but one acts from feeling; though expediency and the right are usually identical in their finalities. Hence is it that any commission on uniformity of marriage and divorce laws, whether national or State, should include among its members neither cranks in rampant search for personal freedom, nor moral fanatics, ablaze with reformatory zeal for the protection of the Home. It might be well, also, that in such a commission there should be a small minority of divorced persons, who could argue from experience; since those who are more or less happily married think others might have managed as well as they did, few people having sufficient imagination to conceive that the opposite of their own ecstasy must be misery. It is those who do know the peace and strength of a harmonious marriage who should see to it that others are not compelled to lead a life-long, discordant union.

As the very essence of marriage is the right to individual contract, the integrity of marriage as a divine institution is attacked when the State insists upon its perpetuation after its conditions have become unholy, and in the name of duty degrades marriage. If a woman finds she has reckoned ill, then for the sake not alone of herself but of her children she seeks separation in the very name of the family, in order that the spiritual as well as the legal legitimacy of birth may be maintained. Hard as it is for a man to endure an unhappy marriage, it is infinitely harder for a woman—because she is a woman.

When the legal grounds for divorce are several, then it becomes expedient to safeguard those causes by defining periods of time for incubation of thought and prevention of hasty action. Especially is this true in regard to incompatibility, which should be not only "gross" but endured for a specific time before relief can be sought. Moreover, every State might well decree that no marriage should take place after divorce until the expiration of a

certain period, as many parties would not then be so eager to be divorced for the sake of speedy marriage in another direction—one becoming, as it were, a probationer between a second and first marriage, or on trial to one's self in regard to fixity of feeling. It is the immediate marriage after divorce, either of the so-called innocent or guilty party, that has helped to bring divorce into such questionable repute.

To protest, as argument against divorces, that the increase in them is "twice as great as the increase in population" settles nothing, unless it is deemed that the numerical units of population in themselves are of more value than the moral growth of a community; and that is not good social-economic doctrine.

Whether greater uniformity in legislation is to be effected by national or interstate authority, it is absurd that an absolute divorce granted in one State—Massachusetts, for instance—has not force in another State—say New York; and that the same two persons, living in holy, lawful wedlock in the one State, are leading a criminal existence in another by mere continuance of the same relation to each other as that previously held.

But, argues the humane Moralist, why not separation instead of divorce, as the self is then protected? It is just here that the State intervenes as interpreter of psychological consciousness, and determines that divorce, when desired, is better for the individual and the State than separation, since divorce carries with it permission to marry again. This is offensive to the churchman, who may yet eagerly avail himself of the "unto death" clause in the marriage service and become a widower repeatedly. More consistent are those sectarians who do not accept the limited liability act of death, but who, once married, are never wedded again. The "unity of monogamic consciousness," whatever that phrase means, is likely to be as much impaired by the second or third marriages of widows or widowers as by the marriage of divorced persons.

Whether or not one should seek separation or divorce is a consideration for personal decision. If one can be sure of never loving, nor even wishing to love, some one else, then surely separation is a better judicial proceeding than divorce and may be an edifying lesson in sublime patience. But, as human nature is subject to shocks of self-surprise, a divorce releases one from an unhappy marriage, and allows liberty to develop in the future in the way best suited to one's self by either a single or wedded life.

Especially would it work hard upon the unoffending party if separation were all that the law allowed. Half measures are seldom final, and happiness is a means of growth as truly as the discipline of sorrow.

The proposed canon for the Episcopal church says nothing about separation, perhaps because its recognition might weaken the binding of "holy matrimony as an estate for life." In such conjugal life-estate, however, there may be reason for discrimination between cause for divorce existing before a first marriage and cause arising after marriage on the ground that no one party can know all that the other party has done or not done or contracted before the first marriage, but that both parties are or should be cognizant of all that is done or not done by either after marriage.

However probable or improbable may be the latter degree of knowledge the contributory negligence of parents and of contracting parties themselves to a marriage concerning the previous habits and inheritances of either is the original cause of a great number of divorces. Make divorce possible; but surround the intention of marriage with such legal impediments that its solemnization will be impossible unless the welfare of the community is carefully guarded. It may or may not be a crime to wish to marry wealth; but it should be a crime to marry a diseased or profligate or criminal person. The "State Prevention of Marriages" may yet be legalized, though so far the State has benevolently made the conditions of marriage easy in order to prevent illegitimacy.

Parents never prove themselves less parental than when they forego inquiry into the antecedents of those seeking their children in marriage—antecedents which, beyond the pale of law yet inherited through offspring, become again factors in the moral and physical life of the community. It is in uniformity of legislation concerning marriage, without too much insistence upon the fact that one or both of the parties may have been previously divorced, more than in uniform laws anent divorce that prevention of divorce can be obtained. This is peculiarly true of the first marriage, which should never be lightly undertaken by either man or woman, nor indirectly abetted by the parents without full knowledge of the past and some gift of foresight of the future

It has been said that, though the nineteenth century began

with an emphasis on the individual, it ended with emphasis on the community; therefore, divorces are to be forbidden Just as well might it be declared that divorces are to be allowed because of the community, when in point of fact four parties are involved in the theory of marriage or of divorce—the man, the woman, the children and the community To say that the law shall compel marriage to be a life relation is tyrannical, the church formula to the contrary notwithstanding (which will in time become as obsolete as in many services is already the word "obey"), with resulting increase of illegitimacy. Because one marriage has turned out unfortunately, can marriage never be tried again? The "solidarity" of an inharmonious family, a unit only in census statistics, has not even a fractional value in maintaining the "solidarity of the State and the purity of the church."

Whatever may be the source—nation or State—from which shall proceed greater uniformity in marriage and divorce laws, that uniformity is yet essential to the integrity of the family. Equally essential is it that divorce should be allowed for other than the "canonical cause." If, moreover, divorce is sought for other reasons than infidelity, non-support, wilful desertion or intolerable cruelty, the libellant in the suit should not be considered by society as an unworthy member of it. The personal equation in divorce, usually unseen and unheard, is often largely the chief reason for divorce, both for the sake of the children and for the good of the State. But out of personal righteousness alone, though aided for the time being by a modicum of parental legislation, can those conditions of mind arise which shall make marriage an honorable estate, in which shall be found fresh incentive to bequeath to the future still more nobly realized ideals of wedded life than were inherited from the past.

KATE GANNETT WELLS.

THE ALFRED MILLENARY OF 1901.

BY F. YORK POWELL, REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY, OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

On the 18th, 19th and 20th of September this year in the old, famous and beautiful city of Winchester there was held a solemn Commemoration of the millenary of King Alfred's death. A huge bronze statue of the hero by Thornycroft has been set up and unveiled; there were lectures and addresses delivered by notabilities in Church and State, in learning and letters. The town that Alfred loved was in high festival, her honored guests were warmly welcomed and the great occasion signalized by processions, illuminations and banquetings in which all sorts and conditions, from the children in the schools to the aged poor from the workhouse, had their share. Nor were the citizens and the Guildhall allowed to bear the responsibility alone; the bishop of the ancient diocese, the dean and canons of the Cathedral of St. Swithin, the head master of the famous and ancient College of St. Mary did their part. Soldiers, sailors and marines were present to line the streets and furnish the glad music of their bands. The historic sites preserved in the modern county-town that succeeds without a break to the little market-fort of the Belgae were all in turn visited and reviewed—the remains of the abbeys, new and old, of the Episcopal palace of Wolvesey, what is left of the castle of the King, the venerable West Gate of the city. The pleasant and antique hospitality of St. Cross was as freely dispensed as ever. The playing fields of Wykeham's College, the paradise and close of the exquisite cathedral, once dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, now to the Trinity; the beautiful view from the King's House which led Charles II. with characteristic feeling for art to plan a series of gardens that should rival Versailles in magnificence and out-

strip it in the beauty of their surroundings, were all duly admired. Winchester is determined to do her best to honor him whom Gibbon was not afraid to style "the greatest of English kings," one, too, especially associated with her own history. The callous and stupid neglect of the past is to be amply atoned for, and the generation that is of all since Alfred's most unlike his is prepared to do the highest honor to his name and fame.

Delegates from the English, Scottish and Irish universities were, of course, present, and with them stood scholars especially sent from the sister universities of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India, as well as from the leading universities of the United States. Many of the list of leading Englishmen that form the committee for the Celebration also took part in the proceedings. The Lord Mayor of London and the Mayors and Provosts of many other towns attended in their Old World and picturesque panoply. The Commemoration was indeed one that appeals to the whole of the English-speaking world.

It is almost a new thing in modern England (common though it be abroad) to seek to do honor in this public way to heroes of the far past; we have not been, of late centuries, a people greatly given to pageants, our middle classes had almost lost the taste for public spectacles, though a few survivals such as the Lord Mayor's Show and the like were always keenly relished by the populace. We are getting rid of our awkward self-conscious dislike of the visible signs of public magnificence or national joy or grief. The great Guildhall masque showed that we could rival Vienna or Paris when we really set about a celebration of an artistic kind. The reviving taste for beautiful pageantry is, however, undoubtedly strong, and it naturally tends to reflect the prevalent feelings of the time. We English are now acutely conscious that our Empire, so long at peace within, has been most dangerously attacked by a cunning and malignant foe. We know that our envious enemies on the Continent are many and powerful, we are coming to understand the truth of the maxim that "only the strong man armed can keep his house and his goods," and we are making up our minds slowly but surely to the sacrifice of interests and prejudices that we see to be necessary. We delight intensely in the comradeship of our colonies and are proud of the ready and unselfish way in which they sprung to our assistance the moment the unity of the Empire and the future of

British South Africa was seen to be at stake. Hence to us to-day the career of Alfred appeals in a way it could not have appealed a generation ago. Alfred had to deliver and reorganize the England of his day as our statesmen have to deliver and reorganize the empire to-day. The example of men like Nelson, Drake, Henry VIII., Montfort, William the Marshall, a long line headed by Alfred himself, that saved England from the dominion of the alien, is becoming a real influence again. We may have to face Europe as our great grandfathers faced it, and we are glad to remember the proud and profitable lessons of the past.

Again, Alfred's literary work is far better known and appreciated now than it could be at the last Alfred celebration, half a century ago. The tongue he spoke and wrote is understood now as it was not then, his versions and his originals have been studied since to no small purpose. We look back fondly to the King that helped so greatly to make the mother tongue we speak fit for high and deep thought, apt to record exact facts, able to express all that can be expressed in language, to the painful student who did so much in his far-off day to make the rough speech of two or three millions of yeomen and fishermen the noble tongue of more than a hundred million of their descendants in the two most powerful and progressive nations of the world, and half a dozen rising English commonwealths, and the business and political tongue of some two hundred million more of other blood and other races.

Again, the details and the significance of Alfred's life and actions are probably better understood now than ever before since his own days and the days of his son. We can really estimate the importance of his work and the difficulties in his way, perhaps, even better than Gibbon himself, certainly more completely than William of Malmesbury. Our very distance from him brings his greatness out; he towers among his contemporaries and we see him afar off at his full height, the mighty tree that tops its fellows in the distant forest. Of course, Alfred has never been forgotten, no child that reads but knows his name as that of a gentle King that met adversity bravely and gave peace and justice to his country. Not all our long line of English rulers from Egbert to Victoria have left their names in the popular memory: local memory has preserved a few, the Confessor will not be forgotten at Westminster, nor Henry II. at Wood-

stock, nor Henry VI. at Eton, but King Canute, King John, old King Harry, Queen Bess, Oliver, good Queen Anne, Dutch William and honest George III. are known through the length and breadth of their land. In Alfred's case fond legendary remembrance of "The Truth-Teller, England's shepherd and Englishmen's darling," is amply justified by historic facts, clear and well attested.

The last fifty years have given us accurate and scientific editions of Alfred's own books and of the early books about him—Dr. Sweet's *Orosius* and *Pastoral,* Dr. Sedgefields' *Boëthius,* the *Laws* edited by Dr. Liebermann and Dr. Turk, the Dialogue by Professor Napier, *Asser* by Mr. W. H. Stevenson and the Old English chronicles by Dr. Earle and Mr. Plummer, as well as the many rich materials furnished by the editions of the Latin and French chronicles to be found in the Rolls Series, the British Museum charters and Mr. Keary's catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins.

Let us resume the results. Alfred's grandfather Egbert, son of Alhmund king in Kent, was one of the new generation of princes that stand grouped about Charles the Great, who was the leader of what might well be called the great Ninth Century Renaissance. Egbert was banished from his own country as a dangerous pretender in the way of the Mercian overlord and took refuge at the court of Charles the Frank, who was now, after his triumphs over the Lombards and Saxons, obviously the greatest ruler in Christendom. There he had noted the leading lines of the Frankish King's policy, he had seen him deal with the stubborn Saxons (men of his own blood), he had shared probably in his great campaigns against the heathen Huns, the dreaded pirates of the Steppes, he had possibly witnessed the proceedings of the council of Frankfort that condemned image worship and made a reform that it was hoped would purify and revivify the Christian church. He had seen the old alliance between the Pope and the King of the Franks culminate in the crowning of Charles Emperor of the Romans by Leo the Third on Christmas day, 800. He knew how Charles had made new capitularies and established the reign of law among the Franks; he had marked how greatly he cared for justice, how minutely royal officers watched and checked the local feudatories. He was aware of the care Charles took to foster trade, to keep up the roads and

to insure undisturbed markets. He met him, followed him in his marches; he may well have stood by him in battle and watched his generalship; he certainly knew the swift and stern punishment he dealt out to disturbers of his realm from within or from without. He must have met his learned countryman, Alhwin, and the band of foreign scholars that Charles gathered about him to teach in his Palace School and in his own Academy. And Egbert surely knew, as Charles himself knew, that not only from the East and from the South, but also from the North, danger was rising, and that the Roman Empire, East or West, nay, Christendom itself, could only be saved by the utmost exertions of the Roman emperor and the Christian people under him.

In good time the royal exile came back to his own land and put in practice much that he had learnt during his thirteen years with Charles. He climbed swiftly to the unstable West-Saxon throne, a lucky and acceptable claimant, but when he died he held the strongest and widest domain that any English-speaking king had yet held in Britain. He had defeated the jealous and restless Welsh princes upon his borders, he had overcome his Mercian rivals, he had secured the overlordship of the Northumbrians, he had met and defeated the formidable Danes who had already made the Pictish kings' position precarious and ravaged and occupied great part of Ireland. He had made a close alliance with the Church at Canterbury, whose ruler was, in truth, the English patriarch and a prelate ever in close touch with the great Frankish churchmen and the Pope. But when Egbert died, though his skill and energy had exalted the West Saxon crown, the outlook for his nation and his family was not so bright as when he came back from exile well-nigh forty years before.

The grandsons of Charles were quarrelling with their father; the Saracens were gaining ground in the Mediterranean islands and on the Italian mainland and in the East, though Barcelona was still the western bulwark of Frankish Christendom; the Northmen were growing stronger and bolder both in the North Sea and in the Baltic; the Bulgarians and the Paulicians in the East seemed to be endangering the creed and the temporal power of Christendom; the insane quarrels of the families that ruled at Aix and Byzantium weakened the Christian cause, though the Frankish and Roman armies were still superior to any organized force in the world. Egbert's son Ethelwulf, pious and brave and

eager to do well, yet, like Charles's son Lewis, showed a certain weakness at times that threatened to end in family dissensions, but for all that he met the Northmen handsomely in the field, drove back their Welsh allies and endeavored to strengthen his position by marrying his daughter Ethelswith to the Mercian king, Burhred; by visiting the gallant Pope, who had just saved Rome from the swarming Saracens by his own exertion; and by allying himself to the daughter of Charles the Bald, who was busy resisting the inroads of the Northmen and the incursions of the Saracens of Spain and Africa.

When he died the danger was nearer, but he had done his best to prepare to meet it. His sons were wiser than Lewis's. They agreed to take up the royal burden one after the other. In eight years' time the two elder had ruled and died. England had been threatened, but was not yet seriously attacked, though Winchester had been stormed and sacked by a sudden raid and the Northmen were active along the coast.

In 866, when the third brother, Ethelred, a young man of little more than twenty-one, came to the throne, the storm burst and the Great Host from combined fleets under Northern and Danish leaders determined to carve out new kingdoms in the Britains, as for the time the Franks had become too hot for them to meddle with, hoping, perhaps, also that with a fair base in Britain they would be able to secure what of Gaul they wished when the time was come and their prey was riper.

Northumberland bore the first brunt of their deadly attack, her rival kings united for a brief space to resist the invaders, but were swiftly borne down and slain, the Mercian king (brother-in-law of the West Saxon princes) called earnestly for their help against the cunning and prowess of the sons of Lodbroc, most dreaded of all sea kings of their day, who were believed to have a particular feud against the English in the north. And now it is that we see Alfred the Etheling taking his place at his brother's side and entering public life as his trusty lieutenant and counsellor.

Of the young prince's early life a few significant facts are noted. He came of a fine stock on his mother's side, for Osburh, the daughter of Oslac, the King's cup-bearer, was well born and a good woman. He was born at the royal estate of Wantage, in Berkshire, 848, not many miles from Oxford. His childhood was

remarkable. He was first sent at the age of five to Rome to Leo IV. by his father, probably with the idea that the special papal benediction and consecration of this, his favorite and most promising son, would mark him out by evident tokens for the eventual succession and so secure that the brothers should succeed each other rather than that the realm should fall into the hands of a child-king. The boy was but seven years old when he journeyed home with his father, who had brought him out a second time in 855 to the Pope, his kindly godfather. They passed through Gaul and visited the western Emperor, and at Verberie Alfred saw Ethelwulf take the child Judith to wife as a pledge of alliance between him and the King of the Romans. Alfred had looked on much that was noteworthy at an age when clever children will notice much—the visible splendor of papal and imperial majesty, the sacred and strange glory of the great stone palaces and basilicas of Italy and Gaul, the stately etiquette and affluence of the foreign courts, the orderly array of imperial and papal hierarchy, the mighty works of the warrior Pope, his benefactor, the hosts of Italy and Gaul and Germany, armed and disciplined after the Roman traditions of New Rome, wonders of art, a multitude of things that contrasted with the circumstances in which his own life was to be passed. These he could hardly forget, and his love of the arts and crafts, the ready welcome he gave to strangers, his generous acknowledgment of his debt to the churches abroad for the prayers and skill and learning with which they endowed Christendom, his eager willingness to learn and teach, his conviction of the necessity of knowledge and thought for the nobles and prelates, leaders temporal and spiritual, of his people, his broad prudence and just foresight seem to be the final fruits of impulses set going by this memorable time. Cadwalla and Ine had gone to Rome to learn to die, as many more English pilgrims had done; Rome helped Alfred to learn to live. That he loved the old songs and traditions of his own people, that he was original enough to try and make his own speech a classic tongue instead of trying to force Latin upon an unwilling people as a vehicle for knowledge, that he ever busied himself much with hounds and horses and hawks, that he was keenly interested in art and handicrafts and those that exercised them, that he made himself skillful in law and good at his weapons shows that he had a bent of his own. The fatherless child of ten throve under

the care, probably, of his mother's kin. His own estates were in the southwest, but we know he must have moved about from place to place, whether he dwelt with his brethren the kings or no. By the time he had reached his twentieth year and took to himself a wife, Ealswith, daughter of Alderman Ethelred Mucil of the Gainas, a woman of Mercian royal blood on the side of her mother, Eadburh, he was already apt for the duties of his rank as a big landowner and a gentleman of the blood royal. His biographer and friend tells us that he was already of a pious and dutiful mind, and that he had been for some years sorely afflicted by a tiresome and painful chronic malady that troubled him most by threatening to hinder him in his life's work, but (as he believed in answer to his prayers) this disease now passed from him to give place to another that, though it gave him pain, did not interfere with his daily business. The call to the active public life for which he had prepared came very soon after his wedding, and from this year, 868, till he died, thirty-two years after, Alfred was ceaselessly busy. It was the distress of Burhred assailed by Ingwar and Hubba that brought him forward. The swift march of the young brothers, King and Etheling, seems to have surprised the Northmen who were driven into Nottingham, an easy place to defend if they were provisioned, but a close blockade forced them to seek for peace. Tricked by Ingwar's cunning Ethelred gave the invaders favorable terms instead of making up his mind to crush them at all costs. Burhred was left tottering on his throne, and the enemy's next move was to attack Edmund, the young king of the the East English, who was defeated, captured in flight and cruelly martyred on the 20th of November, 870. Guthrum the Dane reigned in his stead; Halftan, one of Lodbroc's sons, was king in York over Northumbria; both there and in East England the invaders began to settle and till the land. The Midlands bought off the Danes for a time after the foolish Frankish fashion, but now the West-Saxon kingdom itself was to be assailed. The northern host, the eastern host and the hosts from the midlands, two kings and seven earls, the pick of three or four Wicking fleets, crossed the Thames in 871 and took up their post at Reading, whence they could move down the Thames or up the Kennet Valley and south into the dales of Hampshire, or along the ridge into the western shires to the very heart of Ethelred's land. Battle after battle was fought with

much stubborn slaughter but no conclusive result; even the famous fight at Ashdown, where the White Horse now gleams, when the broken Danes fled and fell mile after mile, till the remnant reached their earthwork between the Thames and Kennet, failed to stop the invaders. Both English and Northmen soon rallied in force, fresh levies came up from the West-Saxon shires and fresh crews from the Danish fleet; the invaders forced their way over the downs, battle after battle was fought and at one, fought at Marden, Wiltshire, Ethelred was wounded to the death, and Alfred at twenty-three was left to take up the troublous crown in the midst of the campaign. He fought on, and at last the Danes withdrew sullenly from Wessex. The wretched Burhred, cut off from his friends, was forced to make peace on what terms he could get, and soon, hopeless of the future of his kingdom and his kindred, he left his country and went to Rome to seek peace. There he soon died, and the puppet king set up for a short while in his place was the last Mercian king of English blood.

A few years later, after many fierce engagements by land and sea, the Danes, who now occupied the greater part of the Midlands as well as the North and East, determined on a fresh attack on Wessex, aiming at the southwest, for if that were subdued the West-Saxon realm must fall into their hands. The heathen fleet and army moved in concert along the Roman roads and along the coast. The fleet having wintered at South Wales, suddenly sailed southeast, about to attack the important border city of Exeter, while the army under Guthrum dealt with the cities of the Severn and Avon plains and a huge stronghold of well-planned earthworks was raised at Chippenham as a center from which to raid. But the fleet under Hubba was defeated with heavy loss and that leader's death by the good men of Devon and the taking of his enchanted raven banner was regarded by English and Northmen alike as an evil omen for the cause of Lodbroc's sons. Alfred, however, met with poor support at first against Guthrum, many of his best men had fallen in the former campaign, many distrusted his powers, many, tired of the struggle, had followed Burhred's example and fled abroad. Until the king could gain the confidence of the western levies he was obliged to take refuge in the Isle of Athelney among the Parret marshes with a small guard and a few personal followers. But now, in 878, after weeks of quiet work, the levies were ready to follow him, the southwest

rallied cheerily to the beacon fire that was the signal for the English muster. The battle of Edington drove the Danes into Chippenham, which was cut off from all succor by Alfred's able tactics. A few days' hunger forced Guthrum to surrender at discretion, and the treaty that followed was the first step since Egbert's alliance with the Archbishop of Canterbury toward the building up of an English kingdom of all England. A *modus vivendi* was arranged between Guthrum and his Danes and the English king, limits were fixed, arrangements were made for trade, the elements of border law, that should provide for peaceful intercourse, were agreed to. Above all, Guthrum and his men were to accept the Christian faith. The terms were fairly well kept by the Danes, and Wessex was again freed of their unwelcome presence. In 879 Alfred was able to begin his task of reorganization, in which he spent twelve years' busy and fruitful work.

The old Teutonic system (long disused in a country where local feuds had taken the place of regular wars), by which half the shire-levy was to be ready to muster while the other half remained at home to till the fields, a convenient and traditional usage, was now revived. New shires were formed in the English midlands by the rearrangement of groups of hundreds round carefully selected and garrisoned strongholds chosen by reason of their situation and command of country. Fortresses were marked out to be raised in convenient and defensible spots along the coast, a fleet was built and largely manned by hired Frisian seamen, on a new model of the king's own, the ships bigger and more seaworthy than the flat one-decked thirty-oared Danish keels that were fit for coasting and bay-fishing, but often unequal to the stormy season on the main sea and to the rough currents of our uncharted tidal waters. Local magnates of trust and experience were set as aldermen over the new shires and their behavior as judges and lawyers carefully looked to. The old *custumals* and *novellae* of Ethelbert and Ine were republished and a number of new statutes passed by the Wise Men, at Alfred's initiative, were added to them. The king himself, one of whose main ends as a lawgiver was to substitute the "law of court" for the "law of feud and *vendetta*," made continual progresses through his own kingdom, while Alderman Ethelred, a Mercian of notable gifts, acted as his lieutenant over the part of his dead brother-in-law's king-

dom that had now fallen to him. The broken communication with the Churches of the east and of Rome was resumed, London was resettled, its wall repaired and placed in Ethelred's charge to secure the mouth of the Thames and the Lea and to take up again the interrupted trade with Gaul and the Rhinelands. The king procured teachers from Wales, from Gaul and the Midlands for himself and the Palace School, which he now established after Charles the Great's model. The revenue was carefully estimated and assigned, and the court service organized on a new footing, the servants and guards being parcelled out in three four-month shifts, which succeeded each other in attendance on the king. Foreigners who could bring knowledge or skill of any kind were welcomed and maintained at the king's expense. And now, in the brief leisure secured by an exact arrangement of the day's duties, Alfred and his scholars set to work to translate into English, for clerks and laymen alike, the books the king thought would be of most use—*Orosius,* his sketch of the world's history and geography, to which the king added the voyages of Othere the Helgolander and Wolfstan the Englishman; the *Consolation of Boëthius,* with many reflections of the king's own interspersed among the chapters of the last Roman philosopher, the *Herd Book of Pope Gregory* (a copy for each bishopric), and his Dialogues and the Blooms, selections from the Soliloquies of Augustine, Baeda's English Church History (translated by one of his Mercian scholars), and, lastly, the Chronicles drawn up under his eye, partly, perhaps, at his dictation, as we can hardly doubt, at Winchester. His own last work, a translation of the Psalms, he was not granted time to finish.

In every department of Alfred's work difficulties met him—ignorance, indolence, prejudice—but he persevered; what he had to do was necessary and must be done. Much was achieved before the even tenor of his labors was again interrupted.

In 891 the Danes met a crushing blow in their defeat by the Dyle, in the Low countries, at the hands of the gallant Carling king Arnold. Haesten, the boldest, wildest and most determined of their leaders, resolved to attempt the conquest of Wessex and secured the assistance of many of the Wickings that were drawing off from the Frankish domains, hopeless of further success there. The attack was well planned and cleverly and boldly carried out; full advantage was taken of the foolish neglect of the

Kentish men who had left unclosed the forts that were meant to guard the southeast coast; but the fate of England was secure as long as Alfred, or the son and daughter he had trained carefully in his ways and set to work to carry out his policy, should remain at the helm of England. Haesten and the fleet leaders made repeated raids and dangerous incursions, but they were defeated in detail, pursued on their marches, beset in their strongholds; the whole kingdom was confident in the king; his aldermen, his bishops and the shire-levies stood by him manfully. Haesten fought well; he was desperate; it was his last cast for a great prize. The settled Danes foreswore their obligations in favor of their kinsfolk and gave succor and supplied soldiers to the invaders, but the inevitable end came, and Haesten and his followers were forced out of the kingdom. He went off to Iceland to found a family there and make a new home. Other Wickings tried to settle for a time in Ireland or Scotland; some went back to Norway to be met by the stern rule and heavy hand of Fairhair and forced to live peaceably or fly to settle in the new-found lands of the far northwest. By 896 the king was free again to go on with the ordinary labors of his toilsome life. The losses of the war in money, stock and men (made heavier by the murrain and plague that had lately afflicted the land) had to be repaired. Councils were held, the whole business of peace was resumed.

Four more years of toil, and then, worn out, as we may suppose, by his unceasing exertions and by the inroads of the disease that had weakened his hardly-tried frame, Alfred fell ill, and died on October 26th, 900. He had begun the task of reabsorbing the Danish settlements in South Britain into his own all-English kingdom, but he was not to live to see more than the beginning of the successful progress by which his children and grandchildren realized his idea.

It is not easy to overrate Alfred's achievements as commander. The conditions of the Danish war were such as the English organization was ill-fitted to meet, the heathen fleets composed of scores of boats, manned by forty or fifty warriors each, could move far faster along the coast with a fair wind than the English levies could follow. The crew of such a fleet, disciplined, hardy, veteran fighters, accustomed to face emergencies deftly and to act swiftly at word of command, were more than a match for the disorderly and unskilled levies of any single shire. These fleets could

combine and separate easily, their captains could plan simultaneous attacks on various quarters at a given time. They would land in a convenient estuary, run up a stockade to defend their ships, raid the neighborhood of horses and cattle, slaves and spoil, sally forth mounted on the stolen English horses, riding by night and day along their chosen roads, to fall upon defenceless districts and outflank the slower defenders. They were hard to fight with, difficult to keep in touch with, dangerous to attack. By means of two or three fortified stations on the coast they were able to master broad stretches of country, whence they could draw supplies in safety, while they were able at any time to sally forth swiftly and silently upon the lands beyond. They were as bad to treat with as to fight with. They broke again and again the solemn oaths they had sworn. They found well wishers among the jealous Welsh and traitors even among the despairing English, some of whom chose rather to obey a Danish king than risk all they had in a struggle they had begun at one time to look upon as hopeless. The Danes lived on the country and made great profit out of the war, trading away cargoes of slaves and loads of precious booty to the Jewish merchants in Gaul, who supplied them with arms and cloth and wine and ornaments. They were traders as well as fighters, they struck money in great quantities, and they were well served by their agents and spies, who profited by the commerce they created. In skill and courage, infinite sailorly resource and cool contempt of death they were beyond any fighting men of their day; they were, indeed, the very flower of the finest of the Teuton race. A spirit of adventure akin to that of the Crusaders, of the *Conquistadores,* of the Elizabethan seamen, filled their souls, but they had another side to their minds, and it was on their practical wisdom and shrewd grasp of fact that Alfred based his hopes when he treated with Guthrum. The Danes could see the advantage of strong, orderly rule; they frankly acknowledged the English as their closest kinsmen. Both sung of the same heroes and traced their royal blood back to the same gods. They were not averse to the manifold attractions of the new faith and accepted it readily, as sensible men awake to the advantages it offered. In a few generations they became good Englishmen, though they kept their own names and their own peculiar laws and customs, which, after all, were as close as possible to those of the English themselves. They feared and re-

spected the spiritual power and order which was the greatest legacy that pagan Rome left the Western world. To many a settled Northman it seemed easier to live under a West-Saxon king than under Fairhair. The third choice was a far voyage and a rough life in unknown lands. Most of those who were not of noble blood preferred the strong peace of the West-Saxon king, and many of high rank were won over by the wisdom of Alfred, by the possibilities that opened before them in the new England which he was building up, and by the manifold attractions of the Christian civilization of Western Europe.

The reign that had begun in the darkness of a black night ended in the light of dawn; the future loomed fair; Englishmen and their leaders had gained confidence; they had been tried and not found wanting. In the north, beyond the English border, the stronger Scottish kings had succeeded to the weaker Picts and Constantine's defeat of the Northmen in 904 had, possibly, almost as much to do with the colonization of Iceland as Fairhair's earlier and more famous victory at Hafrsfiord. The settlement of the last of the Wickings, like Alfred himself, one of our Queen Victoria's ancestors, Hrolf, son of Rognwold, earl of Moere, on the valley of the Seine and the coast rivers of Neustria, and the succession of his half-brother Einar to the earldom of the Orckneys, closed the Wickingtide. New and great developments came of the stir and activity of that fierce epoch. And these new developments Alfred had largely helped to shape.

Of Alfred's bodily presence and features we have no account, his biographer's unfinished sketch of him does not help us, but of the character and bent of his mind there is much evidence in his own words. He thought boldly and clearly on intellectual things as he did in practical matters; he had devised for himself a *clothes philosophy* long before Carlyle; his Theory of Nobility, namely, that *the right nobility is in the mind,* was the one which afterward found warm acceptance from Sordello and from his pupil, Dante; he had grasped the *law of causation* with as great dialectic skill as the later school men and divines; to better ethical purpose, in thoughts more elevated he reasoned high.

"Of providence, fore-knowledge, will and fate."

He conceived as spiritually of God, as did the Eastern Sage of old. "He is wisdom, He is reason itself," he said.

To the statesman and warrior that saved his own country in her hour of need, preserved her national individuality, and paved the way to her future unity; to the scholar and man of letters that first made of our English tongue an avenue to all the knowledge of the past, a vehicle for the highest expression of human thought that the world was then capable of; that raised his vernacular to the rank of a classic language, is due, at least, the gratitude of those whom he has benefited. Alfred's life was not an easy one: "Hardship and grief not a king but would desire to be free of if he could, but I know that he cannot." He bade a man do his duty and look to no reward but God, but the good report of his fellows was dear to him as it was to the greatest of his time. A northern contemporary, one of his foemen, possibly, has put this strong Teutonic feeling in a simple and direct way:

Cattle die, kinsfolk die,
  Land and lea are wasted,
One thing that never dies I know—
  Men's judgment on the dead.

Cattle die, kinsfolk die,
  And man himself dies,
But never dies good report
  Away from him that won it.

And Alfred himself has recorded in well-known words his heart's desire: "This I can now most truly say, that I have desired to live worthily while I lived, and after my life to leave to the men that should be after me a remembrance in good works."

Surely to grant this man his wish that his good works should be held in loving memory by his own people is but a plain and grateful duty, and certainly his example is not one that we in England, or you in the United States, can at any time or in any way afford to neglect. And to bring Alfred's good works and noble example clearly before the English-speaking world is, I take it, the real object of this Millenary Commemoration.

F. York Powell.

THE STRENGTH OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.—A FINAL WORD.

BY W. D. M'CRACKAN, NEW YORK MEMBER OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

THE strength of Christian Science lies in its practical results. It is a positive force. It arrests attention by its dynamics. On every hand people speak of the happy changes it has wrought in their friends or families. They know of former drunkards who through it have lost all desire for stimulants, morphine fiends who are freed from the drug, dishonest men and women made honest and pure, boorish and selfish persons becoming refined and loving, lifelong invalids rendered hale and hearty, chronic grumblers turned into cheery good fellows, consumptives healed, and the insane restored to their right minds. They see husbands and wives reunited and harmony enter homes where discord once reigned. They find gross materialists taking pleasure in spiritual matters, and agnostics and so-called atheists coming like little children to learn of the Scriptures.

If Christian Science had done nothing more than to supply the "Key to the Scriptures," which has unlocked the treasures of the Bible to those who were once indifferent or actually hostile, this alone would have sufficed to earn for it the high place among the older Christian denominations which it is taking to-day.

The Earl of Dunmore, writing on the subject of Christian Science to a London newspaper, made this striking statement: "Christian Science can count to-day among its followers in both hemispheres professional men and women of the highest class, scholarly ecclesiastics, students of both sexes with brilliant university records, officers of high scientific attainments in both services, statesmen, judges, lawyers, philosophers and doctors."

Christian Scientists do not profess to be better than any one else; they merely claim to be better than they used to be—better fathers and mothers, better children, better business men, profes-

sional men, artists, day laborers, or whatever their occupations may be, and better Christians. Their faith does not merely theorize about ways and means for accomplishing desirable results. It actually reforms the sinner and heals the sick. Hundreds of thousands, probably a million, earnest and enthusiastic men and women have already experienced this glorious regeneration. Every Wednesday evening in every Christian Science Church the testimonies of those who have found health and happiness in this faith may be heard by visitors. The Christian Science denomination has now more than five hundred churches in various parts of the world, with reading rooms in most of the larger cities and in many of the smaller ones. These churches and reading rooms are free and open daily. Christian Scientists never proselyte, and they never dedicate a church building until it is paid for. These are substantial facts.

Moreover, it is significant that Christian Science made its appearance at a time when materialism and scepticism in matters of religion seemed to be gaining rapidly. It found men leaving the churches and trying to satisfy their religious instincts by taking refuge in philosophic vagaries. It made these men devout churchgoers and punctured the claims of man-made speculative theories and false sciences. The tide has turned. The stream of modern thought flows toward Christianity and no longer away from it. The world is passing through a new religious birth, more momentous even than that of the Reformation and to be likened only to the beginning of the Christian era.

This great movement is not only Christian and thus ethical and spiritual in its import, but it is also scientific, as its name of Christian Science implies. It is satisfied, however, with nothing less than an ultimate and absolute meaning for this word. Mrs. Eddy says in *Science and Health*, on page 21: "The term Science, properly understood, refers only to the laws of God and His government of the universe, including man." This lofty conception throws the mind at once into the beyond of physics, into metaphysics, into the realm of Spirit or Mind, which is also the realm of the Real. This scientific aspect of Christian Science is being constantly confirmed and corroborated by the inventions, discoveries and independent conclusions of the more advanced natural scientists. The latter find that all their investigations into matter bring them nearer to an unknown Some-

thing which cannot be perceived by the five physical senses, but whose presence is necessary in order to explain their own calculations. This Something is Mind, God, whose laws form the real Science for which they are actually searching.

Christian Science is also notably aesthetic in tendency. It preaches and teaches beauty as a natural expression of goodness. It sees no virtue in a sham spirituality which looks sickly, or dowdy, or sordid. It believes in happiness and good cheer and in abundance. It calls upon men to take possession of their material surroundings, lest their material surroundings take possession of them; and to do this with an understanding of God as the source of all supply, the good Father-Mother, whose wish it is that all children should be fed bountifully at the parental table. Christian Scientists, therefore, give out freely and liberate themselves from the hoarding instinct. They are not afraid to make their churches as beautiful as they can, and to rejoice in art as the servant of truth. This is one reason, among others, why so many artists, painters, musicians and actors find their spiritual homes in Christian Science.

Another valuable result accomplished by Christian Science is the placing of man and woman upon an equal footing within its denominational organization. The wish for such equality has often been expressed by political, social, economic, as well as religious reformers and the theoretical benefits stated, but Christian Science actually practices this equality. As an example of this let me state that the two readers in Christian Science churches consist of a man and a woman, and that throughout the church government women are placed on a footing of entire equality with men. This remarkable result may well arrest the attention of reformers who have long fought against the traditional belief of woman's supposed intellectual inferiority. They should rejoice at this notable victory, accomplished quietly and without noisy propaganda or popular agitation.

As all rivalry and sense of sex superiority or inferiority tends to disappear in Christian Science so social distinctions lose their force within its ranks, and the real worth of men and women begins to be appreciated without preconceived prejudice. The same may be said of national and race hatreds. They are swallowed up in the overwhelming universal love which radiates from the true spiritual understanding.

Christian Scientists interpret the Declaration of Independence in a spiritual sense. They believe that "all men are created equal," that men are "endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." No body of people more scrupulously respect the individual rights of others. It is one of their cardinal principles that all men must work out their own problems, or in plain words must mind their own business. They insist upon the "right to life." They go so far as to say that there is no real death; that God Himself is Life and that He is All Power, and that, therefore, death can have no being, no entity, no existence. They praise "liberty"—the liberty of the sons of God. For what liberty can be compared to the freedom from the harrowing and harassing spectre called fear with its train of physical ills and mental and moral errors? They preach "the pursuit of happiness." They pursue happiness with determination and with much success. It is their principal business in life to find out first what happiness is; then to pursue it, and to overtake and possess it, too. Whatever their faults may be, they are certainly not an unhappy people. Captious critics have even accused them of being too happy!

But serious investigators into the truths of Christian Science no longer question the mental, moral and physical transformations which stand to its credit. They only ask themselves, how can these things be? It is plain that those ecclesiastical critics who cannot explain the works of Jesus, his disciples, the apostles and the early Christians except as miracles, cannot ask to be heard concerning Christian Science which shows that there are no miracles at all, but that these works were in accordance with spiritual law. Nor can those psychologists expect a hearing who assure us that fetichism and voodooism come under the same law as the healing done by Jesus.

Christian Science heals through faith, interpreted as spiritual understanding—not through blind belief, or human credulity. This spiritual understanding is the only true knowledge, the only real Science, because it deals with the indestructible and the eternal truths of existence. To have this spiritual understanding is to know God; and St. John assures us that "to know" God is "life eternal."

What an exalted understanding of this Science must Peter have possessed, when "at the gate of the temple which is called

Beautiful," he could say to the lame man: "Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have I thee give. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk." And again, when he could say to Tabitha, lying seemingly dead upon her bed, "Tabitha, arise."

In view of the very real and substantial facts which mark the growth of Christian Science, it is surprising that a writer in the September number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW should return to the charge with an article entitled, "The Phantom Fortress of Christian Science." Why should he continue to pursue phantoms? It is also astonishing that this writer should express a desire to eliminate personal allusions from the discussion, and yet should fill his own writings with most discourteous and frequently false references to Mrs. Eddy.

Nor can his use of the phrase, "to bring the leaders of Christian Science to book," be allowed to pass unrebuked. It is in reality an impertinence—if nothing worse—for any one to attempt to prejudice public opinion in this manner. The courts have decided apparently against the wishes of this critic, and honest citizens are in the habit of abiding by judicial decisions. His phrase breathes the same spirit of intolerance and reaction which was voiced by the Church of England against Wesley and Methodism.

It is no "sacrilege" for modern Christians to try to imitate the works of Jesus, because he commanded us to "heal the sick," and assured us: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I shall do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father." Christian Scientists cannot see in the works of Jesus mere exhibitions of a "supernatural" power, but rather definite results flowing from Jesus' glorious spiritual understanding. If Jesus' healing had been wholly "supernatural," He would not have said, "The works that I do shall he do also."

Science and Health, on page 224, says, appropriately: "Because you cannot walk on the water and raise the dead, you have no right to question the great might of Divine Science in this direction. Be thankful that Jesus who was its true demonstrator did this, and left his example for us. We can use only what we understand, and must prove our faith by our works."

The critic's hesitating and qualified indorsement of "under-

standing, faith and prayer," is met by the following words from *Science and Health*, page 98: "We admit that God hath almighty power, is a 'present help in time of trouble'; and yet we rely on a drug to heal disease, as if senseless matter had more power than omnipotent Spirit."

In answering the critic's prophecy concerning the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science and Christian Science itself "after her death" I can best quote from Mrs. Eddy's message to The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts, in which she answered a similar clerical prophecy: "I am sorry for my critic, who reckons hopefully on the death of an individual who loves God and man; such foreseeing is not foreknowing, and exhibits a startling ignorance of Christian Science and a manifest unfitness to criticise it or to compare its literature."

But what influence can criticism exert upon substantial facts? The simplest case of healing through Christian Science overturns all the objections which a doubting mind can muster in array. Sincere searchers after the Truth are accepting the overwhelming testimony of Christian Scientists. Looking ahead, they see a gradual and glorious conquest of sin and sickness. They also see a wonderful readjustment of the relations of men. The whole spectacle of these false relations between mortals is a mere spectacle and nothing more. The greed, envy, hatred and revenge which mark these relations and set individuals and nations at variance with each other are produced in the last analysis by a stupendous fraud called fear. Fear is the stimulus which prompts mortals to trample upon each other where there is room for all, to rob each other when there is more than enough for all. Fear and its progeny fill the hospitals, prisons and insane asylums. Fear of what? Fear of want, fear of death.

Christian Science is waging a warfare of "no quarter" against fear expressed in sin and sickness. It brings to this task a spiritual understanding derived from the Scriptures, as interpreted to our age by Mrs. Eddy. In order to deliver this message she has passed through the valley of persecution, but the day of blind antagonism is passed. The day of loving action and co-operation has arrived.

Mrs. Eddy has shown a deep spiritual nature from her very girlhood. She grew up in New Hampshire in a strict New England environment, and to this day she speaks affectionately of the

devout clergymen who were in the habit of visiting her father's house. "As early as 1862 she began to write down and give to friends the result of her Scriptural study, for the Bible was her sole teacher." (*Science and Health*, Preface, page VIII.) In 1866 she discovered "The system which she denominated Christian Science." (Preface, page VIII.) "The first edition of *Science and Health* was published in 1875." (Preface, page X.)

In the year 1878 Mrs. Eddy was called to preach in Boston at the Baptist Tabernacle of the Rev. Daniel C. Eddy, D. D. In 1879 she founded the first Christian Science Church.

These dates seem very recent when we consider the enormous work done in the interval, and they point to Mrs. Eddy as a woman of very remarkable gifts. She is now receiving the loving gratitude of great multitudes who have never seen her but have read her books and benefited by them. In response to a spontaneous desire to express their affection Christian Scientists have endowed her with the endearing name of "Mother." This does not mean that they worship her personality, as has been stated. They reverence her as the person who has by a new spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures shown them the way out of sin and sickness.

Imagine a world in which the press and the pulpit, the university and the various professions as well as the business world should find their chief joy in praising and expressing Life and Love! Imagine a world of happy men and women, starting out to do their day's work, guarded, guided and controlled solely by God, and fed by Substance! Imagine them manifesting imperishable individuality and special gifts, yet dwelling in the One Mind, conscious only of One Power and Intelligence, united in one indissoluble bond, and acknowledging one supreme Being!

In such a world all so-called material problems would be solved by Mind; the everpresent thought of Life would drive away all fear of death; the knowledge of Truth would dispel all doubt and suspicion, and Love would cast its glow of joy and its glory of happiness over all men and over the whole universe.

W. D. McCrackan.

SOME THOUGHTS ON PAIN AND DEATH.

BY H. B. MARRIOTT-WATSON.

THE foundations of Life are laid very deep and intricately, yet they are most precarious; and it is no doubt this very delicacy and elaboration that render them so. Man has ascended out of a remote and somewhat ignoble past by innumerable confluences of blood and nerve and character, and the roots of his life go down into an unknown soil. Yet the strangeness of the situation lies in this, that all this ceremonious life, all this mechanical perfection, the whole of this ancient and slowly evolving design, is built about five small senses. For, lacking the senses, the human body is inconceivable; even to the lowest forms of protoplasm some rudiments of a sense attach. It is to those five open avenues that human life is indebted for its knowledge, its reason, its discoveries, its civilization, which is to say its general progress from an unknown womb. To shut off one of these conduits by which human beings obtain their impressions of the world would be seriously to emasculate the life of any particular person; on the contrary, to add another sense would be to create a new class or order of being which would be manifestly superior to ourselves. This subjection to the senses, this dependence upon them for our relation with external phenomena makes all human knowledge relative. The things-in-themselves of which Plato wrote, and (if we must believe him) of which Socrates spoke, must be the limitation of our senses be forever unknown. All that we can see are these "absolutes" as reflected in five facets. To seize the whole in its truth and entirety would be possible only to a being whose senses were infinite; that is to say, a being whom we are unable to conceive, if not to conjecture.

These senses, then, which are the limit of our knowledge, and

form a system of communication with ourselves, and between one another, must be of necessity paramount in their importance. We depend upon their accuracy for the justice of our impressions, and whilst there is no definite proof that, say, a color or a sound represents to each person the same value or fact, it is a postulate that we must make ere we set forth, if there is to be any argument at all. The frail alleys, one of which at least has fallen long since into disrepair and is but imperfectly used, have been the means of evolution. Piece by piece and parcel by parcel, globule by globule and cell by cell, has the inherited information of the senses built up the human body and the human mind. The great process of evolution asks long periods of time, and geology grants them. A million years in her sight are but as yesterday. So that some time far back, man, endowed now with superior faculties and grown gregarious and social, developed for himself a theory of morals. There is little doubt that the development of a code of morals was of a piece with the progressive movement which has evolved him bodily. There was to be no pause or stay because he had grown upright, walked firmly upon feet and had lost the hair of his body. On the contrary, the vital principle, relieved of the arduous work of constructing a home, fell quickly to the still more difficult and sacred task of developing a proper tenant for that home. In the course of evolution man came, therefore, to shape for himself and his fellows a number of rules which must regulate their social lives. Thus it is that the word "moral" has arisen; for the Latin tongue fully recognized the ultimate derivation of the Roman ethical system. It was founded in its essence on custom; that is, upon those laws which society had considered wise and necessary for the common good. That in different countries and under different skies the moral codes should vary very widely was a natural result of that variation of habit, structure and climate which is one of the main causes of evolution. The utility of the code was the prime necessity. A society of people in its early stages collects about it certain obligations and responsibilities which must be met and undertaken if the tribe is to hold together. The conscience of the tribe will also have reached a certain height and definite religious scruples, sanctions and beliefs will have coagulated in the mind. It is to meet this double condition—the relations of the individual members of the tribe with one another and their

relations with the invisible world—that the ethical system is slowly shaped.

But it would be unwise to suppose that because each people fashioned a system of morality which met its needs, any standing morality prevailing in any part of the world is sufficient, or just, or pure. At the best a nation determines its ethics roughly, hewing them savagely and unceremoniously out of the block; and there must be many imperfections, even when it is shapeliest to the eye. There is a natural tendency for organic things—creatures as well as the manifestations of creatures—to grow old and out of keeping with their environment. Not only so, but there must be added to this natural process which leads to decay the conservative forces of religion. By these powers is a people bound very rigidly to the rules of its forefathers, whereas there may be no proper correspondence between those laws and the tastes and requirements of the age. It is amazing sometimes to reflect how deeply we are moved by the inhibitions or permissions of a law long since past any usefulness and meet for the dust bin. And even when the incongruity of the law has become so apparent to the public sense that it is a matter of ridicule for the ordinary man, the difficulty of dislodging it from its ancient and venerable place is so great that few are found to attempt the thankless task, and many even to defend the absurdity. To take a trivial example: Some time since the visitors to a popular watering place complained that the authorities compelled the tobacconists to shut their shops on Sundays, whereas boatmen let out their boats, and cabmen their cabs unhindered. The law against Sunday trading still exists, yet it is never enforced because it is felt to be inconsistent with modern feeling. Even the authorities at the watering place of which I speak had but a half-hearted belief in the law, since they would illogically overlook its breaches in the case of some occupations. No one at present, however, proposes to abolish the law against Sunday trading with its statutory punishment, the stocks.

It is clear, then, that we must not look upon an existing code of morals as adequate or right merely because it has been of long standing and has been handed down to us by our fathers who found that it served their purpose. On the contrary, a perpetual readjustment is essential, whereby the anachronisms of the rule under which we live may be eliminated. There is an argument

ready to the hand of any one who wishes to defend the existing conditions of society, an argument which, oddly enough, derives its force from the reasonings of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Mr. Spencer is so thoroughly committed to the cause of individualism that he would not interfere with the action of nature in regard to the main course of her developments. As he expresses it, the rule of the survival of the fittest must work freely in order to secure what nature requires; and this belief has led him to oppose with all the strength of his strong will the principles which lie at the base of socialism, if socialism (which is a vague term) be taken as the antithesis to individualism. That way, however, runs a return to the ancient dogma that whatever is is right. And it is easy to see how the argument may be employed in favor of the perfection of the ruling code of morals, or to speak more correctly, against any interference with that code. The error seems to me to lie in a confusion of mind which would dissociate the enthusiasms and yearnings of the human spirit from any relation with organic life. To the civilization of the middle ages with its inherent cruelties and superstitions arrives some prophet, who preaches a better way. It will hardly be seriously contended that the prophet has no right to interfere because he is interrupting the law of nature. He is part of nature himself and in consequence, in so far as he is effective in his crusade, the revolution of which he is the author is part of evolution. The same truth holds to-day, and those who can persuade the body of the nation out of an inveterate habit of belief are in no wise interfering with natural law. It is true, on the other hand, that if the popular will successfully resists, that result is again in keeping with the course which evolution has mapped out. The individualist, therefore, is at liberty to oppose the principles of socialism to the uttermost, but he is not at liberty to suggest that they are inconsistent with the purpose of nature, which not only is responsible for the elaboration of the world as we know it, but will have to determine the future of a world which we may not forecast. If socialism were to triumph—collectivism, horrid as is the word, is probably a more definite title—the triumph would mark a new and predestined stage in the world's history, a stage higher or lower, but still a stage in advance and on the road to something else. Surely, then, it comes to this, that we, all and each of us, may shout loudly for what we consider to be right,

and that perhaps to none of us shall it be revealed whether what he has urged is good or bad, even if it be successful and secure the adherence of his neighbors.

If there is anything in the considerations which I have set down, all that is proved is surely this: that it is permissible to discuss the canons of current morality without fear and without prejudice. It is apparent that we have outgrown many of these, and it may be that we have developed beyond almost all. And I conceive that there is but one way to discover how little or how much we have gone astray; and that is as a preliminary to make out a definite standard of morals to which we may refer our rules and actions. To elaborate a serious code which should apply in detail to every available circumstance of life would be a far more ambitious task than this short paper designs. But I propose to endeavor to formulate a large principle of morals and to take a few examples thereafter as illustrations of its application, in the hope that this course may be suggestive, if nothing more. The correspondence of nature is so large and generous that we may forget it is also so careless and so cruel. We are fitted into our places with a rough hand; the largess of gifts is poured upon us; we are tended not unkindly, but with unparticularizing zeal. Nature gardens on so vast a scale that many grow up and many die, and there is no room in her heart for compassion for the dead. It is with the living that she is concerned, and most of all with those who, keeping nearest to her rude orders, draw therefrom a strong life. She rewards lavishly those who survive to do her credit. And the laws she has imposed form a body of morals which must be the basis of any successful ethical system.

This congruity of man with the laws and exactions of nature is the prime factor in determining his health and happiness. There is no room for any difference of opinion on this particular point. But it is more than that; there is a deeper significance in the proposition. A close observation of the progress of organic life in these terrestrial fields discovers two important facts: the one, that nature desires an advance upon lines of her own, such as she has achieved in aeons of the past; the other, that she benevolently rewards all acts and habits that assist such an advance. Kant proposed as a test of any action or system of ethics that we should consider this question: Could this be made a universal rule, applicable to all mankind? If this query were answerable

in the affirmative, according to Kant the act or system might be taken as moral. Kant, however, wrote before the heyday of natural science, and wove his theories out of the fine-spun yarn of his brain. We stand upon firmer ground now through the offices of innumerable thinkers and patient observers, most of them long since dust and ashes with the German. Yet it is to the credit of that fine mind that the newer test does not wholly conflict with his own. It is, indeed, reconcilable with the older theory. For nature makes this postulate, that that must be deemed moral which, if applied at large, will consist with her schemes and tend to the general and particular advances at which she is aiming. Nature aims high, and the rewards of those who fall in with her aims is that they shall live healthily and happily. They that will not must pay the penalty, though the penalty may be long delayed, even till the third and fourth generation. The tragedy of life is that there is no account taken of individuals; it is the stream of tendency that matters. Fate waits so long and works so patiently that centuries elapse ere her results are seen. Yet it is certain that no man and no race of men may enter upon a conflict with nature with any hope of success. She has one end for such—extermination, or such oblivion as comes of inglorious decrepitude, of shameful degradation. The wages of sin against her is death; yet, as in the case of her rewards, she visits not always the individual. Whether she has penalties or benefits to offer, she prefers to deal with the race. It is the race that she pays and punishes most generously; it is the individual she tends to neglect. She pays him at once, after long years, not at all, as some careless employer who deals with large figures and great numbers, who in the "operation" of big transactions cannot be bothered with details.

According to this version of philosophy, then, morality is to be measured by the extent of our agreement with the plans of nature. The full design of those plans it is not possible to guess, yet, as we have seen, the general outline is deducible. But as a matter of fact a prevision of the future is not demanded of us, but only to obey definite rules which have dominated the processes of nature since we have been able to observe them. In the protrusion of man from the organic world a stage in evolution has been reached which, however magnificent, is not final. Life has sat down in a half-way house and presently shall resume its journey.

Indeed, this is a mere figure of speech, as there is, and can be, no interruption in its course. The recklessness of the process by which the ultimate goal is to be gained can be gauged from the monstrous sacrifices it entails. No Juggernaut car rolled over living and sensible bodies so wantonly or so indifferently. For life and death are but the counters with which some vast game is played above us, beyond all, and seeming to these poor mortal eyes to be at once cruel and ineffectual. The material with which she is able to make her experiments is so rich and abundant that nature is spendthrift, neither hoards nor spares, and like a barbaric general will throw away innumerable pawns to gain her objective. What is death to us is but part of her game. So that the long reaches of history before history was recorded are dotted with the relics of myriads of experiments, myriads of failures, myriads of false types. Most of these creatures which were tentative essays towards the construction of man have perished long since; the survivors are even now diminishing; the fortune by which the human creature is at last placed dominant upon the earth and hunts the lower beasts to death marks only the culmination of that system of obliteration which nature has always reserved for her failures. The culmination? No. For the process, as I have said, is by no means at an end; and as man has been chosen from the ranks in which he once was merely a unit, so too from the gradually diverging races of man shall one be chosen to the exclusion of the others. Nature, in short, will continue to pick, and the best of us will still be chosen, as were the best of the anthropoid creatures at some long-distant point of time. There is here, no doubt, a lesson of vital consequence for the nations of the earth; but at the moment it is too large a question, and I am now considering rather morality in its relation to the internal economy of the state. Let us see how the rule which has been laid down will work out in one or two important particulars.

If we accept as a fact this demand on the part of nature (that is, of those forces which are developing the universe) that we must live in congruity with her, the acceptance necessitates a general and ruthless clearance of the laws, beliefs and customs which derive from other and alien rules. And it is unfortunate that the bulk of our morality and our public opinion is based upon other arguments, has come out of a remote past, and ven-

erable by such descent wears yet the scars and patches of long service. The common sense of generation after generation has shaped these bonds about the race, both visible and invisible, into some practical agreement with the changing civilization. Yet the liberties taken with these laws and customs have been slight, and have indeed been limited to such modifications as conserved an appearance of harmony and prevented a monstrous antagonism between public law and public sentiment. Perhaps in no way has the inheritance of erroneous traditions, inconsistent with what I have called the proper base of morality, been more pernicious than in determining the relative values of death and pain. The common opinion of the day tends to assert that, whereas death is an evil to be avoided, pain is a discipline, a means of education, an ultimate good. The verdict of natural morality is the reverse; for while nature offers to us death as a refuge, as the final grave of our troubles, she abhors pain and spares us what she may. Indeed, that gift of death is for the release from pain and is made in a kindly spirit. She has no further use for us; we are broken and done with. Very well; there is left that irrevocable silence in which neither will the mind revolve upon itself with interminable sadness, nor the nerves and sinews throb and ache in that quiet heap of corrupting dust.

The aim of Christianity has been to transfigure death; to represent that last act in which the living body takes part as a radiant change which the soul is right to anticipate with longing and to welcome with gladness. In that restitution which will characterize a celestial life the Christian religion sees the justification and the explanation of this bewildering sojourn on earth. And death, thus interpreted and so glorified, should be to Christians nothing but a blessing, a gift, a gate out of all sorrows. Yet it cannot be said with any truth that modern sentiment regards it in this light. The growth of pity has increased with it the fear of death, and it is probable that man's faith is not now so vivid or so strong as to prevail against the terrors which have been sedulously fostered in his heart for generations. For death itself is nothing; it is the shadow of death that terrifies. "I have seen many men die," said a well-known doctor, "and after thirty years I have come to the conclusion that it hurts about as much as being born." And there is what I would come to; for it is pain and only pain that matters, whether pain be mental or physical.

When I claim death as a positive benefit for the individual I am not doing so out of a wanton fancy for a paradox. For so long as life is good, so long, that is, as the balance is in favor of happiness, for so long will death remain an unnecessary evil. And even beyond that stage, when the scales have kicked the beam and there seems surely no more to wait for in this world, even then hope steps in and stays the desperate hand. The future which is unknown is always more vast and more possible than the past which is familiar; and out of that illusive void the human spirit will bravely shape promises for itself until the crisis is past and the scale returns to balance. The aim of the life, if it would do what nature desires for it, should be the avoidance of pain and the acceptance of death in due season. A proper system of morals should educate us for this end. The scheme of philosophy in which pain is regarded as a disciplinary force and, therefore, a blessing seems to me by the light of these principles to be as false as that which would terrify us with the shadow of death. Nature desires a happy life, for it is only by full living that the creatures which she is molding can be improved. As for pain, it has been established undoubtedly in the interests of the creature, and not for his punishment or discipline. Pain is a very blunt signal of danger which is meant as a guide. The nerves which conduct that sensation to the centre of feeling lie for the most part upon the surface where they may the more easily give warning. To scrape the surface of the flesh hurts more than to cut deeply into the tissues. There is, therefore, no moral or philosophic use of pain in all this. It is a practical contrivance of the most ordinary utility, and the less occasion human creatures, or any other creatures, have to experience it the better for them. By that conservation of placid happiness is the fulness of life consummated. In truth, if we are looking about for a philosophy, that in which the greatest amount of unnecessary pain is averted would seem to be, on the whole, the highest and best we may obtain. The rule of the savage world is framed upon a different postulate, and even the practice of the civilized territories partakes of that ancient tradition of cruelty. It is likely that the active taste for cruelty has been evolved among races by accident from some condition which at one time served a useful purpose in the body politic. According to the scheme of nature no unnecessary infliction of pain was admissible, yet incidentally a

positive taste for pain has developed; and it is possible that the tortures of the red Indians may be parallel with the ruthless treatment of the mouse by the cat. The desire to avenge a wrong was, doubtless, quite necessary in the original and rudimentary society, since only by such wild instincts was the society capable of being preserved. Yet we have now outlived that period and entrusted our quarrels to the placid hands of the law. Justice, nevertheless, remains vindictive and is directed in many cases not to the utilitarian end of preventing crime, but to the barbarous object of avenging it. At the same time the sentimental theory of life, which would underestimate the effects of pain and exalt death to the heights of tragedy, is busy amongst us. These dual principles go right through our criminal law. For example, a lunatic who commits a murder is confined during His Majesty's pleasure, whereas a man of sound intelligence is hanged. According to a saner view the lunatic would be hanged (or otherwise disposed of) along with the ordinary criminal. Again, there are many things worse than the infliction of death. If a man should be killed to-day, it would entail less suffering than if he should lie racked on a bed of pain for years or find his strength and health ebb from him step by step, or, once more, than if he should be subject to the exactions and terrors of blackmail over a term of years. But public opinion and the law will not recognize that blackmail, or, say, adulteration of food and wine, are as heinous offenses as murder. The bare fact is that they are far worse judged from the standpoint I have indicated. They are the cause of *greater pain.* There is in Great Britain and elsewhere a vigorous minority which agitates for the abolition of capital punishment, on the ground that it is merely a survival of barbarism to take life in exchange for life. The question of capital punishment, however, will scarcely be determined on such grounds. Any one may suspect that the movement has its origin rather in a sentimental dread of death. In Italy, where the capital penalty is abolished, a far worse (and a more costly) punishment awaits the assassin, who is confined solitary in a cell until his reason is endangered. Of the two retributions there can be no doubt which is the more severe; yet the object of society should be to restrain a dangerous man from homicide—an object which would be most easily attained by his execution. The infliction of pain is unnecessary; the extinction of death is desirable. The law acts as

if the reverse were true. We may take it that the law rarely intervenes to spare pain, but invariably to protect from death and the loss of property. Being derived from a more primitive society it is not adjusted to our later needs and higher requirements and the conservative character of society maintains and defends the incongruity.

The round world is built upon a series of conventions which are crumbling and decayed, but are still held sacred; yet there is no hope that we may better this condition by the aid of the "faddist." What are we to do with the vegetarian who denies the right of the *carnivore* to take the life of the lower animals? He is fitted with teeth which give the lie to his own arguments, yet he will persist in regarding that as cruel which is only the behest of a dispassionate nature. One particular form of cruelty practiced by law and custom in our occidental civilization is the refusal to allow a man to command his own life. He may do what he will with his property, he may even to a large limit deal with his children as he will, but to be the master of his own life is forbidden him. That which is drawn reluctant and unconscious out of an abysmal past may not have the privilege of laying down that gift which it has never sought, but is bound reluctant to a reluctant and ungracious world when every bond between them is broken and dissolved. There exists still that most barbarous usage by which a coroner's jury has the choice of two verdicts upon a suicide, and one of these pronounces that he who has preferred death deliberately is matter for anathema—should be treated as carrion and denied all kindly offices and rites. Yet surely the desire of death must be so unnatural that to seek it must of itself prove life to be intolerable. Nature has no need of those who find life too difficult. The very fact should engage her assistance in parting the slender links, and the nausea of life which comes to some in certain conditions is, no doubt, intended as the prelude and incentive to the final relief. Of course, I am considering not a mere whim on the part of any emotional person, but a settled state of mind, deliberate and definite. There are hospitals in every civilized community; there are workhouses. Is it beyond the dreams of kindness that there should also be a House of Death, a hostelry into which those weary of the world or themselves should be received as into a lodging against the darkness, a halfway house to the eternal silence? A proper course of care and

discipline might fitly serve as a test between those who have real ground for their dislike of life and those who have jumped lightly at a release which they do not need. Yet there is a class of suffering which receives even less consideration at the hands of our merciless humanity than that which would culminate in suicide from weariness of life or complexity of outlook. I refer to cases of incurable and painful disease. It is satisfactory that medical skill is able in these days to mitigate the pains of such as are afflicted with these, yet it would be more consistent with natural justice and morality that they should have the power of terminating their own sufferings by death. A consultation, very grave and solemn, the consent of the sufferer—these might well be the prelude to swift and painless euthanasia.

The purblindness of law and custom to the claims of real justice and kindness is marked in many aspects of our modern life. False ideals, which are false idols, still rule our habits, our thoughts and our consciences. *Genus infelix humanum,* we are unable to throw off that old ancestral yoke under which we have been bowed so long that we are even unaware of the subjugation. The Anglo-Saxon race is in the main a just race in its dealings, desirous of the right, and following what seem the dictates of duty. A little cold and unimaginative, more than a little patient, this northern blood so felicitously fused in the course of history has derived from its stock a belief in the rights of others as well as a dependence on its own judgments. Both that fairness and that obstinacy are rooted deeply in our nature, and the two qualities, clashing as they not infrequently do, produce in our national character strange inconsistencies. It is by reason of this that we are wrongly charged with hypocrisy by foreign critics. We are not hypocrites, but only a trifle unimaginative and a good deal more conservative in our ways. It is an anomaly traceable to the conflict I have mentioned that in England to-day the tenderest consideration for the animal world co-exists with the most brutal disregard of animal sufferings. The death of a cat or dog, adequately related, will cause emotion in the hearts of the audience; yet some of these may run behind hounds to-morrow, and unblushingly accept the tail of an unhappy victim. The outcry against bull-fights on the Continent seems at once amazing and amusing to those who have witnessed the terror, exhaustion and despair of the hunted quarry in the national sport of Eng-

land. In that moment of its final agony it is probable that the fox suffers the extreme of suffering that the animal world is capable of. Cock-fighting has been abolished, and yet it is quite clear that the cocks at least did not object to the duel, whereas hare and fox certainly cannot be said to enjoy the chase. In brief, to bring these remarks in line with the thesis, the sports are not put to the test of pain, which is the only test of importance, which is indeed the one test exacted by nature.

The dullness of the human mind to the importance of pain and the insignificance of death is very manifest in our attitude to the crimes of murder and dishonesty, to which I have already referred. If we judge by the test of pain, we must revise our code of crimes and penalties; for that will not seem the worst offense which really is so. More harm is wrought by dishonesty than by a solitary act of violence which results in death. The swindler, the rascally operator in stocks, the purveyor of bad food, the adulterator, the cheating contractor, the landlord who avoids his responsibilities, the dishonest plumber—all these are the cause of far greater suffering than the man who shoots his comrade in angry brawl. Yet we are unwilling to accept this as the case, and it is probable that many generations will come and go before the law and the sanctions of the law are applied upon this first principle. The history of the past will, no doubt, be repeated in the history of the future. The course of evolution is forward always, is not dammed even when it appears so, and we are at this moment undergoing a change "into something rich and strange." One property of the social state which the new creature will inhabit will certainly be a higher morality. It is not so very long ago—the middle ages—that the wanton destruction of life was scarcely considered as a crime. It was no doubt very stupid and unnecessary for a lord to shoot his serfs or bondmen, but neither law nor moral sense regarded this act as a heinous offense. With the passage of centuries the crime of murder has grown in blackness, not only to the eye of justice but to the popular sense. Consequently an inherent and abiding instinct against murder has been developed in the conscience of the northern nations at any rate. It is reasonable to expect that a similar course of development will be followed in the case of other offenses against society. The appreciation of the importance of pain in a system of morals has dawned upon us late, and has required subtler senses. If we

once recognize that pain is the immortal enemy and that the battle must be waged against it, and if we are able to adjust our minds so that we see death in a proper perspective, we shall be on the highway to a better moral system and a happier social state. The victories of the past have been great and arduously achieved and they were won by those who were scarcely conscious that they were struggling, who certainly were ignorant of the end for which they fought. Peace is not yet, for peace is when change ceases, and change may never cease "'till all change end." So we may be encouraged by the past in the future, and if we may fix however roughly upon the goal to which nature desires to direct our footsteps, that ideal in our minds may serve to help us and the great cause of human progress.

H. B. Marriott-Watson.

ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—V.

BY H. G. WELLS.

VII. THE CONFLICT OF LANGUAGES.

We have brought together thus far in these Anticipations the material for the picture of a human community in the year 2000. We have imagined its roads, the type and appearance of its homes, its social developments, its internal struggle for organization. We have speculated upon its moral and æsthetic conditions, read its newspaper, made an advanced criticism upon the lack of universality in its literature, and attempted to imagine it at war. We have decided in particular that unlike the civilized community of the immediate past, which lived either in sharply defined towns or agriculturally over a wide country, this population will be distributed in a quite different way, a little more thickly over vast urban regions and a little less thickly over less attractive or less convenient or less industrial parts of the world. And in all that has been written there has appeared an unavoidable assumption that the coming community will be vast, something geographically more extensive than most and geographically different from almost all existing communities; that the outline its creative forces will draw not only does not coincide with existing political centres and boundaries, but will be more often than not in direct conflict with them, uniting areas that are separated and separating areas that are united, grouping here half a dozen tongues and peoples together and there tearing apart homogeneous bodies and distributing the fragments among separate groups. And it will now be well to enquire a little into the general causes of these existing divisions, the political boundaries of to-day, and the still older contours of language and race.

It is first to be remarked that each of these sets of boundaries is superimposed, as it were, on the older sets. The race areas, for

example, which are now not traceable in Europe at all, must have represented old regions of separation. The language areas which have little or no essential relation to racial distribution have also given way long since to the newer forces that have united and consolidated nations. And the still newer forces that have united and separated the nineteenth century states have been, and in many cases are still, in manifest conflict with "national" ideas.

In the original separation of human races, in the subsequent differentiation and spread of languages, in the separation of men into nationalities, and in the union and splitting of states and empires we have to deal essentially with the fluctuating manifestation of the same fundamental shaping factor which will determine the distribution of urban districts in the coming years—*transit*. Every boundary of the ethnographical, linguistic, political and commercial map—as a little consideration will show—has been traced in the first place by the means of transit under the compulsion of geographical contours.

There are evident in Europe four or five or more very distinct racial types, and since the methods and rewards of barbaric warfare and the nature of the chief chattels of barbaric trade have always been diametrically opposed to racial purity, their original separation could only have gone on through such an entire lack of communication as to have prevented either trade or warfare between the bulk of the differentiating bodies. These original racial types are now inextricably mingled. Unobservant, overscholarly people talk or write in the profoundest manner about a Teutonic race and a Keltic race and institute all sorts of curious contrasts between these phantoms, but these are not races at all, if physical characteristics have anything to do with race. The Dane, the Bavarian, the Prussian, the Frieslander, the Wessex peasant, the Kentish man, the Virginian, the man from New Jersey, the Norwegian, the Swede and the Transvaal Boer are generalized, for example, as Teutonic; while the short, dark, cunning sort of Welshman, the tall and generous Highlander, the miscellaneous Irish, the square-headed Breton and any sort of Cornwall peasant are Kelts within the meaning of this oil-lamp anthropology.* People who believe in this sort of thing are not

*Under the intoxication of the Keltic renaissance the most diverse sorts of human beings have foregathered and met face to face and been photographed collectively, and have, no doubt, gloated over these collective photographs, without any of them realizing, it seems, what a miscellaneous thing the Keltic race must be. There is nothing that may or may

the sort of people that one attempts to convert by a set argument. One need only say the thing is not so; there is no Teutonic race, and there never has been; there is no Keltic race, and there never has been. No one has ever proved or attempted to prove the existence of such races; the thing has always been assumed; they are dogmas with nothing but questionable authority behind them, and the *onus* of proof rests on the believer. This nonsense about Keltic and Teutonic is no more science than Lombroso's extraordinary assertions about criminals or palmistry or the development of religion from a solar myth. Indisputably there are several races intermingled in the European populations —I am inclined to suspect the primitive European races may be found to be so distinct as to resist confusion—but there is no inkling of a satisfactory analysis yet that will designate what these races were and define them in terms of physical and moral character. The fact remains that there is no such thing as a racially pure and homogeneous community in Europe distinct from other communities. Even among the Jews, according to Erckert and Chantre and J. Jacobs, there are markedly divergent types. There may have been two original elements and there have been extensive local intermixtures.

But long before the beginnings of history, while even language was in its first beginnings, these first complete isolations were breaking down again, the little pools of race were running together into less homogeneous lagoons and marshes of humanity, the first paths were being worn—war paths for the most part. Still differentiation would be largely at work. Without frequent intercourse, frequent interchange of women as the great factor in that intercourse, the tribes and bands of mankind would still go on separating, would develop dialectic and customary, if not physical and moral, differences. It was no longer a case of pools perhaps, but they were still in lakes. There were as yet no open seas of mankind. With advancing civilization, with iron weapons and war disciplines, with established paths and a social rule, and presently with the coming of the horse, what one might call the areas of assimilation would increase in size. A stage would be reached when the only checks to transit of a sufficiently convenient sort to keep language uniform would be the sea or

not be a Kelt; and I know, for example, professional Kelts who are, so far as face, manners, accent, morals and ideals go, indistinguishable from other people who are, I am told, indisputably Assyroid Jews.

mountains or a broad river or—pure distance. And presently the rules of the game, so to speak, would be further altered and the unifactions and isolations that were establishing themselves upset altogether and brought into novel conflict by the beginning of navigation, whereby an impassable barrier became a highway.

The commencement of actual European history coincides with the closing phases of what was probably a very long period of a foot and (occasional) horseback state of communications, the adjustments so arrived at being already in an early state of rearrangement through the advent of the ship. The communities of Europe were still for the larger part small, isolated tribes and kingdoms, such kingdoms as a mainly pedestrian militia might hold together. The increase of transit facilities between such communities, by the development of shipping and the invention of the wheel and the made road, spelt for a time increased trade, but very speedily a more extensive form of war, and in the end either union through the wearing away of differences or conquest. Man is the creature of a struggle for existence, incurably egoistic and aggressive. Convince him even of the gospel of self-abnegation and he instantly becomes its zealous missionary, taking great credit that his expedients to ram it into the minds of his fellow-creatures do not include physical force—and if that is not self-abnegation, he asks, what is? So he has been and so he is likely to remain. Not to be so is to die of abnegation and extinquish the type. Improvement in transit between communities, formerly for all practical purposes isolated, means, always has meant, and always will mean that now they can get at one another. And they do. They interbreed and fight, physically, mentally and spiritually. Unless Providence is belied in its works, that is what they are meant to do.

A third invention which though not a means of transit like the wheeled vehicle and the ship was yet a means of communication and rendered still larger political reactions possible, and that was the development of systems of writing. The first empires and some sort of written speech arose together. Just as a kingdom as distinguished from a mere tribal group of villages is almost impossible without horses, so is an empire without writing and post roads. The history of the whole world for three thousand years is the history of a unity larger than the small kingdom of the heptarchy type endeavoring to establish itself under

the stress of these discoveries of horse traffic and shipping and the written word, the history of the partial shattering of the barriers that had been effectual enough to prevent the fusion of more than tribal communities through all the long ages.

East of the Gobi Pamir barrier there has slowly grown up under these new conditions the Chinese system. West and north of the Sahara Gobi barrier of deserts and mountains the extraordinarily strong and spacious conceptions of the Romans succeeded in dominating the world, and do indeed dominate it to this hour in a sort of mutilated way by the powers of great words and wide ideas in Cæsarism and Imperialism, in the titles of Czar, Kaiser and Imperator, in Papal pretension and countless political devices. For awhile these conceptions did actually sustain a united and organized Empire over much of this space. But at its stablest time this union was no more than a political union, the spreading of a thin layer of Latin-speaking officials, of a thin network of roads and a very thin veneer of customs and refinements. It checked, perhaps, but it nowhere succeeded in stopping the slow but inevitable differentiation of province from province and nation from nation. The forces of transit that permitted the Roman imperialism and its partial successors to establish wide ascendencies were not sufficient to carry the resultant unity beyond the political stage. There was unity but not unification. Tongues and writing ceased to be pure without ceasing to be distinct. Sympathies, religious and social practices, ran apart and rounded themselves off like drops of oil on water. Travel was restricted to the rulers, troops and a wealthy leisure class. Commerce was for most of the constituent provinces of the empire a commerce in superficialities, and each province (except for Italy, which latterly became dependent on an overseas food supply) was in all essential things autonomous, could have continued in existence, rulers and rules, arts, luxuries and refinements just as they stood, if all other lands and customs had been swept out of being. Local convulsions and revolutions, conquests and developments occurred indeed; but though the stones were altered, the mosaic remained, and the general size and character of its constituent pieces remained. So it was under the Romans; so it was in the eighteenth century; and so it would probably have remained as long as the post road and the sailing ship were the most rapid forms of transit within the reach of man. Wars and

powers and princes came and went; that was all. Nothing was changed. There was only one state the more or less. Even in the eighteenth century the process of real unification had effected so little that not one of the larger kingdoms of Europe escaped a civil war—not a class war, but a really *internal* war—between one part of itself and another, in that hundred years. In spite of Rome's few centuries of unstable empire, internal wars, a perpetual struggle against finally triumphant disruption, seemed to be the unavoidable destiny of every power that attempted to rule over a larger radius than at most a hundred miles.

So evident was this that many educated English persons thought then, and many who are not in the habit of analysing operating causes still think to-day, that the wide diffusion of the English-speaking people is a mere preliminary to their political, social and linguistic disruption, that linguistic differences, differences of custom, costume, prejudice and the like will finally make the Australian, the Canadian of English blood, the Virginian and the English Africander as incomprehensible and unsympathetic one to another as Spaniard and Englishman, or Frenchman and German are now. On such a supposition all our current Imperialism is the most foolish defiance of the inevitable, the maddest waste of blood, treasure and emotion that man ever made. So it might be, and would be, if it were not that the epoch of post road and sailing-ship is at an end. We are in the beginning of a new time with such forces of organization and unification at work in mechanical traction, in the telephone and telegraph, in a whole wonderland of novel, space-destroying appliance and in the correlated inevitable advance in practical education, as the world has never felt before.

The operation of these unifying forces is already to be very distinctly traced in the check, the arrest indeed, of any further differentiation in existing tongues, even in the most widely spread. In fact, it is more than an arrest. The forces of differentiation have been driven back and an actual process of assimilation has set in. In England at the commencement of the nineteenth century the common man of Somerset and the common man of Yorkshire, the Sussex peasant, the Caithness cottar and the common Ulsterman would have been almost incomprehensible to one another. They differed in accent, in idiom and in their very

names for things. They differed in their ideas about things. They were, in plain English, foreigners one to another. Now they differ only in accent, and even that is a dwindling difference. Their language has become ampler because now they read. They read books—or, at any rate, they learn to read out of books—and certainly they read newspapers and those scrappy periodicals that people, like bishops, pretend to think so detrimental to the human mind—periodicals that it is cheaper to make at centres and uniformly than locally in accordance with local needs. Since the newspaper cannot fit the locality, the locality has to broaden its mind to the newspaper and to ideas acceptable in other localities. The word and the idiom of the literary language and the pronunciation suggested by its spelling tends to prevail over the local usage. And, moreover, there is a persistent mixing of peoples going on, migration in search of employment and so on, unprecedented before the railways came. So few people are content to remain in that locality and state of life "into which it has pleased God to call them!" As a result, dialectic purity has vanished; dialects are rapidly vanishing, and novel differentiations are stunted or arrested altogether. Such novelties as do establish themselves in a locality are widely disseminated almost at once in books and periodicals.

A parallel arrest of dialectic separation has happened in France, in Italy, in Germany and in the United States. It is not a process peculiar to any one nation. It is simply an aspect of the general process that has arisen out of mechanical locomotion. The organization of elementary education has no doubt been an important factor, but the essential influence working through this circumstance is the fact that paper is relatively cheap to typesetting, and both cheap to authorship—even the commonest sorts of authorship—and the wider the area a periodical or books serves, the bigger, more attractive and better it can be made for the same money. Evidently this process of assimilation will continue. Even local differences of accent seem likely to follow. The itinerant dramatic company, the itinerant preacher, the coming extension of telephones and the phonograph, which at any time in some application to correspondence or instruction may cease to be a toy—all these things attack, or threaten to attack, the weeds of differentiation before they can take root.

And this process is not restricted to dialects merely. The native of a small country who knows no other language than his own becomes increasingly at a disadvantage in comparison with the user of any of the three great languages of the Europeanized world. For his literatures he depends on the scanty writers who are in his own case and write or have written in his own tongue. Necessarily they are few, because with a small public there can be only subsistence for a few. For his science he is in a worse case. His country can produce neither teachers nor discoverers to compare with the numbers of such workers in the larger areas, and it will neither pay them to write original matter for his instruction nor to translate what has been written in other tongues. The larger the number of people reading a tongue, the larger—other things being equal—will be the output of more or less original literature in that tongue, and the more profitable and numerous will be translations of whatever has value in other tongues.

Moreover, the larger the reading public is in any language, the cheaper will it be to supply copies of the desired work. In the matter of current intelligence the case of the speaker of the small language is still worse. His newspaper will need to be cheaply served, his home intelligence will be cut and restricted, his foreign news belated and second hand. To travel even a little distance or to conduct anything but the smallest business enterprise will be exceptionally inconvenient to him. The Englishman who knows no language but his own may travel well nigh all over the world and everywhere meet some one who can speak his tongue. But what of the Welsh-speaking Welshman? What of the Basque or the Lithuanian who can speak only his mother tongue? Everywhere such a man is a foreigner and with all the foreigner's disadvantages. In most places he is for all practical purposes deaf and dumb.

The inducements to an Englishman, Frenchman or German to become bi-lingual are great enough nowadays, but the inducements to a speaker of the smaller languages are rapidly approaching compulsion. He must do it in self-defense. To be an educated man in his own vernacular has become an impossibility. He must either become a mental subject of one of the greater languages, or sink to the intellectual status of a peasant. But if our analysis of social development was correct, the peasant of to-day will be represented to-morrow by the people of no account

whatever, the classes of extinction, the people of the Abyss. If that analysis was correct, the essential nation will be all of educated men, that is to say, the essential nation will speak some dominant language or cease to exist, whatever its primordial tongue may have been. It will pass out of being and become a mere local area of the lower social stratum.

This action of the force of attraction of the great tongues is cumulative. It goes on, as bodies fall, with a steady acceleration. The more the great tongues prevail over the little languages the less will be the inducement to write and translate into these latter, the less the inducement to master them with any care or precision. And so this attack upon the smaller tongues, this gravitation of those who are born to speak them towards the great languages is not only to be seen going on in the case of such languages as Flemish, Welsh or Basque, but even in the case of Norwegian and of such a great and noble tongue as the Italian I am afraid that the trend of things makes for a similar suppression. All over Italy is the French newspaper and the French book. French wins its way more and more there, as English, I understand, is doing in Norway and English and German in Holland. And in the coming years when the reading public in the case of the Western nations will be practically the whole functional population, when travel will be more extensive and abundant, and the interchange of printed matter still cheaper and swifter—and, above all, with the spread of the telephone—the process of subtle, bloodless, unpremeditated annexation will progress much more rapidly even than it does at present. The twentieth century will see the effectual crowding out of most of the weaker languages—if not a positive crowding out yet at least (as in Flanders) a supplementing of them by the superposition of one or the other of a limited number of world-languages over the area in which each is spoken. This will go on not only in Europe, but with varying rates of progress and local eddies and interruptions over the whole world. Except in the special case of China and Japan, where there may be a unique development, the peoples of the world will only escape from the wreckage of their too small and swamped and foundering social systems up the ladders of what one may call the aggregating tongues.

What will these aggregating world languages be? If one has regard only to its extension during the nineteenth century

one may easily incline to overrate the probabilities of English becoming the chief of these. But a great part of the vast extension of English that has occurred has been due to the rapid reproduction of originally English-speaking peoples, the emigration of foreigners into English-speaking countries in quantities too small to resist the contagion about them and the compulsion due to the political and commercial preponderance of a people too illiterate to readily master strange tongues. None of these causes have any essential permanence. When one comes to look more closely into the question, one is surprised to discover how slow the extension of English has been in the face of apparently far less convenient tongues. English still fails to replace the French language in French Canada, and its ascendency is doubtful today in South Africa after nearly a century of British dominion. It has none of the contagious quality of French, and the small class that monopolizes the direction of British affairs has never displayed any great zeal to propagate its use. Of the few ideas possessed by the British governing class the destruction and discouragement of schools and colleges is unfortunately one of the chief, and there is an absolute incapacity to understand the political significance of the language question. The Hindoo who is at pains to learn and use English encounters something uncommonly like hatred disguised in a facetious form. He will certainly read little about himself in English that is not grossly contemptuous. The possibilities that have existed, and that do still in a dwindling degree exist, for resolute statesmen to make English the common language of communication for all Asia south and east of the Himalayas will have to develop of their own force, or dwindle and pass away. They may pass away entirely. There is no sign that either the English or the Americans have a sufficient sense of the importance of linguistic predominance in the future of their race to interfere with natural processes in this matter for many years to come.

Among peoples not actually subject to British or American rule, and who are neither waiters nor commercial travellers, the inducements to learn English rather than French or German do not increase. If our initial assumptions are right, the decisive factor in this matter is the amount of science and thought the acquisition of a language will afford the man who learns it. It becomes therefore a fact of very great significance that the actual

number of books published in English is less than that in French or German, and that the proportion of serious books is very greatly less. A large proportion of English books are novels adapted to the minds of women, or of boys and superannuated business men, stories designed rather to allay than stimulate thought. They are the only books indeed that are profitable to publisher and author alike. In this connection they do not count, however; no foreigner is likely to learn English for the pleasure of reading Miss Marie Corelli in the original or of drinking subtle elements from The Helmet of Navarre.

These things, if they were merely the grievances of the study, might very well rest there. But they must be recognized here because the intellectual decline of the published literature of the English language (using the word to cover all sorts of books) involves the decline of the language and of all the spacious political possibilities that go with the wide extension of a language. If in the coming years a deliberate attempt were made to provide sound instruction in English to all who sought it, and if the present sordid trade of publishing were so lifted as to bring the whole literature, the whole science and all the contemporary thought of the world within the reach, need and desire of every man who had the franchise of the tongue, then by the year 2000 I would prophesy that the whole functional body of human society would read and perhaps even write and speak our language. And in a fair way to be the universal language of mankind. But such an enterprise demands a resolution and an intelligence beyond all the immediate signs of the times. It implies a veritable renaissance of intellectual life among the English-speaking peoples. The probabilities of such a renaissance will be more conveniently discussed at a later stage when we attempt to draw the broad outline of the struggle for world-wide ascendency that the coming years will see. But here it is clear that upon the probability of such a renaissance depends the extension of the language; and not only that, but the preservation of that military and naval efficiency upon which in this world of resolute aggression the existence of the English-speaking communities finally depends.

French and German will also be aggregating languages during the greater portion of the coming years. Of the two I am inclined to think French will spread further than German. There is a disposition in the world, which the French share, to grossly

undervalue the prospects of all things French, derived, so far as I can gather, from the facts that the French were beaten by the Germans in 1870, and that they do not breed with the abandon of rabbits or negroes. These are considerations that affect the dissemination of French very little. The French reading public is something different and very much larger than the existing political French system. The number of books published in French is greater than that published in English, there is a critical reception for a work published in French that is one of the few things worth a writer's having, and the French translators are the most alert and efficient in the world. One has only to see a Parisian bookshop and to recall an English one to realize the standing of French. The serried ranks of lemon-colored volumes in the former have the whole range of human thought and interest. There are no taboos and no limits. You have everything up and down the scale from frank indecency to stark wisdom. It is a shop for men. I remember my amazement on discovering three copies of a translation of that most wonderful book, the Text Book of Psychology of Professor William James, in a shop in L'Avenue de l'Opera—three copies of a book that I have never seen anywhere in England outside my own house. And the French books are all so pleasant in the page and so cheap; they are for a people that buys to read. One thinks of the English bookshop, with its gaudy reach-me-downs of gilded and embossed cover, its horribly printed novels still more horribly "illustrated," the exasperating pointless variety in the size and thickness of its books. The general effect of the English book is that it is something sold by a dealer in bric-a-brac, honestly sorry the thing *is* a book, but who has anyhow done *his* best to remedy it! And all the English shopful is brand new fiction or illustrated travel (of "Buns with the Grand Lama" type), or gilded versions of the classics of past times done up to give away. While the French bookshop reeks of contemporary life.

These things count for French as against English now, and they will count for infinitely more in the coming years. And over German also French has many advantages. In spite of the numerical preponderance of books published in Germany, it is doubtful if the German reader has such a catholic feast before him as the reader of French. There is a mass of German fiction probably as uninteresting to a foreigner as popular English

and American romance. And German compared with French is an unattractive language; unmelodious, unwieldy and cursed with a hideous and blinding lettering that the German is too patriotic to sacrifice. The indigenous German technicality remains clumsy and compromised by its everyday relations. And the shade of meaning, the limited qualification, that a Frenchman or Englishman can attain with a mere twist of the sentence, the German must either abandon or laboriously overstate with some colossal wormcast of parenthesis. Against the German tongue there are hostile frontiers; there are hostile people who fear German preponderance and who have set their hearts against its use. In Roumania and among the Slav, Bohemian and Hungarian peoples French attacks German in the flank and has a clear prospect of predominance.

But when one turns to China there are the strangest possibilities. It is in Eastern Asia alone that there seems to be any possibility of a synthesis sufficiently great to maintain itself outside of the interlocked system of mechanically sustained societies that is developing from mediæval Christendom. Throughout Eastern Asia there is still a vast wilderness of languages, but over them all rides the Chinese writing. And very strong—strong enough to be gravely considered—is the possibility of that writing taking up an orthodox association of sounds and becoming a world speech. The Japanese written language, the language of Japanese literature, tends to assimilate itself to Chinese, and fresh Chinese words and expressions are continually taking root in Japan. The Japanese are a people abnormal and incalculable, with a touch of romance, a conception of honor, a quality of imagination and a clearness of intelligence that renders possible for them things inconceivable of any other existing people. I may be the slave of perspective effects, but when I turn my mind from the petty-fogging muddle of the English House of Commons, for example, that magnified vestry that is so proud of itself as a club—when I turn from that to this race of brave and smiling people destiny seems to begin drawing with a bolder hand. In front and rear of China the English language stands. It has the start of all other languages, the mechanical advantage, the position. If only we could make up our minds that it should stand for something irresistibly worth having!

H. G. WELLS.

AN ITALIAN VIEW OF HUMOR.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

(First Paper.)

THE jolly frankness of the author's own phrase can best give a notion of the amiable book by Signor Paolo Bellezza, which has lately come to my hand from Italy, and which I should like to make the excuse for a few words of my own on the matter it treats of. He quotes a countryman of his who says, of another work, "This book is not made out of books," and then he adds, "Of this work of mine I must confess exactly the contrary; it is made exclusively out of books; it is a great lot of stuff gathered from everywhere except from my brain. . . . It is a necklace of pearls strung upon a slender cord; that, I have put there; the pearls have been furnished me by the most famous jewelers, native and foreign. This said, I can—without being accused of pride—recommend it to my respectable customers as an article of great value and of absolute novelty." It is for his reviewer to protest that the stringer of the pearls undervalues the slender cord, which is no inanimate string, but a sensitive nerve, alive with fine sympathy for the pearls it holds together. The book is indeed mainly a compilation, but a compilation infused with the taste, the intelligence, and the cultivation of the compiler, who is, perhaps, only just to himself in claiming that it is "the first study treating of humor with a certain amplitude, and in its multiple forms and manifestations," and who is surely right in hoping "that it may prove acceptable at least as an attempt in the direction that such a study ought to take." I will say even more for him (unless it should be saying less), and add that among his many saws and instances, his saws are some-

*Paola Bellezza. "Humour." Strenna a Beneficio del Pio Istituto dei Rachitici. Milano. 1900.

times the best; the nerve is finer than the message it carries, the cord more precious than the pearl. But undoubtedly most readers will find pleasure in his book because of the instances, though they should all the more, therefore, be admonished to regard the saws.

I.

Signor Bellezza treats by precept and example, in a series of fifteen chapters, of what humor is and is not; of the essence of humor; of humorous wisdom; of humorous illustrations taken from Dickens; of humorous sensibility; of the ugly phases of humor; of humorous motives; of the whims of humorists; of the psychology of the humorist; of the humorous view of shipwreck, earthquake, misery, famine and cannibalism; of mad and anomalous humor; of grisly humor, concerning murders, suicides and executions; of humor in art; of the balance of humor in modern literature; of the classic home of humor. In all these chapters he practices such sane restraint in the selection of his proofs that he can rarely be accused of what may be called Lombrosoism; but, when accused, he cannot be wholly acquitted of it. This is not so heinous in a countryman of Lombroso's, but it is something to warn the reader of, and it will be well to weigh the evidences which Signor Bellezza accumulates with such a generous, I will not say indiscriminate, hand.

Certainly he cannot be blamed with profusion, with a weak prodigality which is finally not hospitality, in providing examples of humor from the writings of his own people. He not merely confesses, but he protests with groans and sighs of rejection that there is no humor in the "Divina Commedia," as some Italian critics seem fondly to have claimed; and apparently he does not find it in his scheme to dwell long upon the Bernesque poets, who were unquestionably among the earliest of the modern humorists, though we now find it as hard to laugh at Berni, and Ariosto, and Pulci, and the author of the "Rape of the Bucket," as we do at Shakespeare when Shakespeare means to be funniest. He draws most upon Manzoni, and rightly, as I think every lover of humor will own, in recalling the delicious character of Don Abbondio in "I Promessi Sposi"; but he scarcely does justice to Giusti, among the modern poets, or to that school of comic dramatists who flourished in Italy between 1855 and 1875, and who preceded the realistic novelists, whom again he is hardly

just to. I could have wished also that in his chapter on humor in art, he could have found it in his conscience or his modesty to touch upon the rise and spread of comic Italian journalism, in which I am sure he would have found matter to convince him that he was underestimating Italian humor. This humor, in its comic journalistic avatar, is too apt to form itself upon the French humor, which in motive is apt to be so nasty, in every sense, so mean, so cynical, so salacious. It is for the most part a putrescent shimmer around the ruins of the seventh commandment, but I doubt if it is the true expression of Italian humor. I doubt for that matter if it is the true expression of French humor, but think it rather the ready convention of the humorists, just as with us a bleak and hardy pessimism concerning marriage for money and the broken engagements of summer girls is the refuge of our hard-pushed cartoonists. At any rate, from a very casual and cursory knowledge of the comic Italian journals I have the sense of something sweeter, which I fancy also more native. I remember from long ago the amusing and altogether inoffensive dismay of the lady who finds herself growing stout just at the moment she has met her fate, and who regards herself in the pitiless mirror with a gesture of despair, and the wild cry, "O, ingrassare adesso!" I remember yet another bit of like innocent humor: the hard lot of the man, on duty during some civic disturbance, who sees pass him the girl he has been looking for so long, and whom he recognizes with the wail of anguish, "Ritrovarla adesso che son proprio qua in sentinella!"

Very likely there were others, which I have forgotten, and I choose to believe that Signor Bellezza could have made an indefinitely better showing for his country in the article of humor if he had suffered himself to regard it without his prepossessions in favor of England and of the Gothic countries generally, of which our own is one, largely if tardily. It is taking up his argument quite at its close to note that he holds England to be the classic home of humor, but he does not fail to extend the honor to the whole English-speaking race. He could not, of course, get in all the American humorists, for he was not writing an encyclopædia, but he gets in eight (some rather by the hair of their heads), and our greatest humorist of all is mentioned and cited more times than any other humorist in the world except Dickens. In fact, without Mr. Clemens, whom it is not necessarily amusing

to find always spoken of as Il Twain (Signor Bellezza tells us that his real name is Samuele Langhorne), the book would be far less rich than it is in the humor which the author draws so preferably from the Gothic sources. Without him, certainly the preponderance would not be so heavy against the Latin races. Nevertheless, Signor Bellezza is right in assigning the humoristic primacy to the Gothic peoples, for the very obvious reason that the South loves the Beautiful, and the North loves the Grotesque. The grotesque is apparently painful rather than delightful to the man of Hellenic or Italic origin. In the one matter, to allege no other, of the foreigner's blundering in his language, he proves this. It is evidently anguish to him, and not that gross delight with which we witness an alien's struggles with our tongue, venting itself in half-stifled snortings of laughter, comparable to nothing but the rapture of boys at the suffering of a companion who has burnt his fingers, or is caught among wasps, or has developed a latent nail in a sliding-place.

Gothic architecture has its well-known moods, when it testifies to this essential difference between the Northern and Southern races, and parades a pig in a monk's cowl among the gracious traceries of fruit and flower beside a cathedral door. But I am afraid Signor Bellezza goes too far in denying all humor to antiquity, which is Southern, and conversely assigning it altogether to modernity, which is Northern. The "Battle of the Frogs and Mice" is not a bad piece of humor; there is fun in Aristophanes of a bitter flavor; Diogenes said rather a humorous thing when he answered Alexander that he could do nothing so much for him as stand out of his light; and certainly the practice of the Socratic method, as the sage himself applied it for the confusion of his fellow citizens, must have provoked at least dry grins from the bystander, who saw the victim entangling himself in the meshes of the inexorable question. We may be sure that it was the irony of this method which brought Socrates to his sad end, and that he came to drink the hemlock because he had often pressed the bitter draught of his wit to the lips of the most respectable Athenians, who publicly suffered from the general sense of humor in an appreciative community.

II.

To come abruptly back to his own people, I wish to say again that Signor Bellezza hardly does them justice. If we are not

allowed to regard "The Prince" as a piece of grim drolling, from first to last, there are moments in it when we can hardly deny the irony of Machiavelli. Aretino is supposed unmentionable, but in his savage and indecent sort he was unquestionably a humorist, and I cannot believe that there was ever any one who saw life more humorously than Goldoni. As he reported it in his own personal experience, it was most amusing; and Alfieri himself saw his own extravagances with the eye of the satirist.

But it is most with the Spaniards that Signor Bellezza fails to make out his case against the South. If we begin with Cervantes in Don Quixote, and come down with Quevedo and Hurtado de Mendoza in their picaresque tales, to such immediate moderns as Perez Galdós and Armando Palacio Valdés, we have an unsurpassed series of humorists; unsurpassed even in the classic home of humor itself. Señor Valdés alone is sufficient to relieve his nation and epoch from the reproach of sterility in this sort, and the people who let us load ourselves up with the Philippines at a cost of twenty million dollars must have been convulsed with laughter to see us re-establishing slavery within our limits and draping a Mahometan prince in the tatters of our constitution. This, of course, is only plausible conjecture, but it is hard not to believe it actual fact when one reads such humorous studies of manners, such keen criticisms of social life, as *Leon Roch,* or *Carlos IV.,* or *El Cuarto Poder,* or *Riverito,* or *La Hermana de San Sulpizio,* or *La Alegria del Capitan Ribot.*

III.

It is a comfort not to have Signor Bellezza distinguish, or try to distinguish, between wit and humor. He forbears, possibly, because there are no two words in Italian quite answering to these. In any case, his forbearance saves him and us from anything like a disquisition on the difference between French wit and English humor. He seems to take it for granted that the French have humor essentially the same as the English, and though he does not allege any overwhelming number of instances in proof, those he gives are very good. He gives even out of so dark a tragedy as Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* instances which I had never noted or had forgotten, but which one would say were certainly English if he had not found them there. The poor fellow who has lost his club foot through her husband's malpractice comes to her funeral in a new wooden leg to show her respect,

and a peasant who has walked to the burial in a fresh blouse, arrives with his weeping face all blue from rubbing it full of the dye from his sleeves.

This is almost as grisly drolling as the gallows-humor which our author finds chiefly among the Germans, who invented the name for it, *Galgenhumor,* if not the thing itself. They may only have made it their own, and naturalized it among them, after it spread to them from England, like the romantic movement. This supposition might base itself upon Heine's saying that the Arabs have a thousand names for a horse, the Germans for drinking, and the English for hanging; and find support in the fact that it has had no greater development outside of Germany than among the English-speaking race in our own country. It has, as it were, come home to us, and with all the kindred brood of jokes about murders, funerals, suicides, accidents, and the like, flourishes more abundantly here than anywhere else in the world.

Signor Bellezza draws largely upon our gallows-humor, but not so largely quite upon the German. The chief source of his humorous instances in that nation are rightly taken from Heinrich Heine, who, for altogether different reasons and qualities, must stand with Shakespeare and Mark Twain foremost among the humorists of the world. Even if one adds Cervantes and Rabelais to the group, Heine is still supreme, for what John Fiske called a shimmer of emotion—humorous emotion; and he has no second except, perhaps, in Sterne, who was also his first. That is, he derived from Sterne, in the same measure that Tourguénief derived from Pushkin, and with the same effect of making you feel that his master had imitated him.

IV.

I have a feeling that Signor Bellezza might with advantage have dwelt more, among the Russians, on the great Russian I have named, but he satisfies himself with recognizing chiefly the immense humorousness of Gogol, whose *Dead Souls* is one of the vastest schemes in that sort in all literature. In fact, outside of *Don Quixote* it would be hard to parallel it. The resistless comicality, interwoven with the despairing pathos, is strictly Northern, however, and there is a sort of moral squalor in the motive wholly alien to the high satiric intention of the Spaniard. It is a civilization which Gogol satirizes, and it was the mood of a

civilization at which Cervantes mocked, though not with greater lightness. Pushkin's short stories (all I know of his work) show him the worthy father of the delicate scorn which plays through the realism of Tourguénief, and which in such books as *Smoke,* as *Fathers and Sons,* as *The Nest of Nobles,* as *Dimitri Roudine,* becomes at times an anguish of pathos. I do not now recall any phases of Dostoyevsky that could be called humorous, but it would be judging Tolstoy very narrowly not to count him among the great humorists. His sarcasm is, of course, terrible, and we cannot distinguish between sarcasm and humor, or relegate it to the region of wit, if that is anywhere apart; but he has moments of pure humor which are of unsurpassed quality. One of these occurs in that wonderful story of *Polikushka* where two poor muzhiks are watching with a dead body. They have just come from the barnyard; they know that they smell offensively, and they try, at the approach of a respectable person, to make themselves as small as possible. In *War and Peace* is an abundant play of humor in the treatment of several characters, notably that arch humbug, Prince Basil, and the eccentric old father of Prince André, and Pierre, the hero himself. There is nothing more harrowingly and humiliatingly amusing than the scene where, when Prince Basil's daughter Helen has failed to bring Besoukhow to an offer of marriage, the old prince rushes in, after she leaves the room, and flings his arms around Pierre's neck, and accepts him for his son-in-law. He knows very well that there has been no lovemaking, but he compels a marriage between Helen and Pierre by sheer force of his assumption that the young people are engaged. Pierre's part in the battle of Borodino, in spite of the tragic staging, is a comedy part. The father and mother of the divine Natasha, divinely girlish and sincere, are a comedy father and mother, and Natasha herself is humorously as well as beautifully imagined. The flight of young Rostoff before the French, with all that play of terror and self-pity in his mind, and of astonishment that the Frenchmen should wish to kill such a kind, good person as himself, is alive with a humor which is peculiarly Tolstoyan, and is quite unlike the ordinary humor of literature in being exactly like the humor of life. The ferocious reprobate and reckless blackguard (I forget his name), whom Pierre shoots by a kind of accident in a strictly comedy duel, is a personality conceived in a spirit of unspairing yet conscientious humor, and

the self-satisfaction of those two bores, Vera Rostoff and her husband Berg, and their entire content with each other, is as veraciously as it is freshly humorous.

As for Anna Karenina, there never was a more comical creature than her worthless brother, whom we find at the opening of the book in the ruins of the home he has wrecked, vainly trying to make as if nothing had happened. Anna's husband, though he has such a tragical part to bear, bears it without dignity, and is at times entirely ridiculous. The book throngs with ghastly shapes of sin and shame, and pietism and hypocrisy, conceived as humorously as the figures in the *Dance of Death*. The soul when it goes naked in its selfishness is always actually or potentially absurd and the soul always goes naked in Tolstoy's page, though the personality is clothed on with the usual fashions, moral and material. For this reason, *The Cossacks*, where the soul of the hero has never anything on to keep us from knowing him, is one of the most humorous books in literature. Even *The Death of Ivan Ilyitch* is a tragedy luminous with the pitiless light of a humor that shows everything. Everywhere the humor of Tolstoy is of the same quality, and is of the absolute sincerity of nature. It is never arranged or posed, but has the currency, the fluidity of the emotions, which he, more than any man who ever lived, knows how to reveal; I was going to say betray, but they betray themselves. Beside him all other humorists have something factitious, contrived, premeditated; he has simply the sad fidelity of a knowledge of humanity that is the nearest like omniscience, and that is incapable of the poor insincerity of the literary poseurs; all other writers seem literary poseurs in his presence.

V.

Signor Bellezza cites but a single example of Tolstoy's humor, and that not one of his best, in his chapter on the humor which contrasts men and brutes, and finds men inferior, or, at least, less respectable. "Tolstoy goes farther: in his *Story of a Horse* he institutes a parallel between the horse that passes his whole life toiling submissively and usefully, and his master, who is rich, selfish, dishonest, and helps nobody. They both die: the flesh of the horse furnishes food for the dogs and crows; even his bones serve to make buttons; the carcase of his master is good for nothing." I am rather glad to have had this example offered

to my hand, for I should instance it as an effect of that didacticism in Tolstoy which has the least of his inspiration. One touch of his characterization of men, as they show comic even in mortal stresses, such as the reader will find in *The Scenes of the Siege of Sebastopol,* is worth all the grim morals that he labors out of his apologues.

So far as I have noted, Signor Bellezza finds nothing to his purpose in the modern Scandinavian authors, though, without going to the Danes for the whimsical poetic humor of Hans Christian Andersen, the Norwegians, at least, are abundantly humorous. The little tales of Kielland are masterpieces of irony in their social implications, and there is delightful humor in Björnson, though not in all his books. *Magnhild* is a humorous conception of the subtlest and deepest sort; and for the presentation of a histrionic character upon nature's own terms, I know nothing better than his work in evolving the heroine of *The Fishermaiden,* which has deliciously comic situations. None of his plays are without the tricksy light of irony, which is in Ibsen a steady flame that scorches. In a way it may be said that Ibsen's whole view of life is ironical. Think of *Ghosts,* and *The Pillars of Society,* and *The Enemy of the People,* and the irony glares at you through the very names. In *The Wild Duck* and *The Doll House* and *Little Eyolf* it is as pitiless of the witness as of the actors; one must humble one's self for one's own peace' sake before the spectacle of human absurdity which includes one's self. But, above all, *Ghosts* is supremely humorous, though in such a ghastly, tragic sort that one does not easily laugh. When I remember this, I wonder at myself for not having grouped Ibsen with my other greatest humorists, scarcely below the level of Tolstoy. He is really below him less in a humorous vision of life than in the expression of it upon the more mechanical conditions of the drama, which is his form while the epic is Tolstoy's.

VI.

I am not versed in the modern literature of Portgual, and I am not able to say that it is not the most humorous in Europe; I should say the Hungarian would willingly be so if Jokai had his way with himself. He seems to me, in what I have read of him, rather ineffectively fantastic than actually humorous. There were humorous opportunities, rather than humorous achievements in Sinkiewicz's *Sons of the Soil,* which is the only one of his novels

of modern life that I know. In his prevalently historical fiction he must be too much engrossed in purveying catastrophes for his reader, to have time for amusing him and instructing him through the study of mankind; but I am not, therefore, denying a large humorous literature to the Poles; it may be as great, for all I know, as the Portuguese itself. The Polish Jews, if we may speak from some few developments of Yiddish literature among ourselves, are not without a sense of one another's drollness; perhaps it is the novel light of the new world which has revealed them to themselves. The Russian Jews, in Mr. Abraham Cahan, at least, have come to a humorous consciousness here which is of a charming sort, whatever it may be at home. I should instance this writer as one whose vision of life, never ignoring its pathos, was purely humorous. It is the more humorous because it is so pathetic, if I may be forgiven the commonplace. His *Jekl* is without rival in its kind here, though in Russia the work of the Jews may be rich in *Jekls*. I should not be surprised if it were, for the Jews are rather prolific of humorists everywhere. Not to recur to Heine, who is Olympian for looking down on the ridiculous spectacle that we, including himself, present to the high gods in the bird's-eye view they have of us, there is, for example, the archironical Disraeli, who was able to travesty English life in novels of such fantastic impossibility that their audacious personality was lost in it, and who in statecraft was able to beguile a great people into an imperialistic self-satisfaction so destitute of humor that he could wink the other eye in Jovian amusement at the success of his malign achievement, without awakening suspicion of his seriousness.

W. D. Howells.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

HANNIS TAYLOR,

who is recognized throughout the world as one of the most eminent living authorities on constitutional history and constitutional law, was born in New Berne, North Carolina, fifty years ago. Having graduated at the University of his native State, he was admitted to the bar and achieved great distinction in the practice of his profession. He was appointed Minister to Spain by President Cleveland in 1893, and on his return from Madrid, in 1897, he published in the REVIEW a powerful article, entitled "A Review of the Cuban Question," which commanded the widest attention on both sides of the Atlantic and turned into conviction what till then had been merely a vague impression in the public mind, that war between Spain and the United States was inevitable. Mr. Taylor's work on "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution" is regarded as the most signally valuable contribution recently made to the literature of its subject, and has been adopted as a text-book by a number of the leading universities of America and Great Britain.

R. DE CESARE

was the subject of a note in this department of the June number of the REVIEW, on the occasion of the publication of an article from his pen on "The Pope and the Temporal Power." It may be added that he has thought and written much as to the probable action of the Conclave which will meet on the death of the Pope to elect his successor in the Papal chair.

ROBERT A. PINKERTON

is the Eastern Manager of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency. He was born at Dundee, Kane County, Illinois, in 1848, and was educated at Notre Dame University. In 1864 his father, Allan Pinkerton, took charge of the United States Secret Service, in the Department of the Gulf, with headquarters at New Orleans, under Major-General Canby, and in the following year Robert Pinkerton joined the service, remaining in it till the close of the Civil War. In the

course of his career Mr. Pinkerton has managed a great number of important cases, and a multitude of noted criminals have been arrested by or through him, and he has rendered specially valuable services to the community by his efforts to institute among various classes of business men—such as the American Bankers' Association, Jewellers' Union, etc.—organized measures for the protection of their property against the designs of malefactors.

URBAIN GOHIER

has made himself famous—his enemies say infamous—in France by his vigorous attacks on the military spirit and on the present Continental system of obligatory military service. He may be considered the leader of the extreme wing of the anti-militarism party in France. He has been brought before the courts several times for his attacks on the army, the first act of the present Minister of War being a citation of this kind. M. Gohier's volume, "*L'Armée contre la Nation*," has gone through many editions, and is considered the most vigorous presentation of the abuses in the French army that has ever been printed. He was tried for this work, but acquitted by the jury. M. Gohier is a daily contributor to the "*Aurore*," where his specialty is criticism of the army establishment. He was also brought to trial for violently attacking the Sultan on the subject treated in the article which he contributes to this number of the REVIEW. But the Turkish Embassy at Paris thought it wise not to push the matter to a conclusion, as it was plain that M. Gohier was sure to be acquitted.

C. F. THWING

is a native of New Sharon, in the State of Maine. After preparatory studies at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., he went to Harvard, where he graduated in 1876, and, having completed a theological course at the Andover Theological Seminary, which subsequently conferred upon him the degrees of D. D. and LL. D., he was ordained to the ministry of the Congregational Church, in whose service he occupied pastorates in Cambridge, Mass., and Minneapolis, Minn. In 1890 he was appointed President of the Western Reserve University and Adelbert College, in Cleveland, Ohio. Dr. Thwing has published a large number of works on subjects connected with college education, among them being "Ameri-

can Colleges: Their Students and Work," "Within College Walls," "The College Woman," "The American College in American Life," and "College Administration."

JULES ROCHE,

a member of the French Chamber of Deputies and at one time Minister of Commerce, is regarded in France as the leading authority on all questions relating to legislative finance and taxation. During the last two or three years he has made himself very prominent in French public affairs by his vigorous campaign in the press and on the platform in favor of protecting the French taxpayer. He has organized and is the soul of an association whose aim is to prevent further augmentation of the taxes, which, it is hoped, may be accomplished by taking all bills appropriating national funds out of the hands of the Chamber of Deputies and putting them into the hands of the Cabinet.

HAMILTON W. MABIE

was born at Cold Spring, on the Hudson, in 1846, and after graduating in arts at Williams College, in 1867, he passed, as so many men of letters have done, through a course of law, which he studied at the Columbia College Law School. He had scarcely begun to practice, when he was offered a position on the editorial staff of *The Christian Union*, now *The Outlook*, of which, for many years, he has been the Associate Editor with Dr. Lyman Abbott. His first book was a little volume of Norse stories, published in 1884, and this was soon followed by a collection of articles which had appeared in *The Christian Union* under the title, "My Study Fire." Since then a large number of works have emanated from his pen, all of which have added greatly to the inspiring quality of criticism in our country and gained for Mr. Mabie a foremost place among our best critics. His most important and original work is his study of "William Shakespeare: Poet, Dramatist and Man," published a short time ago, which has won him distinction especially among English scholars and critics.

J. L. MCLAURIN

has been for several years a conspicuous figure in the political arena in South Carolina, where—in Red Bluff, Marlboro County—he was born in 1860. He is a graduate of the University of Virginia, and he was admitted to the bar in

1882. In 1890 he was elected to the General Assembly of South Carolina, and he became Attorney-General in the following year. He sat in the National House of Representatives from 1892 to 1897, and for the last four years he has represented his native State in the United States Senate.

J. D. PHELAN

inherited a large fortune from his father, who was a merchant in San Francisco, and he has devoted himself ungrudgingly, in the most public-spirited manner, to the service, in a variety of ways, of the community to which he belongs. He acted as Commissioner and Vice-President of the World's Columbian Exposition, and he took a conspicuous part in organizing and managing the Midwinter Fair which was held in San Francisco in 1893-4. He has been thrice elected Mayor of his native city, in 1896, 1898 and 1900. His present term will expire on the 1st of January, 1902.

ANTHONY N. BRADY,

who was born in Lille, France, in 1843, is a conspicuous exponent of the success which has crowned great careers in business organization in the United States, to which he came as a boy with his parents. Mr. Brady became interested in the gas and traction companies of Albany and Troy, came to New York and rebuilt the Union Railway Company's lines, foresaw the supplanting of all other systems of surface traction by electricity, planned the consolidation of the traction lines of Brooklyn and of New York and their equipment with electricity, and introduced into their management, as well as that of the gas and electric-lighting companies of New York, the community of interest idea. He has been a moving spirit in similar combinations in Washington, Philadelphia and other cities, is Vice-President of the People's Gas Light and Coke Company, and a director in the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company and the Equitable Gas Light Company. Mr. Brady is a practical electrician, as well as one of the foremost capitalists of the day.

O. P. AUSTIN.

A note regarding Mr. Austin will be found in the number of the REVIEW for November, 1900, to which he contributed an article entitled "A Century of International Commerce."

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CONQUERED TERRITORY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR, FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

When we look back to the Hellenic world in which the science of politics was born, we there find the dominant political idea embodied in the independent city-state, which stood towards all others of its class as a sovereign commonwealth, regulating its internal affairs through its own domestic constitution. To the Greek mind the state, as the city-commonwealth, was an organized society of men dwelling in a walled city, with a surrounding territory not too large to permit its free inhabitants habitually to assemble within the limits of the city to discharge the duties of citizens. When a conquering city extended its dominion by reducing other self-governing cities to the condition of dependent allies, such allies were often permitted to enjoy local autonomy under their own constitutions, without the right to participate in any way in the political affairs of the ruling state by whose assembly the foreign relations of the alliance, if alliance it may be called, were absolutely controlled. The most favored members of the Athenian Alliance or Empire, even Chios or Mitylene, could not have a voice in the general direction of the Confederacy, for the simple reason that Greek exclusiveness rejected to the last the

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idea of a fusion of any large number of cities into a single body with equal rights common to all. As the state was the city, those who went out of the city went out of the state. Therefore, according to Greek ideas, the effect of an emigration for the formation of a new settlement was an absolute political severance from the mother state, which retained no more substantial hold upon its colonies than the sentimental tie arising out of community of blood and speech and common religious rights.

Upon the soil of Italy a group of village communities grew into a single vast and independent city-state that centralized within its walls the political power of the world. Rome accomplished that marvellous result by departing from the exclusive policy of the Greek cities, which persistently refused to incorporate dependent cities by extending to them their own franchise. As it was beneath the dignity of the sovereign city to confederate with her dependents, and as the expedient of representation was then unknown, Rome entered upon a policy of incorporation, carried out by the extension of her franchise first to Italy, then to Gaul and Spain, and finally to the whole Roman world. In the end, a right so widely bestowed became, of course, utterly worthless; but the theory upon which the right was conferred was never for a moment lost sight of. The freeman who received the franchise of the Roman city could only exercise it within her own walls; it was only within the local limits of the ruling city that the supreme powers of the state could be exercised. As to the dependent and peculiar local organization known as *colonia,* it is only necessary to say that it was in the main simply a contrivance for the purpose of garrisoning conquered territory without the expense of maintaining an army in it.

The modern conception of the state as a nation, occupying a definite portion of the earth's surface with fixed geographical boundaries—the state as known to modern international law—was the outcome of the "process of feudalization" through which the Teutonic nations passed, after their settlements within the limits of the Roman Empire. The kings of the states that arose out of the wreck of the Empire of Charles the Great were kings in the new territorial sense, who stood to the lands over which they ruled as a baron to his estate, a tenant to his freehold. The form assumed by the monarchy in France was reproduced in each subsequent dominion established or consolidated, and

thus has arisen the state-system of modern Europe, in which the idea of territorial sovereignty is the basis of all international relations. When the time came for states of the new type to send out bands of emigrants to found colonies in distant lands, an entirely new conception of the relation that should bind such colonies to the mother state came into existence. Instead of the emigrants leaving the mother state behind them, they were supposed to take it upon their backs. "The notion was, where Englishmen are there is England, where Frenchmen are there is France, and so the possessions of France in North America were called New France, and one group at least of the English possessions New England."*

Although England was the last of the states of the new type to enter upon the work of colonization, she has been able to give it a wider extension than any of her competitors. According to the theory of the English constitution, the title to all newly discovered lands accrued to the king in his public and regal character, and the exclusive right to grant them resided in him as a part of the royal prerogative; "upon these principles rest the various charters and grants of territory made on this continent."† The great title-deed under which the English settlers in America took actual and permanent possession of the greater part of the Atlantic seaboard is represented by the charter granted by James I., April 10th, 1606, creating two distinct corporations as colonizing agents. The entire scheme thus outlined was based upon English law by that provision in the original charter which declared:

> "That all and every the persons, being our subjects which shall go and inhabit within the said colony and plantation, and every their children and posterity, which shall happen to be born within any of the limits thereof, shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England, or in any other of our dominions."

It is not therefore strange that, under the principles of the English constitution, a country subdued by an army of the Empire becomes immediately a part of the king's dominions in right of his crown, and its inhabitants, so soon as they pass under the king's protection, cease to be enemies or aliens and become sub-

* Seeley, "The Expansion of England," p. 49.
† Taney, C. J., in Martin et al. v. The Lessee of Waddell, 16 Peters, p. 409.

jects. In a word, foreign territory becomes a part of the British Empire and its inhabitants British subjects, both as to the conquering state and foreign nations, *ipso facto,* by the conquest itself, without any enabling or confirming legislation upon the part of the Imperial Parliament. As Lord Coke declared in Calvin's case, "they that were born in those parts of France that were under actual legiance and obedience were no aliens, but capable of, and heritable to, lands in England."*

The liberality with which the English constitution thus bestows citizenship and legal rights upon those under its dominion in foreign lands has ever been more than offset by the exclusive spirit that denies to all colonists the right to representation in the sovereign assembly at home which directs the affairs of the Empire as a whole. That assembly, while denying to all colonists the boon of being heard through their representatives, has ever claimed the right to invade the jurisdiction of all colonial assemblies in order to legislate directly upon internal colonial concerns. In the gorgeous language of Burke, the English Parliament is clothed with "an Imperial character, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all without annihilating any." In the hands of a practical, tax-loving statesman like Grenville, this imperial theory was not confined to mere supervision; in such hands, it was held to mean that the Imperial Parliament could at any moment override the acts of the colonial assemblies, without consulting their wishes at all, and tax and legislate for the people of Massachusetts and Virginia just as it could for the people of Kent and Middlesex. Out of the conflict which finally arose between the English and Colonial theories as to the practical omnipotence of the Imperial Parliament over self-governing communities beyond the four seas grew the War of the Revolution, and the severance of the English colonies in America from the mother state.

With an outline of the colonial systems, ancient and modern, of the leading European nations clearly in view, it is easier to understand the spirit and purpose with which the founders of our federal republic entered upon the task of creating and governing colonies or territories beyond the limits of their new creation. The signing of the first Constitution of the United States, em-

* State Trials, ii., 559.

bodied in the Articles of Confederation, which was submitted to the States for adoption in November, 1777, was not completed until March 1st, 1781, when Maryland finally gave it her adhesion. The long delay arose out of the refusal of Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland to enter the Confederation until the controversy was settled as to the ultimate ownership of the great Western Territory of which France had been dispossessed. Although deserted by her allies, Maryland refused to abandon her contention:

"That a country unsettled at the commencement of this war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the Treaty of Paris, if wrested from that common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen States, should be considered as common property, subject to be parcelled out by Congress, into free, convenient and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that Assembly shall hereafter direct."

In that way the new nationality became the sovereign possessor of "the whole Northwestern Territory—the area of the great States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio (excepting the Connecticut reserve*)" which, under the Articles of Confederation, it had no express right either to hold or govern. Notwithstanding that fact, Congress, acting under authority clearly implied, boldly entered upon the creation of that scheme of territorial government which was embodied in the Ordinance of 1784 for the government of the Northwest Territory. In describing that famous enactment, an eminent American historian† said not long ago:

"It was our first effort at colonial government, our first attempt to rule a community not fit to become a State and enter the Union; and by it a new political institution, the Territory, was created in two grades. At the head of the committee which reported the ordinance was the apostle of liberty, the father of American democracy, the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence. If one member more than another of that committee was bound to carry out the principles of the Declaration, and seek to establish a government in strict accordance with them, that member was Jefferson. If any one man more than another could be pardoned for attempting to carry the self-evident truth to an extreme, Jefferson was that man. Yet not for a moment was he led astray by the ideals he had announced to the world as the true basis of democratic government. He and his fellow-members knew well that no popular government can stand long or accomplish much for the good of the governed which is not carefully adjusted to the wants, conditions and intelligence of the people who are to live under it. The plan presented and adopted, therefore, did not contain

* John Fiske, "The Critical Period." p. 194.
† Prof. J. B. McMaster, in The Forum of December, 1898.

one vestige of self-government till there were five thousand free white males living in the territory, and this in spite of the fact that the great majority of them would be citizens from the seaboard States and well accustomed to self-government. * * * The clear distinction between a State and a Territory, thus drawn at the very outset of our career, and the principles then established—that Congress was free to govern the depedencies of the United States in such a manner as it saw fit; that the government it granted need not be republican, even in form; that men might be taxed without any representation in the taxing body, stripped absolutely of the franchise, and ruled by officials not of their own choice—have never been departed from, and have often been signally confirmed."

In the light of that historical statement, attested by documents whose plain terms can neither be contradicted nor misconstrued, should be answered the inquiry propounded by the Hon. George F. Edmunds in his notable article which appeared in the August number of this REVIEW:

"Was the Declaration of Independence of 1776 a mere phantasm of the founders of the Republic putting forth fantastic fiction? If so, the people of the United States ought, logically, to be now a Crown Colony of Great Britain, awaiting, like the Boers, the good pleasure of Parliament and the King for such measure of liberty and justice as their masters might be pleased to bestow upon them."

While it is hard to make a commonplace, prosy response to such an apostrophe to liberty, the plain fact remains that the author of the Declaration of Independence himself—when the opportunity was presented to him to design a system of colonial or territorial government for inhabitants of contiguous territory, drawn in the main from the seaboard States—was unwilling to concede representative government at all until there were at least five thousand free white males living in the Territory. When the settlers reached that number, any free white man who had resided there the proper time, and who owned fifty acres, might take part in the election of a House of Representatives, every member of which must be possessed of a freehold of two hundred acres. Such House when assembled was authorized to nominate ten men, each possessed of a freehold of five hundred acres, of whom the President was required to commission five as legislative councillors. The House and Council so constituted could, by joint ballot, choose a delegate to represent the Territory in the national House of Representatives, where he was permitted to speak, but not to vote. This oligarchical form of territorial government created by the Continental Congress, and adopted by the first Congress under the Constitution, became the standard after

which all others since established have been closely modelled. It thus appears that Jefferson, with the words of the Declaration fresh upon his lips, had no more inclination to extend the Constitution of the mother-state to his brethren settled in outlying colonies or territories than Pericles had to extend the constitution of Athens to Chios or Mitylene. It never occurred to either that the principles of human right demanded or justified such an extension. That idea, which finds no support in the world's past history, is an over-humane afterthought of very recent times.

Strange indeed it is that the makers of the existing Constitution of the United States should have dismissed the vast subject involved in the acquisition and government of Territories with the brief provision contained in Article IV., Section 3, to the effect that "the Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States." When, in 1803, Jefferson was confronted with a lack of express power to purchase Louisiana, he fell back, after a momentary hesitation, upon the implied power necessarily incident to the nature of the government itself. In a letter addressed at the time to Mr. Gallatin, he said:

"There is no constitutional difficulty as to the acquisition of territory, and whether when acquired it may be taken into the Union by the Constitution as it now stands will become a question of expediency. I think it will be safer not to permit the enlargement of the Union but by an amendment of the Constitution."*

Jefferson believed with Walter Bagehot that:

"A constitution is a collection of political means for political ends, and if you admit that any part of a constitution does no business, or that a simpler machine would do equally well what it does, you admit that this part of the Constitution, however dignified or awful it may be, is nevertheless in truth useless."†

The purchase of Louisiana was urgent and vitally important business, which Jefferson, with the aid of Congress, so promptly dispatched that the province was taken from Napoleon for a song; and, after it had been divided, a part, corresponding very nearly to the present State of Louisiana, was named the "Territory of Orleans." To the new Territory thus formed an oligarchical form of government was given by Congress, but little in advance of that devised in the first instance by Jefferson for

* Gallatin's Writings, vol. i., p. 115.
† "The English Constitution," p. 4.

the Northwest Territory. Even the right of trial by jury was conceded with a serious restriction. During the debate on the treaty under which Louisiana was purchased, the question was raised that a discrimination was made in favor of New Orleans as against Charleston or New York, by the provision which permitted ships coming from France or Spain to enter the ports of Louisiana during a period of twelve years, without paying more duty than was exacted from vessels belonging to citizens of the United States. Such a discrimination, it was said, conflicted with Article I., Section 9, of the Constitution, which provides that "no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another." The short and conclusive answer to that objection was that, as the prohibition in question related only to the States and not to the Territories, any preference that might be given to the port of Louisiana was not invalid, because Louisiana was a Territory and not a State.

When, for a second time, our domain was expanded by the acquisition of Florida, under the treaty from Spain ratified October 20th, 1820, Congress, a second time refusing to recognize the duty of extending the constitutional guarantees to a territory, gave to the new acquisition in 1822 substantially the same form of government provided for Orleans in 1804. In the case of the American Ins. Co. *v.* 356 Bales of Cotton, Peters 511, the question was presented to the Supreme Court of the United States whether or no that part of the territorial government providing that the judges of the Superior Courts of Florida should hold their offices for four years conflicted with that provision of the Federal Constitution providing that "the judges of the Supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior, etc." In delivering the opinion, Chief Justice Marshall said that the court "should take into view the relation in which Florida stands to the United States;" that territory ceded by treaty "becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed, either on the terms stipulated in the treaty of cession, or on such as its new master shall impose." He further held that the judicial clause of the Federal Constitution, above quoted, had no application whatever to the organization of territorial courts, because Florida, upon the conclusion of the treaty, became a Territory of the United States, and subject to the power of Congress legislating

under the territorial clause, and outside of the constitutional guarantees.

When, for a third time, our domain was widened by the acquisition, in 1848, under the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, of a vast region inhabited by people of mixed races, with laws and customs unlike our own, the problem of territorial government became entangled with an effort to extend the limits within which slavery coould be maintained. In the course of a debate that ensued on an amendment to a certain bill offering to extend the Constitution and certain laws of the United States over the proposed Territories of Utah and New Mexico, a scene occurred of which Mr. Benton gives us the following description:

"The novelty and strangeness of this proposition called up Mr. Webster, who repulsed as an absurdity and as an impossibility the scheme of extending the Constitution to the Territories, declaring that instrument to have been made for States, not Territories; that Congress governed the Territories independently of the Constitution and incompatibly with it; that no part of it went to a Territory but what Congress chose to send; that it could not act of itself anywhere, not even in the States for which it was made, and that it required an act of Congress to put it in operation before it had effect anywhere. Mr. Clay was of the same opinion, and added: 'Now, really, I must say the idea that, *eo instanti*, upon the consummation of the treaty, the Constitution of the United States spread itself over the acquired territory and carried along with it the institution of slavery, is so irreconcilable with my comprehension, or any reason I possess, that I hardly know how to meet it.' Upon the other hand, Mr. Calhoun boldly avowed his intent to carry slavery into them under the wings of the Constitution, and denounced as enemies of the South all who opposed it."

In 1850, the year following that in which the foregoing debate occurred, the Supreme Court delivered its judgment in Fleming *v.* Page, 9 Howard, p. 603, a case arising out of an action brought against the collector of the port of Philadelphia to recover back certain duties on merchandise imported into that port from Tampico, in Mexico, during the temporary occupation of that place by the military forces of the United States. The substance of the opinion delivered by Chief Justice Taney, as stated in the head notes, is as follows:

"The President acted as a military commander prosecuting a war waged against a public enemy by the authority of his government, and the conquered country was held in possession in order to distress and harass the enemy. It did not thereby become a part of the Union. The boundaries of the United States were not extended by the conquest.

"Tampico was therefore a foreign port, within the meaning of the act of Congress passed on the 30th of July, 1846, and duties were properly levied upon goods imported into the United States from Tampico. The administrative departments of the government have never recognized a place in a newly-acquired country as a domestic port, from which the coasting trade might be carried on, unless it had been previously made so by an act of Congress; and the principle thus adopted has always been sanctioned by the circuit courts of the United States, and by this court."

With the foregoing statements of law and of fact clearly in view, it will be more possible for the reader to thread his way through the intricate, profound and far-reaching judicial expositions of the status of our territorial possessions recently made by the Supreme Court of the United States in what are known as the "Insular Tariff Cases." After a careful study of the prevailing opinions, no substantial departure can be found from the following cardinal propositions, which, for a long time, have been regarded as fundamental: (1.) That when territory is subdued by the armies of the United States, it passes under the despotic war power of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, who, in the exercise of that power, is unrestrained by the Constitution and the laws of the United States; (2.) that when territory is thus acquired by the United States by conquest, its holding is a mere military occupation until, by a treaty of peace, the acquisition is confirmed; (3.) that when the new acquisition passes into a territorial condition, the despotic war power vested in the President, as Commander-in-Chief, is superseded by the power of Congress, which is equally unlimited, except as to such constitutional "prohibitions as go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place;" (4.) that until the ceded territory is admitted as a State, it is not drawn within the circle of the constitutional guarantees which apply, in their entirety, to States only.

In the case of De Lima *v.* Bidwell, the leading facts were these: The invasion of Porto Rico, begun in July, 1898, by the military forces of the United States, was suspended on August 12th by a protocol entered into between the Secretary of State and the French Ambassador on the part of Spain, providing for a suspension of hostilities, the cession of the island, and the conclusion of a treaty of peace. On October 18th Porto Rico was evacuated by the Spanish forces, and on December 10th a treaty was signed at Paris under which Spain ceded the island

to the United States. Such treaty was ratified by the President and Senate February 6th, 1899, and by the Queen Regent of Spain March 19th. On March 2d an act was passed making an appropriation to carry out the obligations of the treaty; and on April 11th the ratifications were exchanged and the treaty proclaimed at Washington. De Lima & Company sued the collector of the port of New York to recover duties alleged to have been illegally exacted, and paid under protest, upon certain importations of sugar from San Juan, in the island of Porto Rico, during the autumn of 1899 and subsequent to the cession of the island to the United States. The duties in the question were exacted under the tariff act of July 24th, 1897, commonly known as the Dingley Act, which declares that "there shall be levied, collected and paid upon all articles imported *from foreign countries*" certain duties therein specified. Unless Porto Rico was a "foreign country," within the meaning of the tariff laws, at the time these duties were levied, it was admitted that their exaction was illegal. As Congress had not acted in any manner in regard to Porto Rico prior to the exaction of the duties in question, the island certainly remained a "foreign country" as to the United States, unless it had been transformed into domestic territory solely through the forces of the treaty-making power, unaided by Congressional legislation. Prior to the announcement of the judgment in the De Lima case, it was generally assumed to be settled by the decisions of the Supreme Court that, until the status of territory so occupied, and that of its inhabitants, have been altered by adequate Congressional legislation, such territory does not cease to be foreign, nor do its inhabitants cease to be aliens, in the sense in which those words are used in the laws of the United States. That conclusion was based in the main upon the pointed declarations made in U. S. *v.* Rice, 4 Wheat., 246, and in Fleming *v.* Page, 9 How., 603. The result of the effort of Justice Brown to reverse the rule thus settled can hardly be permanent, unless he has been able to overthrow the authority of Fleming *v.* Page—first, by the assumption that the gravamen of that decision is mere *dictum;* second, by the assumption that a contrary rule was really announced in the subsequent case of Cross *v.* Harrison, 16 How., 164. Justice Gray expressed himself with sententious force as to the first assumption when he dissented from the conclusion announced by Justice Brown, upon the

ground that it appeared to him "irreconcilable with the unanimous opinion of this court in Fleming *v.* Page, 9 How., 603, 13 L. ed., 276, and with the opinion of the majority of the justices in the case, this day decided, of Downes *v.* Bidwell, 181, U. S." As to the second assumption, it is hard to understand how the conclusion reached in Fleming *v.* Page could be weakened by that announced in Cross *v.* Harrison, in view of the fact, as stated by Justice White in the case of Downes *v.* Bidwell, that the opinion in the latter case "pointedly referred to a letter of the Secretary of the Treasury directing the enforcement of the tariff laws of the United States upon the express ground that Congress had enacted laws which recognized the treaty of cession. Besides, the decision was expressly placed upon the conditions of the treaty, and it was stated, in so many words, that a different rule would have been applied had the stipulations in the treaty been of a different character." The dominant idea which seems to have driven Justice Brown to the conclusion reached in the De Lima case, as stated by himself, was that "we are unable to acquiesce in the assumption that a territory may be at the same time both foreign and domestic." Such a scruple certainly has no foundation in the general canons of international law, which even go so far as to recognize the principle that the same territory may possess, at the same moment, a belligerent and a neutral character.* The most cogent reason, however, for the re-establishment of the rule supposed, for so long a time, to have been settled in Fleming *v.* Page, is to be found in the fact that the admission of a new community into our customs union is purely a political function that should belong exclusively to the federal legislature. To bring about such a change in the application of statute law, affecting our revenue system, through judicial construction merely, is a dangerous extension of the power of judicial legislation.

The vacuum existing in the De Lima case, by reason of the lack of Congressional action, was filled by the enactment, on April 12th, 1900, of the act known as the Foraker Act, to provide temporary revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico, which took effect May 1st, 1900. The case brought by Downes against the collector of the port of New York was to recover certain duties paid under protest upon certain merchandise brought

* Hall, "International Law," p. 530, 4th ed.

thither from San Juan, in the island of Porto Rico, during the month of November, 1900, imposed under the authority of the Foraker Act. The plaintiff assailed the constitutionality of that act on the ground that it conflicts with Article I., Section 8, of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." The question thus presented was this: To what extent does the Federal Constitution apply to a Territory of the United States? The prolonged controversy on that subject, extending from the making of the present Constitution, reached a decided stage when the Supreme Court declared, in 1879, without a dissenting voice, in the case of the First National Bank of Brunswick *v.* County of Yankton, 101, U. S., 129, that:

"The territories are but political sub-divisions of the outlying dominion of the United States. They bear much the same relation to the general government that counties do to the States, and Congress may legislate for them as States do for their respective municipal organizations. The organic law of a Territory takes the place of a constitution, as the fundamental law of a local government. It is obligatory on and binds the territorial authorities; but Congress is supreme, and, for the purposes of this department of its governmental authority, has all the powers of the people of the United States, except such as have been expressly, or by implication, reserved in the prohibitions of the Constitution."

In Church of Jesus Christ of L. D. S. *v.* United States, 136, U. S., 1, the Supreme Court, speaking through Justice Bradley, said, in holding that Congress had power to repeal the charter of the church, that:

"The power of Congress over the territories of the United States is general and plenary, arising from and incidental to the right to acquire the territory itself, and from the power given by the Constitution to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States. * * * Doubtless Congress, in legislating for the territories, would be subject to those fundamental limitations in favor of personal rights which are formulated in the Constitution and its amendments, but those limitations would exist rather by inference and the general spirit of the Constitution, from which Congress derives all its powers, than by any express and direct application of its provisions."

In the case of Downes *v.* Bidwell, a bare majority of the Supreme Court, speaking through the weighty words of Justice Brown, reiterated that historic and unassailable doctrine in the declaration that:

"The power over the territories is vested in Congress without limitation, and that this power has been considered the foundation

upon which the territorial governments rest was also asserted by Chief Justice Marshall in McCulloch *v.* Maryland, 4 Wheat., 316, 422, 4 L. ed., 579, 605, and in United States *v.* Gratiot, 14 Pet., 526, 10 L. ed., 573."

So far from attempting to enlarge the power of Congress over the Territories, as defined in the earlier cases, Justice Brown, in announcing the prevailing opinion in the case in question, manifested a decided inclination to narrow it, when he said:

"To sustain the judgment in the case under consideration, it by no means becomes necessary to show that none of the articles of the Constitution apply to the island of Porto Rico. There is a clear distinction between such prohibitions as go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place, and such as are operative only 'throughout the United States' or among the several States. Thus, when the Constitution declares that 'no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed,' and that 'no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States,' it goes to the competency of Congress to pass a bill *of that description.* * * * Whatever may be finally decided by the American people as to the status of these islands and their inhabitants—whether they shall be introduced into the sisterhood of States, or be permitted to form independent governments—it does not follow that, in the meantime, awaiting that decision, the people are, in the matter of personal rights, unprotected by the provisions of our Constitution, and subject to the merely arbitrary control of Congress."

While the Court was thus emphasizing the fact that the personal rights of inhabitants of Territories are guarded to some extent, at least, by such constitutional limitations "as go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place," it was careful to say that such provisions of the Constitution as are operative only "throughout the United States," or among the several States, are applicable to the Territories acquired by purchase or conquest only when Congress shall so direct. An incontrovertible historical fact is recognized by the statement that the existing federal Constitution was made for the "United States, by which term we understand the *States* whose people *united* to form the Constitution and such as have since been admitted to the Union upon an equality with them." The court therefore concluded that "the island of Porto Rico is a territory appurtenant and belonging to the United States, but not a part of the United States within the revenue clauses of the Constitution; that the Foraker Act is constitutional, so far as it imposes duties upon imports from such island, and that the plaintiff cannot recover back the duties exacted in this case."

In view of the gravely perplexing problems of territorial gov-

ernment now pending for solution, it should be a comfort to the country to know that the Supreme Court, in the case of Downes *v.* Bidwell, has declined to take away from Congress any of the power to deal with such problems vested in it by the founders of the Republic. In their time, they were called upon to adapt colonial systems not only to the wants of their own brethren settled in contiguous territory, but also to the wants of alien and mixed races, widely different in origin, and with customs and usages unlike our own, settled in like territory. In our time, we are called upon to adapt colonial systems to alien and mixed races settled not only beyond the seas, but, in more than one instance, at points remote from our shores. Even those of our people who are neither readers of history nor students of the science of politics are beginning to understand that the silent and irresistible law of growth, which expands the girdle of the oak, is an equally irresistible law of our national life, which neither legislators, jurists, nor sentimentalists can suspend or control. The only practical question now is how to deal with the new conditions resulting from such growth. The most widely extended and fruitful colonial system that has ever existed is that possessed by the British Empire, the keystone of whose success is embodied in the application to each of its widely divergent parts of that form of government which seems best adapted to its special stage of development and to its local wants and traditions. When the English colonial system is viewed as a whole, the fact appears that it embraces almost every form of government, from that of the autocratic High Commissioner, who legislates for savage Basutoland by the issuance of proclamations merely, up to the complex federal union, under which the self-governing communities of Canada control their own destinies with scarcely any interference whatever from the parent state. Such a system never shocked the sensibilities of liberty-loving statesmen like John Bright, Wilberforce and Macaulay. Why should any American citizen feel called upon to become a more advanced champion of the rights of man than Thomas Jefferson, whose foreign policy rested upon two clearly defined principles: first, that territory shall be annexed as rapidly as the growth of the nation demands; second, that such territory shall be governed by Congress under appropriate systems, framed without reference to the special plan of liberty embodied in the Consti-

tution of the parent state. And, in his far-sighted wisdom, Jefferson by no means limited his ideas to the acquisition of contiguous territory. When he was called upon by President Monroe to define the political relations of the New World to the Old, he said in his epoch-making letter of October 24th, 1823, of which the Monroe Doctrine was born:

"But we have first to ask ourselves a question. Do we wish to acquire to our confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces? I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of States. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, as well as all those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being."

Who can doubt that the realization of that prophecy is near at hand? After the Cuban people have fully availed themselves of the opportunity, now wisely and justly extended to them by the United States, of attempting the hopeless experiment of establishing and maintaining a separate nationality, they will seek a release from their sea of troubles in a petition for annexation. That result must be reached for three reasons: first, because the day of small nationalities is over; second, because the race conflict will render stable government in the island impossible; third, because the future economic prosperity of the island depends upon a favorable relation to the customs union of the United States. When our congenial neighbors, who have suffered so much, knock at our doors, we must open them wide enough to receive the Queen of the Antilles as a State according to the plan of Jefferson. Her products must pass from Havana to New York just as the products of South Carolina pass to that port from Charleston. She will then become in fact, as in name, the richest spot in the New World.

In dealing with the far-distant realm of the Philippines, inhabited by peoples alien in every way to our own, Congress should look to recent European experience in Africa for the only practical solution of the difficulties confronting us there. The one new and hopeful expedient in the interest of peace, which the partition of Africa has added to the law of occupation, is embodied in the device recently agreed upon in various forms by Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Portugal and other nations for the prevention of future conflicts as to boundaries. With the history of such conflicts in America to guide them, a systematic

effort has been made by many Powers to prevent their recurrence in Africa through international treaties of delimitation, which define in advance the "sphere of influence" through which the growing settlements of any given state may extend. From the sphere thus defined the dominant state has the right to exclude other European states through their own consent, thus leaving the field clear for the free development of its chartered companies and protectorates. As the Philippines have already been drawn within our "sphere of influence" in such a way as to vest in us the right to exclude all other nations, the problem is how to reduce the burden of governing them to the minimum. In order to insure to appropriated and uncivilized regions a degree of peace and order which chartered companies can hardly be expected permanently to supply, many European governments have supplemented or superseded their control by the establishment of protectorates, a rather vague and indefinite form of political organization, which differs from a colony in that the protected community neither becomes an integral part of the protecting state, nor surrenders, except to a certain extent, the right to exercise internal sovereignty. As a general rule, the Power establishing a protectorate strives to secure only such a limited control over the internal affairs of the dependent community as will enable it to discharge the external obligations assumed to foreign states. If Congress and the Executive would proceed more strictly on such lines in dealing with the Philippines, we could be saved from the unbearable burdens that will surely result from the attempt to establish there a more strictly organized colonial system than the circumstances of the case now warrant. As the entire group is safely within our "sphere of influence," our actual occupation should be limited to the coast cities, where the navy can be most effective, and where the problem of government can be reduced to the maintenance of a few municipal systems. In that way can be minimized the burden of maintaining in the interior a large army of occupation. In that way lives, treasure and the unnecessary effort to govern alien peoples, with customs and laws unlike our own, may be spared, without weakening in the slightest, as against the rest of the world, our title to a possession whose importance must increase with the growing greatness of the Pacific. HANNIS TAYLOR.

THE NEXT CONCLAVE.

BY R. DE CESARE, MEMBER OF THE ITALIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

PIUS IX., who ruled longer than St. Peter himself, having governed the Church for thirty-two years, saw 118 Cardinals sink into the tomb; and, at his death, there still survived four Cardinals created by Gregory XVI., and sixty of his own creation. The Cardinals of Pope Gregory are now dead; and, of those of Pius IX., three only still remain. At the present day, there exists no member of the Sacred College, of the episcopate, of the prelacy, or perhaps even of the priesthood, who exceeds the Pope in years. He is the most aged priest in the world. With the death of Cardinal Galeati, Archbishop of Ravenna, 136 Cardinals have already passed away during his pontificate, a number not equalled during any other pontificate, even including that of Pius IX. Although four of these 136 Cardinals were created by Gregory XVI, and sixty by Pius IX., as mentioned above, all the others were created by Leo XIII. If, on the one hand, under no former pontificate have so many Princes of the Church passed away, on the other hand no Pope has ever witnessed the deaths of so many Cardinals of his own creation.

At the time of the Conclave which followed the death of Pius IX., there were sixty-four Cardinals living, and only three did not take part in it. Of these, Mgr. Brossais de Saint Marc, Archbishop of Rennes, and Mgr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, were prevented by reason of illness, and both died shortly afterwards; the third, Mgr. McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, did not arrive in time. This Conclave, which elected Leo XIII., is considered to be one of the most complete and most harmonious that have ever taken place. There were only two legal *scrutinies*, as one was annulled by reason of some technical irregularity. Cardinal Gioacchino Pecci entered the Conclave as Pope and left it as

Pope, thus proving the fallacy of the old Roman saying that "he who enters the Conclave as Pope leaves it as Cardinal."

Cardinal Pecci was elected because he was regarded as best adapted to re-establish the Papacy in the favor of the Great Powers of Europe. Pius IX., who was of an impressionable and impulsive nature, had come into opposition with nearly all the Powers; and, at his death, a unanimous desire for a Pope of conciliatory tendencies was expressed by all the European governments. In my *"Conclave di Leone XIII.,"* I published the secret diplomatic correspondence exchanged between the Cabinets of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Madrid and the Italian Ministry, upon the occasion of the death of Pius IX. A conciliatory Pope was demanded, and the French Cabinet even requested a Pope of moderate sentiments, who should "render reconciliation with Italy possible." Pius IX. had declared against Germany after 1870, and Germany had responded by the Kulturkampf; against Russia, also, on account of Polish affairs; his relations with the French Republic were of an unfriendly nature, and he had displayed his sympathies for the Irish upon several occasions. Although England took no part in the arrangements for the Conclave, she, too, nevertheless, desired a Pope of conciliatory and moderate views.

Leo XIII. was just such a Pope; he has even gone too far in his desire for peace, since he has conceded perhaps more than was really necessary; he even sacrificed the religious interests of Catholics, upon several occasions, for the sake of earning the good will of their governments. He made peace with Germany, and obliged the Centre to vote for the seven years' military service; he remained unmoved by the complaints of the Poles, and aided Russia in her work of political and religious colonization in Poland; he upheld England in the Irish and Maltese questions; he abandoned the Spanish Carlists, in spite of their fervent Catholicism; and to-day he is engaged in the deplorable double struggle which he has entered upon in France—with the clergy, constraining them to recognize the Republic as the legitimate government; and with the Republic, which persecutes religious bodies and threatens to denounce the Concordat. Even in his most recent discourse, in reply to the congratulations of the Sacred College upon the completion of his ninety-first year, Leo XIII. made mention of one nation only, France, in the most eulogistic terms;

and that at a moment when the debates in the French Parliament upon the project aimed against religious bodies were becoming more and more violent. On the other hand, the Pope refrained from a word of protest against the Armenian massacres, or the murders in China. He is the friend of all established governments.

Leo XIII. has only one enemy, with whom he wages an eternal and inexorable warfare, and this enemy is the Italian government —that is, New Italy, which has made Rome her capital, has established a lay Court in a Papal palace, and has proclaimed liberty of belief and the freedom of the Press, after having abolished the theory of the inalienability of ecclesiastical property.

With this enemy no terms can be made; and therefore Leo XIII. is designedly accommodating to all other Governments, in order to gain support for his claims. He is deeply involved in this struggle, which has no other effect than that of alienating Italian Catholics from the Apostolic See and from the teaching of the Church; of rendering the dissension more acute, to the benefit of extreme parties, Socialists and Radicals, neither of whom have any religious belief; and, lastly, of seriously endangering the very law of the Papal guarantees. It had been hoped that the new Pope, now no longer a temporal prince, would make peace with Italy, in consideration of the fact that the new conditions imposed by that law upon the Papacy in Rome guaranteed in reality its spiritual independence; and of the further fact that the Pope's having a court of his own, together with all the privileges of sovereignty, in the Vatican Palace, and his own diplomatic corps, secured to him full and complete liberty in his relations with the whole world. But this was a delusion, and unfortunately not the only one of this long pontificate.

The last and most painful disillusionment took place at the time of the assassination of King Humbert, when the bishops and clergy joined in the national mourning, and celebrated memorial services for the murdered King. This movement was so spontaneous and universal that it was impossible to conceive its taking place without at least the tacit consent of the Vatican, especially when one takes into consideration the subjection in which the episcopate and clergy of Italy are maintained by the Roman Curia. Moreover, Mgr. Bonomelli, Bishop of Cremona, the chief bishop in Italy, approved of the prayer of Queen

Margherita, while both secular and regular ecclesiastics took part in the funeral service at Rome, and the King's body was taken from the chapel of Santa Maria ad Martyres to the historic temple of the Pantheon, where it was laid to rest. It was thought that the tragedy at Monza had endowed the Vatican with the vision of the common dangers threatening both Church and State! But this, also, proved to be an illusion; for, a few days afterwards, *"L'Osservatore Romano,"* the official organ of the Curia, published an unseemly *communiqué*, in which notice was given to the world that the funeral of the King had been merely *tolerated* by the Vatican, and that the Queen's prayer was condemned as contrary to the Liturgy! This was a melancholy episode, and highly offensive to the religious conscience of the Italian nation; but a few months later Leo XIII. confirmed these views in a discourse to the Cardinals. He protested, with great acrimony and almost juvenile ardor, against the accession of the new King, renewing the protest of his own rights to Rome. These rights, he said, are beyond the reach of prescription, either by lapse of time or by change of possessor!

It appears, therefore, that no power can diminish the bitterness of the Vatican against New Italy and the House of Savoy. The tragedy at Monza did not draw a single phrase of sympathy from the aged Pope, not a prayer for the murdered King nor a word of comfort for the desolate Queen! Nothing at all! And what was the cause of all this resentment against the dead? King Humbert was a devout Catholic prince; he never even conceived a single action hostile or wanting in reverence to the religion of his fathers; he showed respect and deference to the authority of the Church; he desired and longed for the termination of the conflict, striving to reconcile the national rights and the inviolability of Rome with the religious feeling of the nation; he founded hospitals and churches; he helped all poor priests or bishops who appealed to his generosity; he desired a private oratory for his family in the Quirinal; he took part in the grand religious and artistic festival at the time of the discovery of the façade of Santa Maria dei Fiori; and for this good and devout man, for this prince whose life was one long act of charity and mercy, and whose death was an expiation of faults not his own, the Pope had not a word of sympathy or pardon.

And when Queen Margherita, the guiding star of the reign of

Humbert I., wrestling with her grief, laid aside all thought of her royal rank, and with the faith and humility of the early Christians turned to God in a prayer that it is impossible to read without tears, the Pope rejected it as an unholy thing, because it did not correspond to the liturgical rules, although it was approved by the premier Bishop in Italy! This is the most melancholy episode of the Pontificate of Leo XIII. It was a delusion to believe that the law of guarantees would be sufficient to create a *modus vivendi* between the Vatican and Italy after the death of Pius IX. It has only served to increase the obstinate hostility of the Roman Curia against the Italian Monarchy; and, if the aged Pope dies without the consolation of witnessing the restoration of temporal power, it cannot be said that he has neglected any means of attaining it. This failure, or rather series of failures and mistakes, has not enlarged his mind, nor will it enlarge that of his successor; perhaps the latter will alter his tactics; but, whosoever he may be, he will never renounce his claim to temporal power, and, therefore, the contest between the Italian state and the Papacy will still continue. At the present day, the religious conscience in Italy seems altogether deadened. The Catholics are incapable of independent action, and the most fervent among them, and also the most intelligent, do not venture to propose an "*aut . . . aut*" to the Pope. Temporal power is not a dogma of the Church; and, for this reason, the Catholics might disregard the "*non expedit*," and take part in political elections. On the contrary, they content themselves with murmuring in private, because the voice of conscience is dead within them, and hence the Italian government has never possessed an earnest and consistent ecclesiastical policy.

The length of the last two Pontificates, which together amount to fifty-five years at the present day, contributes to keep up the enmity between the Papacy and Italy, and to render it more and more acute. The aged are proverbially obstinate and tenacious. The intolerance of Pius IX. increased with age, and that of Leo XIII. has become more jealous and vehement with his years. If there had been four or five Pontificates during the fifty-five years that have elapsed since 1846, together with corresponding changes in the Court, the Prelacy, and the Sacred College, as well as differences of influence and tendency, perhaps the state of affairs at present would be other than it is. From 1644, the year

of the death of Urban VIII., to 1700, which marked the death of Innocent XII., there were seven Pontificates—that is to say, in fifty-six years, almost the same period as that from June, 1846, when Pius IX. was elected, to the present day, when Leo XIII. enters upon the twenty-fourth year of his pontificate. In fifty-six years, Italy has completely altered, but the Papacy remains unchanged among all these modifications and evolutions. The government of the Church is as it were crystallized; and if the Sacred College is renewed personally, it is not renewed spiritually; nor will it be so by means of the new Cardinals created in the Consistory held by the Pope after Easter. Of these new Cardinals only two are foreigners, the Archbishops of Prague and of Cracow, both of Slavonic origin, for Leo XIII. has no liking for Anglo-Saxons. It almost seems as though he distrusted them. No new Cardinal is created either in America, England or Germany; all America continues to have only one; England has two; Germany three, of whom one is a Pole and another a Jesuit. If the Church be universal, this universality is not represented in the Sacred College. Neither Pius IX. nor Leo XIII. has listened to the warning which the saintly Father Hecker, founder of the Order of the Paulists, when on his deathbed, sent to the Pope by a bishop who was starting for Rome. His message was that one of the things which would bring about progress in religion was the choosing of Cardinals from among all nations, in order that there might be a Senate which really represented the whole of Christendom.

The spirit animating the Sacred College is, therefore, reactionary; the reaction is more collective than individual, more conventional than sincere. There are many among the Italian Cardinals who deplore the enmity between the State and the Church, an enmity which impedes the formation of a Conservative party in Italy, forcing the Government, the Parliament and the Monarchy to the brink of Radicalism, and destroying all religious feeling among the masses. Italian society has to contend against two opposing currents of ideas—Radicalism, degenerating into Socialism, and Clericalism, degenerating into political reaction: two currents which refuse to recognize the Monarchy and the unity of the nation, and which, therefore, are agreed upon the destruction of the present order of things, with the certain result of opposing each other furiously after the general demolition. A

gloomy future is preparing for Italy, for the Monarchy and the Papacy, for the unity of the nation and the unity of faith.

But if there are many among the Cardinals who deplore this dissension and dread the possible effects of it, *esprit de corps* and the power of prejudice have their influence upon all. United as they are, they all think in a similar manner, because none wishes to appear less zealous than another. All assert that the political independence of the Holy See is necessary to the independence of the Church; that the restoration of temporal power in its minutest forms is imperative, at least with regard to the government of Rome, where no other rule is desired or can be tolerated—Rome, the seat of the Papacy and the tomb of the Apostles! And thus the sentiment of intolerance arises spontaneously among the Cardinals, and is nourished by all those incidents and frictions which are the result of the daily contact of the two powers—opposing powers, condemned to exist side by side on the same territory; opposing powers, each of which ignores the other; the Middle Age with its hierarchy, and the modern age with its public rights. And since the Papacy is elective, and every Cardinal, even the humblest, aspires to it, or at least does not consider himself inferior to the others, he does not wish to appear behindhand in upholding the rights of the Church. The doctrine is as follows: Temporal power belongs, not to the Pope, but to the Church; the Pope must preserve it and transmit it intact to his successor, just as the Cardinals when created swear to defend it *"usque ad effusionem sanguinis."* And this principle, or, rather, this unconquerable prejudice, will animate the Cardinals assembled in Conclave, and will lead them to choose as Pope that one of their number whom they judge to be best fitted to regain temporal power, and to replace the Holy See, as they say, in a condition of independence.

The next Conclave will thus open under the above conditions, and therefore there is no possibility of hope that the new Pontiff will enter upon a new course with regard to Italian affairs. On the other hand, it is probable that he will modify his attitude with relation to foreign powers in the sense that he will sacrifice religious interests to political calculations less than Leo XIII. has done, but in no other respect. No new wave of thought will induce the Cardinals assembled in Conclave to choose one who desires religious peace in Italy, and who would devote, liberally

and unreservedly, the universal influence of the Holy See to the solution of those grave and complicated social, moral and political problems which the old century has left as a legacy to the new. And it is on this account that the new Conclave occasions no exceptional interest, such as was aroused by that which followed upon the death of Pius IX.

It may be added that a Conclave no longer presents the characteristic spectacle which it offered in former times, when all authority of government in Rome ceased, and the unrestrained mob hastened to pillage the dwelling of the Cardinal elected Pope as soon as they heard the news of the election, which was often falsely circulated. The bridge of Sant' Angelo, the only bridge communicating with the Città Leonina, was barricaded, and the square of San Pietro was occupied by cavalry to keep thieves and unruly persons in check. In fact, since the last election held in the Vatican, nothing of the kind has taken place, and the last election was that of Pius VI., in 1775. Pius VII. was elected in the Conclave at Venice, and Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. were elected in the Quirinal Palace, constructed for the use of the Conclave, and still retaining its former appearance, notwithstanding the alterations which both interior and exterior have undergone since it has become the Roman residence of the King of Italy. The Quirinal was considered to be healthier than the Vatican, and was certainly cooler, as the Popes used to pass the summer months there, retiring in the autumn to the Villa di Castel Gandolfo, on the picturesque Alban Lake. Henceforth, the Conclaves will be held in the ancient Vatican, and that of Leo XIII. reopened the series. The palace is transformed into as many apartments as there are Cardinals; and each apartment is divided into four small chambers, which serve for the Cardinal; his secretary or Conclavist, who is a priest; his servant, who is a layman, and one for the purpose of drawing-room or ante-chamber, where the Cardinal dines and holds receptions. Visits between Cardinals are permitted during the Conclave. A picturesque description of a Conclave in the sixteenth century has been left by a French poet of that period, Joachim du Bellay, nephew and secretary of Cardinal Du Bellay, in his *"Regrets."* We here reproduce the verses, with their original orthography:

"Il fait bon voir, Pascal, un conclave secré
Et l'une chambre à l'autre également voisine
D'antichambre servir, de salle et de cuisine,

En un petit recoin de dix pieds en carré;
Il fait bon voir autour le palais emmuré
Et briguer la dedans cette troupe divine
L'un par ambition, l'autre per bonne mine
Et par dépit de l'un être l'autre adoré;
Il fait bon voir dehors toute la ville en armes,
Crier: *Le pape est fait!* donner de faux alarmes;
Saccager un palais; mais plus que tout cela,
Fait bon voir qui de l'un, qui de l'autre se vante,
Qui met pour cestui-ci, qui met pour cestui-là
Et pour moins d'un écu dix cardinaux en vente."*

Du Bellay was in Rome at the death of Marcello II., and was present at the Conclave of Paul IV. Many of the customs of that time have fallen into disuse, thanks to the more civilized manners of the present day. The Cardinals are permitted to order their meals from outside, or have them from the kitchens of the Conclave; but the spirit of this *"troupe divine"* is perfectly caught in the above verses. The difference between those times and to-day consists solely in the fact that now it is only the Pope who is elected, and no longer the temporal prince of a magnificent kingdom in the heart of Italy; the Pope on whom that imprisonment is imposed which he will not have the power to break, that imprisonment from which Leo XIII. could not escape, even to see for the last time his old brother, Don Giuseppe, who died in 1890. These two circumstances, perhaps, do somewhat towards lessening the ambition of attaining the Papacy, but do not destroy it, since each Cardinal believes, as we have said, that he will be able by means of his political successes to restore temporal dominion and intone the great *"Te Deum"* in St. Peter's.

Thirteen years have passed since my work upon "The Coming Conclave" was written; and the circumstances of the Sacred College have altered so much that the previsions and conjectures of that time are no longer possible to-day. So many Cardinals are dead, and so many new Cardinals have been created! The *"papabili"*† of that period where Mgr. Monaco La Valletta, Vicar of the Pope in Rome; Battaglini, Archbishop of Bologna; San Felice, Archbishop of Naples; Dusmet, Archbishhop of Catania;

* "It is fine to see a secret conclave, Pascal, and one room next to another serving as antechamber, hall, and kitchen, in a little nook of ten feet square; it is fine to see the palace shut in, and that holy company intriguing within, one from ambition, another to make himself agreeable, and one adored from spite against another; it is fine to see all the town without in arms, crying: The Pope is chosen! giving false alarms; sacking a palace; but more than all else, it is fine to see who boasts of one, who of another, who holds to this one, who to that one, and ten Cardinals for sale for less than a crown."

† Those likely to be elected Pope.

Parocchi, Cardinal of the Curia, and Capecelatro, Archbishop of Capua. Of these, the only survivors are Cardinals Parocchi and Capecelatro, who, for different reasons, are excluded from the Papacy; the former, because, agreeing with every one, he is no longer believed by any, and the latter, because he is held to be Liberal and conciliatory in his views. The last work of this Cardinal, which caused such a sensation in the Liberal press of Italy, and which still further intensified the anger of the Intolerants against him, is entitled: "Patriotism and the Catholics, especially in Italy." Notwithstanding that it is strictly orthodox, since the pious and learned Archbishop proclaims that the Pope must be the sole arbiter of peace, or rather of the conditions of peace, between Italy and the Holy See, it has still caused a great sensation, if only by reason of its title and the sincere love of Italy, *as now constituted,* which emanates from it. It was said that this was a dangerous symptom, and the most furious Intolerants desired Leo XIII. to admonish and reprove Cardinal Capecelatro, as Pius IX. had done to Cardinal D'Andrea in 1869. They were finally appeased by a warning from the Secretariate of State, published in the *"Osservatore Romano,"* in the following words:

"The Liberal journals make a recent discourse of Cardinal Capecelatro to the Seminarists of Capua the pretext for bringing forward the accusation that all those Catholics who obey the Papal directions in their relations with the government of Italy, as it is at present constituted, are enemies to their counry. *But it is clearly an injustice to the illustrious Cardinal even to think it possible that he could desire to take up an attitude contrary to the express instructions of the Supreme Head of the Church, whom alone it behooves to give guidance to the faithful as to the right course to be followed in such questions.* Now the Pope gives this guidance plainly and fully in the Encyclical of August 5th, 1898, addressed to the Bishops, clergy and people of Italy, pronouncing that 'to require from Catholics active assistance in the maintenance of the present state of affairs would be an absurd and irrational demand.' By this unquestionable decree, and in no other manner, are all Catholics bound to measure their obligations as good citizens and as sons of Italy."

Of all the members of the Sacred College, Cardinal Capecelatro has assuredly the most exalted mind and perhaps the noblest nature. He is also a writer of the highest order. Cardinal Parocchi is highly cultured, speaks well, and is influenced by modern doctrines. These two are the most enlightened of the great Senate of the Church; but no one would venture to affirm that one or the other will be the successor to Leo XIII., and Mgr.

Parocchi is still less likely to be chosen than Mgr. Capecelatro, as he is regarded almost as an invalid, and is confined to the Chancellery, the only one among the ecclesiastical Congregations which does not exert any direct influence upon the government of the Catholic Church.

There are four Cardinals who are considered to be *"papabili"* at the present day: Girolamo Gotti, Serafino Vannutelli, Domenico Svampa and Giuseppe Sarto. The first of these is sixty-seven years of age, a native of Genoa, and Prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. He is a Brother of the Order of Barefooted Carmelites, and was for a short period Apostolic Delegate in Brazil. Mgr. Vannutelli is of the same age; he was born at Gennazzano, a country town near Palestrina; he was Nuncio at Brussels and Vienna, and at the present day he is Chief Penitentiary and Bishop of Frascati. Mgr. Svampa is Archbishop of Bologna, and is only fifty-two years old. Mgr. Sarto, who is Patriarch of Venice, is sixty-five; he has been in turn parish priest and bishop, and, like Mgr. Gotti, is of humble birth. It would be a mistake to argue from their *"papabilità"* that these are the Cardinals pre-eminent in intellectual powers. The most cultured Cardinals are, as has been already said, Capecelatro and Parocchi; and of all the Cardinals who were Nuncios, there are several who have given evidence of greater capacity than either Vannutelli or Gotti. But it is necessary to recollect that the Sacred College is an elective body, and, as is the case in all such assemblies, good fortune and merit do not always go together. Mgr. Gotti is of a cold and impenetrable nature, full of scruples and prejudice; he is a violent anti-American; and, if he were Pope, he would very likely abandon the prudent line of conduct followed by Leo XIII. with regard to American affairs, and would create a great disturbance, perhaps even having recourse to extreme measures. In other respects, he would most probably adhere to the policy of Leo XIII., particularly as he is a great friend of Cardinal Rampolla. It is to be remarked that, ever since the time when the opinion first gained ground that Mgr. Gotti might be the future Pope, he has deliberately surrounded himself with the greatest mystery. He speaks in public as little as possible: he avoids company, and is not held in great esteem in his own Congregation. He often appears to be vacillating and timorous, occasionally almost without any

force of will whatever. He formerly held the position of Professor of Mathematics in a college at Genoa, but otherwise he does not appear to be a man of exalted mental powers.

The other three Cardinals considered as *"papabili"* are all of a less intolerant tendency than Mgr. Gotti. They are bishops, and the government of their dioceses causes them to live more in contact with the world, and thus renders them more disposed to recognize some of the claims of modern society. Cardinal Svampa appears to be favored by the prophecy of Mgr. Malachy, the celebrated Archbishop of Armagh, who was one of the greatest personalities in the Catholic Church of Ireland. Four centuries and a half after his death, a prophetic work was attributed to him on the subject of the Popes, from Celestino II. to the supposed end of the world, which, according to Mgr. Malachy, will take place during the next century. This work was published in 1595 by a Cassinese monk, Father Vyon, and was in its turn confuted by another monk, Father Menestrier. These prophecies, although generally held to be apocryphal, exercise a species of superstitious influence in the Curia. The prophecy referring to the 262d Pope, who was Pius IX., is contained in the motto, *"Crux de cruce."* The motto, *"Lumen in coelo,"* refers to the 263d Pope, Leo XIII., while *"Ignis ardens"* stands for the next Pontiff. The explanations of these mottoes are most wildly extravagant in many cases. *"Crux de cruce"* is said to refer to Pius IX., because he lost the temporal power; *"Lumen in coelo"* to Leo XIII., because there is a star in his coat-of-arms; and *"Ignis ardens"* to the Archbishop of Bologna, because he is named Svampa (Extinction) and his arms are a burning torch; but this motto might also be applied to Cardinal Vannutelli, whose name is Serafino, which means "inflamed with divine zeal." Mgr. Svampa rules well at Bologna, just as Cardinal Sarto rules well at Venice. If Mgr. Vannutelli were Pope, he would have the efficent aid of his very clever brother Vincenzo, formerly secretary to Cardinal Antonelli, and an experienced man of the world.

The tendencies which will dispute for the pre-eminence in the future Conclave are these: (1.) either no deviation from the policy of Leo XIII., or (2.) a gradual change; (3.) the assertion of the claim for the restoration of temporal power, together with a disinclination to sacrifice all else to this one point, as has been done by Leo XIII. As an extreme concession, the

new Pope might carry on the contest on legal grounds, abolishing the *"non expedit,"* and encouraging Italian Catholics to take part in political elections. But I dread the predominance of the first of these tendencies, favored as it is by the nomination of the new Cardinals, who show more devotion to Cardinal Rampolla, to whom they believe they owe the purple, than to Leo XIII.

Cardinal Rampolla is the impersonation of Leo XIII.'s policy of late years, perhaps even more markedly than Mgr. Antonelli was the impersonation of the policy of Pius IX. He is not an extraordinarily gifted man, nor yet a man of strongly marked character; he is a blind Conservative and a jealous enemy of the new order of things in Italy, his aversion being strengthened by the natural obstinacy of his Sicilian nature. He is a skilful flatterer of the Pope, and thus has gained his good graces—apparently, but not really, placing himself and his own wishes in the background. He seems only made for service, and yet he gives orders to every one. For fourteen years he has watched the increasing senility of Leo XIII. and the decay of his will, and has gradually attained his present position, above all maintaining the Pope in sentiments of hostility toward Italy. But the supreme power of Cardinal Rampolla, in which he may be said to be unsurpassed, lies in dissimulation. He simulates modesty, and he is haughty; he simulates gentleness, and nobody can move him; he simulates charity, and it is useless to have recourse to him for charitable objects. He receives about 100,000 lire yearly from various sources, holding the most lucrative post in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He is a man without friendships, emotions, or impulses of generosity or affection. He is most tenacious in his dislikes.

There are not a few who fear lest Cardinal Rampolla may aspire to the Papacy. This is very possible, and he might obtain a certain number of votes; but he would not receive as many as are necessary for election. The danger of his becoming Pope would unite all those Cardinals who have no *parti pris.* He might count upon the votes of the Cardinals of Spain, where he has been Nuncio; and possibly also on those of the French Cardinals, as he has always had Francophile tendencies, urging the Pope toward that complete surrender to the republic which amazed the world and did not further the political aims of Leo XIII., still less the cause of religion in France. However, the

events now taking place in that country are alienating the French clergy and episcopate more and more from the policy of Leo XIII., who uttered no word of protest against the violence uniformly displayed toward the Assumptionists, nor yet against the new law directed against religious Congregations. Mgr. Rampolla might perhaps count upon the votes of the more obscure Italian Cardinals of recent nomination, but the same thing might happen to him as happened to Cardinal Lambruschini in the Conclave of Pius IX. Mgr. Lambruschini had been Secretary of State to Gregory XVI., and his partisans canvassed for votes in his name at the time of the first scrutiny: this demonstration, however, had the effect of hastening the election and of diverting votes to the Cardinal of whom no one was thinking, Mgr. Mastai-Ferretti, Bishop of Imola, who became Pius IX.

The new Pope will be an Italian, and the next Conclave will be held at Rome. Although the number of foreign Cardinals is but little inferior to that of the Italians, it is not at all to be feared that the choice will fall upon a foreign Cardinal. There is no possibility of an understanding between the foreign Cardinals, for either they are not mutually acquainted, or they are severed by irreconcilable racial and national aversions; indeed, apart from these differences, it is not possible for the Sacred College to divide into two groups, leaving foreigners on the one side and Italians on the other; and even were they thus to separate, neither group could elect a Pope independently. The one party is necessary to the other, as two-thirds of the votes are necessary for election.

Neither will it happen in the future Conclave that any one of the three Catholic Powers will exercise the right of *veto*, the effect of which would be the election either of the Cardinal attacked by it, or another of the same views. At the present day, the three nations which used to possess this right, and made use of it on a few occasions, are in very different circumstances. France is a Radical Republic; Spain is a Parliamentary government, and therefore subject to party changes, and it is impossible to say what party will be in power at the death of Leo XIII. Austria-Hungary alone might exercise this right, or rather the Emperor might exercise it independently of his ministers; but, we repeat, it would indubitably produce the contrary effect. The right of *veto* used to attack, not the Pontiff, but the Italian Sov-

ereign, when the circumstances of the Peninsula were different, and Austria-Hungary, Spain and France contended for dominion and influence over it.

More than twenty-three years have passed since Cardinal Gioacchino Pecci was crowned Pope, and he is ninety-one years old. As he is the only Pope who has exceeded ninety years of age, he takes a position among the very few who have rivalled St. Peter in length of rule. Leo XIII. has already surpassed the pontificates of Urban VIII., of Alexander III., and of Clement XI.; and among the 263 Popes whom the Church has possessed, his length of reign has been exceeded by those of only three Popes, Pius VI., Pius VII., and Pius IX.; but in five months he will have exceeded the pontificate of Pius VII., and in a year that of Pius VI. Very probably, Leo XIII. will survive the three remaining cardinals of Pius IX., who are no longer young, since Mgr. Parocchi is sixty-eight years of age, Mgr. Oreglia seventy-three, and Mgr. Ledochowski seventy-nine. In that case, it may be that he will follow the example of Urban VIII., in coining a medal commemorating the renovation of the entire Sacred College, with the following motto addressed to the Cardinals: *"Non vos me elegistis, sed ego elegi vos."*

R. DE CESARE.

Rome, March 3d, 1901.

DETECTIVE SURVEILLANCE OF ANARCHISTS.

BY ROBERT A. PINKERTON, ONE OF THE HEADS OF THE PINKERTON NATIONAL DETECTIVE AGENCY.

THE police control of anarchists, while by no means a simple matter, may yet be accomplished. To make it effective, however, several fundamental conditions must be observed. The matter must be undertaken in a clean-cut, businesslike manner and the system kept absolutely free from the taint of political influence.

The great trouble with our National Government Detective Service to-day is that politics figure largely in the appointments, and this must result in a lack of efficiency and discipline wherever they take up investigations of plottings by anarchists.

It is perhaps too late to discuss the terrible calamity of President McKinley's assassination, but it points such a strong moral that the circumstances surrounding it ought not to be lost sight of. With a properly trained and disciplined force of protectors for the President on that day, I believe the tragedy might have been prevented. The first principle of Police guardianship, such as was entrusted to those guarding the President, is to watch the *hands* of all comers. This is a police axiom that is supposed to be drilled into the minds of all men who have to do this class of work. The hand is the machine and the only machine with which damage can be inflicted. Whether a man is to throw a bomb, or to use a knife, or to fire a pistol, whatever the means of assault, it must be carried out with the hand. Therefore, supervise and control the hands of people surrounding the person to be guarded, and you take a long step toward protecting that person from harm.

Where assassination is intended, it is impossible to guarantee absolute protection. A man may be "picked off" with a rifle at a less or greater distance, or he may be fired on from above while

passing through the streets, or beneath a balcony, or a mine may be exploded under him, but against such an assault as was committed on President McKinley by the anarchist, Czolgosz, it is, I believe, possible to guard absolutely with careful, quick-witted men, fully instructed as to their duties, who, although there may be no apprehension of danger in the minds of the general public, are there at all times ever on the alert for just such an attack as that at Buffalo. It would seem that the guards in attendance upon the President that fateful day should have halted Czolgosz the very minute they noticed him in the line with a covered hand, especially a covered right hand. If the hand was really an injured one, no great commotion need have resulted from the act of halting him, but had a concealed weapon been disclosed, as it doubtless would have been at Buffalo, the disturbance arising from the assassin's being discovered would probably have saved the President's life. One minute's inspection would have revealed the assassin's intent and at least an effort would have been made to make him harmless.

The heads of our Government Secret Service, as a rule, have been men of standing and efficiency; their work heretofore has mainly been the suppression of counterfeiting and frauds against the Government. Appropriations have been too small for what was expected of them, and they have been greatly handicapped by being obliged to appoint their subordinates on political recommendations from men with but little or no experience to fit them for this important service.

There is no intention of, in any way, impugning the present Chief of the United States Secret Service, who, although not having been previously engaged in Police or Detective Service, has proven his capability for the position he holds, but the department of which he is the head has had but very little to do with anarchists, and, as at present organized, I do not believe it would be in a condition to handle this important problem. It would require a thorough reorganization, a large increase in the present force, no little legislation, and a large additional appropriation before much could be done toward controlling or eradicating the dangerous anarchists we have here now as well as those who are coming here in greater or less numbers at all times, and who, of late years, have seemed to do most of their plotting in this country.

If the Government is to take an active hand in the suppression of anarchism, I would advocate the forming of a special department for this purpose, whose whole attention could, at all times, be given to this very serious question.

The anarchists are something like the old "Mollie Maguires" of Pennsylvania. They have their outer and inner circles. The "Mollie Maguires," who were a band of cut-throats and murderers, were recruited from among the members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians; in fact, they were really an inner circle of that Order. To be a "Mollie Maguire," a man had to be in the first place an Irishman; in the second place a Roman Catholic (at least in name, although if discovered he had no standing with the Church); and in the third place, a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. These conditions were thoroughly well known, and brought odium both to the Hibernians and the Church; yet none of our citizens hated "Mollie Maguirism" and all that it represented and did more in the effort to suppress the evil or fought it more fiercely than the great body of good Catholics and the vast majority of members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Nevertheless, these two bodies constituted outer circles and safe recruiting grounds which made possible the great strength of the "Mollie Maguires." Under the cloak of protection of religion and of fealty to the fraternal order, it was possible to select those deemed desirable members of the inner circle, to observe them closely, to study their peculiarities, to learn their characters at close range and under the best conditions, and all this without exposing the secrets or manœuvres of the inner circle.

When it came to breaking up the "Mollie Maguires," all sorts of measures and plans were resorted to by the men who undertook the task, but it was not until the Church recognized its inability to suppress these bands of murderers by excommunication or by any other means at its command, that they finally gave their consent to the work being done in other ways. It was only then that success was even remotely possible.

Instead of operating under ordinarily accepted detective methods, it was recognized that a man was needed who was an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, and that he would have to become a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the coal region. It required something more than mere pecuniary reward

to secure the right sort of person for this task. The man had to feel that he was serving his church, his race and his country; otherwise, it would be impossible to get any one to undertake a work which invited death by assassination. Such a man was found in James McParland, connected with our service, who, once he consented to undertake the work, could be relied upon implicitly.

With the anarchists, a diligent and systematic search will not fail to bring to the surface those similarly qualified, who can join groups wherever formed. There would, of course, be lacking the strong religious sentiment and loyalty to the church that actuated the man who risked his life to weed out the "Mollie Maguires"; nevertheless, it will be possible to secure the desired persons. The great majority of anarchists in this country and abroad are a sufficiently harmless body of men and women. They have what they consider advanced ideas on government, or lack of government, but are unalterably opposed to all forms of murder and violence. They realize that such an event as the assassination of President McKinley or of the King of Italy does more harm to their propaganda than anything else that can happen. Therefore, they are violently opposed to the perpetration of these deeds, and those who inspire them. From among this class of anarchists, there doubtless could be secured the material needed for the control and supervision of the "Reds," as the members of the violent branch of anarchists are popularly denominated. New members could join, in time, the most dangerous groups, who would have no feeling of sympathy with them. There is no such organization among anarchists as there was among the "Mollie Maguires," nothing so secret and efficient, and oath-bound and virulent. But there is yet sufficient organization to assure us that plots are bred and that a dangerous propaganda is systematically promulgated.

I do not believe that the man Czolgosz carried out a plot, or that he had any accomplices; in my opinion, he was simply an impressionable creature who was carried off his mental balance by the teachings of the rabid anarchists of the Goldman, Lucy Parsons, Most school. The assassination of King Humbert was, on the other hand, undoubtedly the result of a carefully hatched plot emanating from the "Reds" who have groups throughout this country. But while these two assassinations were brought about

by different methods, they might have been prevented by proper police control in the first instance. Competent emissaries in the camps of the "Reds" would have been informed of the plot against the King of Italy, and Bresci and the whole nest of murderers could have been nabbed before they had a chance to carry out their design. In the case of Czolgosz, he could have been kept free from the influences that made him a murderer if the police powers of the country had had sufficient information and sufficient initiative to act. A man on the inside could have landed information years ago that would have put Goldman, and the other preachers of anarchy who inspired Czolgosz, within the hands of the law. These people are constantly talking violence and the overthrow of government. Of late years, since one or two of them, like Most and Goldman, have had a dose of prison for their firebrand utterances, they have been more careful as to the things they say in public; but, in private, there is no doubt that their fulminations are more violent than ever. A service such as I have indicated should be established to keep the authorities in complete touch with these private utterances, which travel as fast and breed as much damage in the end as speeches made in public. As for open fulminations, these should be placed entirely under the ban, and the police should be given practically unlimited powers to deal with the men and women concerned. It should be impossible to have such a spectacle as is at times seen in Chicago, where women of the stripe of Lucy Parsons, since the execution of her anarchistic husband, and Emma Goldman have openly preached violence and murder. Kindly or half-way measures are thrown away entirely upon the "Reds." They understand only one argument, and that is the argument of brute force. It is all very well to safeguard the rights of free speech and of free press; but sentimentalism in this direction should not be permitted to carry so far as to allow the open, or secret, advocacy of the overthrow of all government. Only a systematic campaign against this sort of thing can avert a serious condition, for these anarchists are becoming more and more numerous, and those of the violent school are growing steadily bolder. They do not appreciate indulgence. This was shown plainly enough in the case of the assassination of Mayor Harrison, of Chicago. Harrison was the great advocate of free speech and absolute license for the disorderly element of which the "Reds" form a part. He

was perpetually preaching about their rights of assemblage and free speech. His reward was assassination, not by an avowed anarchist, but by a man who had such a total disregard for law and order as the anarchists are constantly pointing to as the desirable condition.

In a broader sense, we have had an illustration of the evils that grow out of the indulgence granted to anarchists here, and the lack of a system of control. The nations of Europe have practically combined to force these people to the wall. Instead of joining with them in the effort, we have given the anarchists an asylum here, with the result that they plotted the murder of the King of Italy under our protection, and are permitted to promulgate the doctrines that brought about the murder of our own President. Now that we have these lessons, it is to be hoped that we will change our tactics; that we will deal with these people vigorously, as we should, and that we will co-operate with the foreign governments for the extinction of anarchy and anarchists, and that we will have a comprehensive system of our own.

At the very beginning, there ought to be a law passed to permit the deportation of every man and woman who preaches the overthrow of government and the principles of anarchy. Instead of having any squeamish scruples, we should attack the evil in a rough-handed, common-sense way. I would advocate the establishment of an anarchist colony, a place where every person who wants anarchy can have it. Let the government set aside one of the islands of the Philippines, equip it thoroughly with appliances for tilling the soil, erect comfortable houses, and provide other necessary conveniences, even to the extent of expensive comforts; then to this place let us send everybody who wants anarchy; put them all on one island, and let them work it out among themselves. Have no restrictions at all; let them govern themselves, or refrain from governing themselves, as they see fit. Leave them severely alone on their island, taking care only that they remain there by establishing a system of patrol boats around it. I know of no other single experiment that would be at once so healthful for this country as such a settlement, and so instructive to the anarchists themselves and the world at large as to how their opportunities for individualism and freedom from government restraint would work out. It may be that there is no warrant under our present system of law and government for

the establishment of such a colony; but, in the present mood of the public mind towards anarchy, it seems to me that it would not be difficult to induce Congress to permit an experiment such as I have suggested. There we could send our Goldmans and our Mosts and our Parsons, and all the other ranters who are constantly striving to tear down what has been so laboriously built up, and who, in doing so, are raising up a constantly growing army of danger-breeding converts. In time of war the government does not hesitate to protect itself by adopting all sorts of measures. Why not, then, adopt a measure such as this in the face of a condition that is more dangerous in some respects than open warfare, because of the insidiousness of its character and the uncertainty of knowing just where to look for danger. In Europe anarchy has been accepted as a real and tangible menace to government. Here we are still carried away by the fetish of free speech and unrestricted discussion to such an extent that we give absolute liberty to a class of people who are a danger to our institutions and a disgrace to our nation.

The value of a restrictive system applied to anarchy is observable in the conditions that prevail in New York City. There the police have always carried on a relentless warfare against the "Reds." They have even gone to the length of "illegally suppressing their meetings." On one occasion, I remember, when a lot of anarchistic sentiments were being shouted from a speaker's stand in Union Square, the police, without warrant, descended upon the meeting and broke it up. This was reprehensible from the standpoint of the stickler for social and political rights; but there are certain conditions that cannot be dealt with from the ordinary point of view, and anarchy is one of them. Where that comes into question, we may well permit the authorities to stretch a point for its repression. The activity of the New York police has had the effect of keeping the anarchists in that city bottled up during the past ten years; so that, while we have had the spectacle of "Reds" shouting in Chicago and most of the other big cities, they have sung very small indeed in the metropolis. This, to my mind, is a strong argument for the application of radical measures in their treatment. The principals are never the ones to go forward and do the deeds which they advocate; yet, as in the Czolgosz case, the real guilt lies with those who preach the doctrine of murder and violence and treason against

the government much more truly than with the half-witted instruments who are instigated to do the work. Under a proper system of espionage, carefully controlled, it would be easily possible to get at these leaders, many of whom are men and women of brain power decidedly above the average. The picture of the anarchist drawn by most people, a bearded, drunken, lazy creature, is not at all in line with the facts. Many of the most advanced men in the movement do not drink at all, and know so well how to keep their mouths shut that only the initiated know of their connection with anarchy. Men of the Most stripe, and women of the Goldman type, it is comparatively easy to control. They make no secret of their beliefs and restrain their tongues only in so far as they deem it necessary to keep out of the clutches of the law. It is the quiet, cultivated element behind the loud-mouthed tribe that furnishes the sinews of war and that remains entirely beyond the cognizance of the police system as now constituted. To get at them requires clever work and a great deal of patience.

Not the least dangerous thing about this anarchistic movement that seems to be spreading steadily is the fact that so little concerning it is really known to the outside world. Even the European governments seem to have been unable, with all their machinery, to get at the bottom of it. As for America, the people here seem to have regarded it as very much in the nature of some harmless excrescence bordering here and there almost on a joke. In the comic papers the anarchist, with us, has been a constant source of innocent amusement. It required the awful lesson of President McKinley's assassination to arouse the people to the real dangers that lurk in the movement.

The Haymarket massacre in Chicago ought to have been a lesson to the whole nation. Unfortunately, it was looked upon as a purely local ebullition, something peculiar to Chicago and her cosmopolitan make-up. The lesson given by the hanging of the anarchists concerned in the Haymarket affair was largely nullified by the subsequent pardoning of the men who escaped from the gallows and were sent to prison. That act had a decided tendency to revive the spirits of the anarchists and to bring to our shores many of the dangerous fanatics who were driven out of Europe. It is doubtful if any one has a conception of the strength of the anarchistic movement in America. The evidences that come to

the surface in places like Chicago and Paterson are taken as sporadic cases, whereas, an investigation would probably reveal the fact that every city in the country has a considerable number of "Reds" among its citizens. These people should all be marked and kept under constant surveillance and on the slightest excuse be made harmless.

Unlike any other evil that threatens in the open, anarchy is in a great measure irresponsible, and, therefore, only the most drastic and forehanded measures have any effect in keeping it under control. Such measures are possible only if we can arouse the public sentiment sufficiently to secure the organization of a perfect system of police control, a system that would never lose touch with the anarchists already established here, and that would pick up any foreigners that might come as soon as they reached any of our ports. Such a system, reinforced by the establishment of a colony in the Philippines on the lines suggested, would go far toward coping with the evil of anarchy that is at present afflicting us.

ROBT. A. PINKERTON.

AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN TURKEY.

BY URBAIN GOHIER.

THE critical situation of the Eastern question at this moment, the possibility of European intervention in the East, with France as a strong factor, the continuance of the Armenian atrocities—all make a consideration of the Turkish Government's past and present attitude toward Europe and America of grave importance just now. Furthermore, the material injury suffered from time to time by citizens of the United States in the Ottoman Empire give at once a right and an opportunity to the Government of the great Republic to assert itself in forcible language at Constantinople. However, some timorous and pacifically-minded individuals maintain that the United States would do better to wipe out the remembrance of their grievances, that the incidents that have taken place in Turkey are not worth the risk of an appeal to arms, and that Americans would be doing wrong to meddle with European affairs, determined as they are to permit no European interference in their own concerns.

I will not take the liberty of expressing an opinion on such present matters as the disappearance of Miss Stone. I will only recall what passed not long ago, in reference to what is happening to-day, and suggest to the citizens of the United States the idea of an intervention which would be both legitimate and honorable, and almost, indeed, a conscientious duty. I allude to the Armenian atrocities.

The American missionaries have related to their fellow-countrymen the events of which the unfortunate Armenian nation has been the victim in recent years. From 1892 to 1894 the systematic destruction of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire commenced by a series of isolated murders that were invariably committed with impunity. After 1894 the Turkish Government

proceeded to massacres on a grand scale, sometimes in the various provinces of Asia Minor and sometimes in Constantinople itself. The details of these abominations are recorded to the everlasting shame of Europe in the telegrams and correspondence of the Ambassadors and Consuls of all nationalities, in the *Blue Books* of England, the *Yellow Books* of France, and the *Green Books* of Italy.

In 1897 the number of the slain of every age, sex and condition was estimated at 300,000. Since then the murders have been less frequent, but they have never entirely ceased. These hundreds of thousands of victims were butchered with extraordinary refinements of cruelty, which can only be compared to the tortures invented by the Indians and the torments inflicted on French soldiers in Algerian prisons by military autocrats. Numerous towns and countless villages have disappeared from the map by reason of the annihilation of their population. Everywhere women, young girls and boys suffered frightful outrages before death; those who were spared were sold as slaves in the markets of Asia and dispersed among the harems. Children were cut in pieces on their fathers' knees. In a single church at Orfa the butchers burned alive three thousand women and young girls with petroleum. The treatment undergone by these people cannot be described in print. Everywhere priests were flayed alive, hung up by the feet, and smoked like swine. Often the murderers tore out the eyes of their prisoners, and only finished them with the bayonet after untold torture. Some were made to dig their own graves before being forced into them with knives and sabres. This last feature, by the way, has not even the merit of novelty; it had been employed in the suppression of the Paris Commune by the Marquis de Galliffet, late Minister of War in France.

The published report in 1897 that 300,000 victims had fallen was not a mere surmise. It was founded on reliable statements made systematically in the different localities, verified by the Consuls, and repeated and subscribed to by the Ambassadors.

For instance, at Biredjik there were 8,000 slain and 400 forced conversions to Islam. Every one knows that these "conversions" are made at the sword point, and that this Mohammedan baptism bestowed under such conditions frequently entails the death of the new "convert." In the district of Sairt

there were 15,000 slain, 19,000 "converted" and 2,500 women carried off. In the district of Silouan, 4,000 slain and 7,000 "converted"; in the district of Severek, 1,000 slain and 2,500 "converted"; in the district of Palon, six villages destroyed, and 14,000 Armenians missing. All who had not perished by the sword starved to death in the mountain caves *(Blue Book,* 1896). And so on through all the provinces of the Empire.

At Van the butchery lasted eight whole days under the direction of the Turkish Major Halim-Effendi, formerly notorious for the massacres at Sassoun. The Armenians for once attempted a defence; whereupon the Turks employed their cannon by the orders of Saadeddin Pasha, the special delegate of His Imperial Majesty. Three thousand houses were set on fire, ten thousand men shot, and the male children sawn asunder. The wandering tribes of the Persian frontier armed by the said Saadeddin Pasha then moved up to finish the work of destruction so ably commenced by the regular troops. But the soldiers not caring to share their booty checked the advance of these jackals. "Then," relates a missionary who was an eye-witness, "the Kurds were forced to retreat. Furious at this obstruction, and with their minds set on butchery and pillage, they revenged themselves on the fertile plain of Van. Descending on the Armenian villages unawares in obedience to the word of command they massacred all the male Armenians over ten years of age. The young girls and women were carried off, and horrible atrocities were committed on them as well as on the children. . . . All the churches and convents of this ancient province of Armenia were sacked and destroyed or set on fire.

"The number of victims surpasses all imagination. Information from a Persian source which would scarcely be suspected of partiality gives them as 12,000; but we have reason to believe that these figures fall short of the reality. The calculations of eye-witnesses estimate them as more than 20,000. We do not here include those who were forcibly converted to Islamism and only spared after having been circumcised. . . .

"At present a state of terrible misery exists in the Armenian population of Van and throughout this unfortunate province. Thousands of wretched beings enter the town every day in the hope of receiving a dole of bread from the missionaries. Alas! not a single young girl or young woman can be found among

this crowd of unhappy creatures. They have all been carried off by their tormentors, who have either kept them for themselves, or have gone as far as the Persian markets to sell them. Many among them have chosen a voluntary death; the others have fallen a prey to the basest kind of dishonor and slavery. Each of their Turkish and Kurdish invaders, officers as well as civil functionaries, has several in his harem."

At Constantinople itself the massacre was carried on under the eyes of the Ambassadors of the Powers, first in 1895, and again in 1896. From the 26th to the 28th of August, 1896, at least 7,000 Armenians perished under the cudgels of the butchers. The slaughter was systematically arranged by the Government. The houses occupied by those who were doomed had been marked beforehand by the local authorities. In the quarters where there were Greeks and other foreigners living among the Armenians no mistakes occurred. The murderers invariably proceeded in the same manner, forcing the victim to his knees or flat on his face and then striking his head with cudgels until it was reduced to pulp. These sticks were of a uniform pattern; they had been made in the arsenals of the Imperial navy, distributed to the murderers by the police and collected by the same police after the work was done. The regular soldiers did not take part in the massacre, but they mounted guard round the quarters where the slaughter was going on and cut off the escape of the fugitives.

It must be understood that the Turkish Government has never been able to invoke the excuse of a popular rising or an outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism. The Turkish nation, generally speaking, is honest, loyal and peaceable; it is in no way responsible for these horrors. The entire responsibility rests with the Sultan, who willed them, ordered them and organized them, and who is just as guilty as if he had plunged the knife with his own hand into the throat of every one of his 300,000 victims. As at Constantinople the butchery in the provinces was commanded and directed by the civil or military authorities. The signal was given by the sounding of trumpets; official emissaries spread abroad the word of command: "The Master has given permission to kill the Armenians." When the execution was considered sufficient the same emissaries cried, "Iassak! iassak!" (it is forbidden)—and the murderers stopped at once. There was not a trace of popular fanaticism. On the contrary,

some Mohammedans saved Armenians. At Cæsarea, an officer of high rank belonging to the garrison was going to prevent the massacre, when the Imperial officials sent him back to the barracks. At Van the Governor who had acted in a lukewarm fashion fell from favor, while the special delegate from Constantinople who presided pitilessly over the extermination received the Grand Order of Nicham Imtiaz. This is exactly the same decoration as was offered by the Sultan to M. Loubet, President of the French Republic, at a time when French soldiers had just shot twenty French workmen at Martinique.

How is it that such events were possible in the presence of all Europe on the verge of the twentieth century? There is a curious sound about the humanitarian harangues of European sovereigns and ministers in congresses, expositions and elsewhere, when one considers that these heads of the different States are on the most cordial terms with the monster whom Mr. Gladstone called "The Great Assassin," that they send Ambassadors to him, exchange civilities and gifts with him, while they all remained deaf, mute and impassive when there arose from the extremity of Europe the terrible death cry of 300,000 martyrs! Europe kept silence during the great massacres. She continues to keep silence still.

The fact is that the "Bloodstained Sultan" is fabulously rich. Abandoning a portion of the booty to the robbers drawn from all ranks of society—from the throne to the lowest of the people—he has drained the wealth of his whole Empire and amassed for himself a colossal treasure which he administers, it must be owned, like an excellent man of business. He is one of the greatest capitalists in the world. By dint of confiscations he has become the owner of about a sixth part of the Ottoman territories. With his immense revenue he maintains round his palace an army of spies, guards and informers, who individually watch every person living at Constantinople and who also watch each other. Throughout Europe Abd-ul-Hamid also maintains hired partisans, ministers, politicians and journalists. In France alone there were seventeen leading newspapers notoriously paid to suppress the truth. Thus the conspiracy of silence was organized. The feat of slaughtering a whole nation without the cognizance of other nations was actually accomplished. At the time of the worst massacres the *Petit Journal,* which has by far the largest

circulation of any French newspaper and is the only one familiar to the ignorant masses, announced from time to time that "the Armenian rebels had attempted to kill some inoffensive Turks." The Sultan was well served.

I am unable to explain what proceedings the Turkish sovereign employed in order to insure the tacit complicity of other governments than that of France. But all France knows to-day how he obtained the assistance of our Republic. At this period we twice had for our Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Gabriel Hanotaux, who appeared later as one of the guilty parties in the abominable Dreyfus affair and who dishonored the signature of France in the negotiations relative to Madagascar. It is indispensable to recall these two facts in order to explain the attitude of the same personage in the Armenian affairs. M. Hanotaux made his *début* in diplomacy as a subordinate agent at Constantinople. He succeeded in ingratiating himself with Abd-ul-Hamid, who made him one of his firmest adherents.

After becoming Minister for Foreign Affairs like so many other French politicians by a simple Parliamentary shuffle he regularly received dispatches from the East—letters and telegrams from the Consuls, and reports from the Ambassadors—which first announced the Armenian atrocities and then related them in a detailed manner. These messages to the number of 109 fill 150 pages of our great *Yellow Book*. France became acquainted with them two years later. At the time M. Hanotaux suppressed them. When he was questioned before Parliament as to the disturbing rumors from Constantinople or Asia Minor he gave his word of honor that "all was going well." The French Ambassador continued writing to him: "The Sultan has lied; the Sultan is lying; his Ambassador at Paris does nothing but lie; the promised reforms are not being carried out; massacres are taking place throughout the Empire." M. Hanotaux hastened to testify to Parliament as to the good faith and humanity of Abd-ul-Hamid and the perfect order reigning in Turkey.

After he had fallen from power he deluged the newspapers and reviews, "armed with the authority of his former office," with enthusiastic and affecting eulogies of the glorious, wise and amiable Sultan. Notably in the *Revue de Paris* he praised his "true qualities of gentleness, generosity and impartiality." Returning to power shortly afterwards he recommenced the same

game, asserting to the French Chambers the complete tranquillity of the Ottoman provinces at the very time when Evereck, Eghin, and afterwards Orfa, were given over to the flames or drowned in blood.

The case was the same throughout Europe. Great financiers, celebrated engineers, great contractors for public works (parks, lighthouses, railroads, fortresses, military stores) and the chief newspapers interested in all these affairs desired above all that the Sultan should remain absolute lord of his dominions. Concessions and bargains are obtained more easily from an omnipotent despot, whose ministers or favorite eunuchs it suffices to corrupt, than from a government under public control. The Catholic clergy also joined the conspiracy of silence for fear lest the actions of which the Roman monks had been guilty in Asia Minor should be discovered. There were fraternities there whose converts protected by the flag of France were inviolable to the Turks, and these had refused shelter to the Armenian fugitives unless they deserted the religion of their fathers to enter the pale of the Catholic Church. Catholic monks and nuns had been seen to refuse to succor wandering orphans unless they would embrace Catholicism. These scandals had to be concealed. The Pope of Rome, well informed as to the events in the East, did not utter a word in behalf of these 300,000 Christians who were being slaughtered.

As to the Governments of the Great Powers those whose ministers were not in the pay of the Sultan were paralyzed by their diplomatic calculations. None could intervene singly because the others would not have suffered it. None wished to give the others the opportunity for intervention. All the European States look on the Ottoman Empire as a prey the fragments of which they intend to share; but all equally dread the time of the division which will not take place amicably. Each one endeavors to secure a privileged position by gaining the good graces of the Sultan, and he takes advantage of their selfish complaisance to commit the most frightful crimes with impunity. The intervention of Europe would have been all the more legitimate as it could be based upon treaties. At the Berlin Congress the Powers had entered upon a formal engagement for the protection of the Armenians. They had exacted from the Sultan formal engagements for the reformation of his Empire. In arresting the

arm of the assassin raised against the victim they would have been doing nothing more than respecting their own word and their own signatures. Thus the venality of some, the cowardice of others and the egoistic calculations of all rendered it possible for a whole people to be exterminated in the sight of "civilized" Europe—not a tribe of savages rebellious against assimilation and progress, but a civilized, cultured and peaceful nation, bearing an honorable name in history in the exercise of religion and Christian principles! And the crime is still going on! The series of great massacres appears to be at an end, but local murders have not ceased. Last winter 40,000 Armenian orphans perished on the roads of Asia Minor; Turkish officials organized a famine in the Armenian districts by exacting the forced sale of all the corn at an absurdly small rate in order to sell it back to the inhabitants at six times the price. One portion of the Ottoman nation is now a cause of terror and an object of hatred to the Sultan in the same degree as the Armenians. This is the enlightened class known as the "Young Turk" party, who patriotically aim at the reconstruction of Turkey on the lines of civilized life. Fifty thousand of these Turks, *Mohammedans*, have perished in the last four or five years in prison, in secret dungeons, in the Bosphorus and in the deadly provi es of Arabia, whither they are driven by the mad fury of Abd-ul-Hamid. In the very heart of the Old World at the point where Asia, Europe and Africa unite, a portion of humanity is struggling and perishing in the grip of a monster.

Would it not be a worthy endeavor for the United States to attempt what Europe has declined to do?

At the very moment of ostentatiously sending their representatives to The Hague, there to utter platonic discourses on the benefits of peace, the European Powers had passed over the events in the East in silence—events that, indeed, may be the cause of war in the future. At a time when the citizens of the United States are divided on the subject of Imperialism and wars of conquest, could they not agree upon the expediency of a purely unselfish military manifestation? If horrible war could ever be justified, it would be with the idea of doing service to humanity and civilization. In the intervention of the United States at Constantinople there could be no ambiguity possible; their disinterestedness would be manifest. And the name of war need

not even be pronounced. The American navy is powerful, while a Turkish navy scarcely exists. Where is, then, the possibility of war? There must be two to make a fight. To show the Bloodstained Sultan a few battleships and warn him that every human head that falls under the knives of his assassins will be paid for by the destruction of one of his palaces—this would not be the work of a conqueror, but the action of a noble heart.

For the great American nation the risk would be *nil,* the cost insignificant and the glory infinite. It would show that its prodigious material wealth has not stifled feelings of chivalry; it would give a fine lesson of human solidarity to effete Europe; and it would save a Christian people who, repulsed by its pretended brethren and protectors in the Old World, has no longer any direction in which to turn on earth for help but towards the United States.

URBAIN GOHIER.

THE ETHICAL FUNCTIONS OF FOOT-BALL.

BY CHARLES F. THWING, LL. D., PRESIDENT OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY AND ADELBERT COLLEGE, CLEVELAND.

I HAVE before written of foot-ball as a game of brains and also as a game of hearts. I now wish to write of foot-ball in a relation yet more important. I desire to present some of its ethical relations and functions.

First. Foot-ball represents the inexorable. It embraces things that must be done at specific times, places and in specific ways.

College life has its social side, and the social side is of importance. For this side represents such minor or major graces as gentleness, sweetness and graciousness itself. Never are these conditions to be depreciated. They are ever to be assessed at their full value and their full value is very high. But college life, like all life, has another side. It has a side and relation which demand the hardness and endurance of the soldier. It has a side which is built up of mighty *musts*. This side is represented by foot-ball. Every member of the eleven must train, must practice, must endure risks, must mingle with his fellows, must keep his temper, and must obey his captain.

From the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top of a high wall of heavy obligations the foot-ball man is constantly and unerringly obliged to go. I believe that the chief, if not the only, basis of the charge which is sometimes brought against the college, that it unfits a man for life, lies in the substitution of *may* for *must* in the ordinary scholastic relations. But foot-ball teaches a man the value of the inexorable. It brings each student up short and sharp against laws which are to be absolutely kept. Of such laws life itself is full. Acquaintance with such laws man should make in his youth. The col-

lege offers the most fitting time and place for making such acquaintance; and foot-ball is among the most fitting of all possible methods and means for making this acquaintance.

Second. Foot-ball illustrates the value of the positive. In the building of character, the negative has some, but slight, value. It represents the more elementary conditions of the ethical process. The Old Testament says "thou shalt not," and this is well; the New Testament says "thou shalt," and this is better. It is well to adopt as one's ethical rule that whatever is not expressly allowed is denied; it is better to adopt as one's ethical rule that whatever is not expressly denied is allowed. Life is to be interpreted as sound, wholesome, righteous, unless there be evidence to the contrary, and never as corrupting, base, wrong, unless there be evidence to the contrary. Such an interpretation creates the highest qualities of health and of healthfulness. Be it said foot-ball embodies and enforces such an interpretation. It emphasizes the aggressive, the forth-putting, the direct, the positive. It teems with the glorious sense of certainty. It embodies Carlyle's "eternal yea." It illustrates the science and art of realism. It embodies actuality. It stands for the perpendicular. It teaches one to do. Its commands are condensed into the command "forward." It bucks, it pushes, it breaks, it runs, it goes; it goes through the line, it goes round the ends, but it goes.

Third. Foot-ball in its ethical relations represents the value of a compelling interest. College life has many interests; most of these interests are good; a few indifferent; and a very few of evil relations. Most students have some share in all that helps to constitute college life, but only a few students have an absorbing interest in any one of these relations. It is well for each man to possess at least one interest which is absorbing. Such an interest develops the conscience and the whole character. It creates force and it also makes more forceful forces already existing. Athletics, and foot-ball in particular, represent a condition well fitted to call out and to develop in a commanding and compelling way the essential powers of the student. I, of course, believe it would be better if scholarship represented this absorbing and compelling interest. It would be well if some great humane movement or institution, such as the college settlement, represented this absorbing or compelling interest. But one takes, and one is glad to take, the college man as he is. One, therefore, uses

those methods and means with the college student which are the more practicable. Foot-ball represents this method or means; foot-ball absorbs and compels. The objector might possibly say it absorbs too completely and compels too arrogantly. In the case of some students I should agree with the objector, and assent to the value of his objection. But for most men, under conditions existing, foot-ball represents a wholesome method for calling out a compelling interest on the part of the student. For the student, like certain ranges of society, is in peril of the evil of indifferentism. Dry rot is one of the dangers. *Nil admirari* is a not uncommon motto. A lackadaisical lassitude easily touches him. In such a condition foot-ball does for him what calomel did in the old pharmacopœia for the permanent invalid. Speaking of a lazy boy, Emerson said, or is said to have said, "Set a dog on him, send him West, do something to him." Foot-ball accomplishes a result of the kind Emerson wished to accomplish. A father, himself a distinguished publisher, said to me recently that his little baby, of a few days old, seemed at one time to be dying or dead, no breathing could be distinguished; no pulse found. But the nurse took the little weakling by one heel and flung it around several times, making a full circle in the air. The currents of life were set in motion; it revived; it is now living in fatness and health. Foot-ball arouses, absorbs, compels interest.

Fourth. Foot-ball, further, embodies the process of self-discovery. Self-discovery is a condition, but it is more than a condition, it is also a means. All the early years of one's life are years of the revealing of self to self; they are years of self-revelation both as a cause and as a consequence of self-enlargement. What rapture belongs to the true soul in finding he is a larger, stronger, better man than he believed himself to be; what remorse, or at least regret, belongs to the noble soul in finding he is less large, less strong, less good than he believed himself to be. One recalls the chagrin which John Inglesant in Shorthouse's great story experienced in finding that near the close of his career he was inclined to play fast and loose with a temptation which in the earlier time he had sternly resisted. Foot-ball proves to many a man what he is. It makes known to him that he has more or less physical strength than he believed he had. In intellectual vision or prevision it shows him whether he is

more or less alert; in executive planning and detail it shows him whether he is more or less prompt and able; in heart it shows him whether he is more enthusiastic or more indifferent; and in conscience it also proves to him whether he is more or less righteous than he believed himself to be. Every foot-ball game is a crisis. It not only creates and develops power, it also discovers the possession or the lack of power.

Fifth. The last of the five points of the ethical Calvinism of foot-ball to which I shall allude is self-restraint. Foot-ball develops self-restraint. Self-restraint, or more broadly self-control, is one of the primary signs of the gentleman. It represents the subordination of the less worthy to the more worthy, of the relatively good to the relatively better, of the relatively better to the absolutely best, of meanness to nobility, of the temporal to the eternal, of the narrow to the broad, of indifferentism to the cardinal virtues, verities and graces. Foot-ball demands self-restraint, and therefore it develops self-restraint. For it teems with temptations to be mean. It affords manifold opportunities to do nasty things. These temptations yielded to, these opportunities embraced, character becomes mean and nasty. Some men cannot resist such opportunities and temptations, and such men should never set foot on the gridiron. I recall that in one foot-ball season a Junior, who was one of the best men on the eleven, said to me he had decided to quit playing. In answer to my inquiry respecting the reason, he said he could not keep himself from doing mean things to the man opposite. I was surprised, for I had always judged the student to be a man of fine character. I asked: "But don't the officials keep you from breaking the rules?" "Oh," said he, "I can slug the fellow or kick him, or do him up easily enough, and no official ever be the wiser." I may add that my advice to the student was to stay in the game, and, staying, to make himself a man worthy to play the game. He did stay. In answer to inquiries of mine afterward made, he said he thought he was doing better. The gridiron is a small ethical world, marked all over with the white lines of moral distinctions. It is like an experiment in the laboratory in which certain natural phenomena are segregated in order that the understanding of those phenomena may be more readily acquired. It is a moral apprenticeship, an ethical practice school. It is in ethics what the Socratic thinking shop was supposed to

be--a training of the individual. Foot-ball thus develops the superb quality of self-restraint. It thus helps to make the finest type of the gentleman.

I know perfectly well that the game of foot-ball as played in American colleges is subject to very serious evils. Let no attempt be made to depreciate the evil of these evils. But these evils, be it said, relate rather to the conduct of the game and its incidental conditions than to its essential elements. Before and above these evils I would emphasize its functions in developing the gentleman of ethical character and conduct. For foot-ball represents the inexorable, it teaches the value of the positive, it illustrates the worth of a compelling interest, it promotes self-discovery, and it disciplines self-restraint.

CHARLES F. THWING.

THE NATIONAL DEBT OF FRANCE.

BY JULES ROCHE, MEMBER OF THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES AND FORMER MINISTER OF COMMERCE.

Of all countries, France, perhaps, is the one in which the records of national accountability and the form of the budget best permit of reading the state of the debt clearly and completely. It suffices to open the financial law in order immediately to perceive therein at a glance all the expenses imposed upon the government for the services of the debt in all its forms. Take for example the last budget, that of 1900, no longer operative. Article I. of the financial law gives us at once the total of the expenditures necessary for the year, and the figures of the sums previously deducted for the requirements of the debt:

	Francs.
Total expenditures	3,537,751,526
Portion appertaining to the services of the national debt	1,251,870,162

Thus, we see at the first glance that the debt represents for its annual requirements more than a third of the total expenditure of the French government. What is the composition of this debt? To what causes is it due? What is its progress? These are interesting questions that I shall examine in as simple and clear a manner as possible.

The French national debt is divided into three parts: the *funded* debt; the *redeemable* debt, and the *pension list.*

The funded debt is that which is inscribed in the "Ledger of the National Debt" instituted by the law of August 24th, 1793, and of which the government owes its creditors only the interest, without being obliged ever to refund the principal. Nevertheless, it can, if it desires, effect a redemption; but it alone is judge of whether it shall or shall not do so. Its obligation is solely the

payment of the annual interest. This debt is called also perpetual. It follows that the important figure of this branch of the national debt is that of the interest, and not that of the principal, since the government is debtor only for the interest.

At present the funded debt consists of two sorts of stocks—the 3 and the 3½ per cent. The 3 per cent. stock for the year 1900 required a sum of 454,769,454 francs. That is to say, if the government had wished to wipe out the debt it would have had to pay its creditors a principal of 100 francs as many times as there were 3 francs in the total annual stock above mentioned —a total of 15,158,981,800 francs.

The 3½ per cent. stock required the sum of 237,388,396 francs, and corresponded to a principal of 6,782,525,600 francs.

The total of the sums due for interest on the funded debt for the year 1900, therefore, represented 692,157,850 francs, and the corresponding principal amounted, in round numbers, to 21,941 million francs. The number of stockholders in France is very large. Each of them, therefore, represents, on an average, but a small government indebtedness. The exact number of holders cannot be known; but we do know the number of the stock certificates. One person may own several certificates, and the number of the latter is therefore larger than that of the holders of the same. The number of stock certificates in 1899 amounted to 4,222,377, which gives an average of stock of nearly 164 francs per certificate. This suffices to show how many small stockholders there are in France interested in the public order.

The debt redeemable at maturity or by annuities embraces a certain number of categories—the convertible annuities of the Morgan loan effected during the war of 1870, the annuities to certain railway companies, the interest on the floating debt of the Treasury and on the principal deposited by functionaries who are obliged to furnish security, etc., etc. The total of such sums amounts to 319,900,110 francs, out of which about 95 millions are appropriated to the refunding of the principal and the rest, say 224 millions, to the payment of interest.

The pension list debt comprises all the pensions that are due to civil functionaries and members of the army and navy, and in a word to all those who for any reason whatever have a right to a pension from the government. It comprises also certain sums for relief, but nearly the whole of it is *due* and has no

optional character. The total for 1900 amounted to 239,812,202 francs, the principal elements of which were as follows:

	Francs.
Civil pensions	75,750,000
War pensions	95,542,000
Naval pensions	37,600,000
Various supplements for the army and navy	12,000,000

It can be definitely seen that the great divisions of the national debt from the viewpoint of annual expenditures are summed up as follows:

	Francs.
Funded debt	692,157,850
Redeemable debt	319,900,110
Pension list debt	239,812,202
Total	1,251,870,162

But a sum of about 95 millions is employed in the refunding of the borrowed principal, and on the other hand the budget receives a sum of about 37 millions derived from the stoppages of the salaries of functionaries who have a right to be retired on a pension. This diminishes the real charges of the Treasury by just so much.

Nevertheless, it is simpler for reasoning and comparison to retain the official figures just as they are recorded, and which give more than 1,251 millions of annual charge.

The principal of the redeemable debt amounts at present to more than 7,854 millions, which added to the 21,941 millions of the funded debt gives a total of 29,795 million francs. Add further as a matter for reflection the principal representing approximately the 239 millions of the pension debt which may be estimated at 3,000 millions and a half, at the least.

Definitely for its national debt France owes upon the whole a principal that may be estimated at about 32,000 or 33,000 millions, only 7,854 millions of which has to be paid, while the remaining 25,000 or 26,000 millions corresponds solely to an annual interest charge.

The financial difficulties of the old régime were as every one knows one of the principal causes of the French Revolution. The sums mentioned in the reports of Necker, Minister of Finances of Louis XVI., and in those of Cambon, the member of the convention who created the "Ledger," are very far from equalling those that we have just examined. It is true that the

purchasing power of silver was much greater then than it is now, and that on the other hand there was less development of wealth. We must therefore guard against taking the figures of 1789 or 1792 as identical with those of the present.

We may admit that toward the end of the old régime in France one franc was about equal to two francs of the present day.

According to one of the reports inserted in the *Moniteur,* the state of the debt on April 1st, 1792, was as follows:

	Francs.
Annual charges of the funded or perpetual debt	76,844,949
Annual charges of the pension debt	101,388,086
Total	178,233,035

Moreover, there was a debt of a principal of 1,950,023,415 francs, and a debt of a special principal of 1,564,178,281 francs for assignats. The Revolution was unable to meet all the financial complications that resulted from the events that were taking place, and caused the creditors of the government to suffer a loss of two-thirds of their claims. At the end of the century after the 18th Brumaire, year VIII. (November 11th, 1799), when Bonaparte having become first consul took the reins of government in hand, the national debt was summed up in a total annual charge of 75 million francs; but all the debts were not liquidated. Bonaparte, however, rapidly effected a liquidation, re-established public credit and put the finances on a solid basis. Despite the great military expeditions of the consulate and the empire the national debt was not much increased. In fact in the accounts of the year 1814 it figures only as a total charge of 109 millions. It may be said that by his system Napoleon I. nourished war with war. But his fall brought on very different results. It became necessary to regulate arrearages and to undergo the consequences of the European coalition; so that, after all these lengthy operations were finished, say in 1824, the total of the annual charges of the debt presented themselves as follows in the budget of this same year:

	Francs.
For the funded debt	197,064,244
For the redeemable debt	26,048,527
For the pension debt	71,552,918
Total	294,665,689

The funded debt consisted at that time entirely of 5 per cent. stock, and this sum of 197 millions therefore was carried for interest in the budget of 1824 and represented at par a principal of 3,940 million francs.

Such is the starting point that must be taken in order accurately to appreciate the progress of the French debt from the philosophical viewpoint of history.

The other characteristic date that must be noticed between such starting point and the present situation is the end of the second empire previous to the terrible war of 1870-71 between Germany and France, that is to say, the year 1869.

At that epoch the state of the national debt presented itself for the annual charges inscribed in the budget as follows:

	Francs.
For the funded debt	361,494,542
For the redeemable debt	77,640,789
For the pension debt	85,545,524
Total	524,680,855

The funded debt consisted almost entirely of 3 per cent. stock, and its annual arrears as a whole represented in round numbers a nominal principal of 11,000 millions and a half. The nominal principal of the two other kinds of debts could be estimated at about 2,000 millions and a half, and with these there was therefore a total debt in principal of about 14,000 millions.

In order to ascertain what additional charges were added to it by the war of 1870 we must now take the figures inscribed in the budget of the year 1874. This year the debts consequent upon the war were liquidated, the necessary loans were negotiated and perfected, and the various operations resulting from the great events of 1870 and 1871 were accomplished. The annual *net* charges of the debt (that is to say, exclusive of the funds devoted to the amortization of the redeemable principal) were thus fixed in the budget of 1874:

	Francs.
For the funded debt	744,260,560
For the redeemable debt	108,998,588
For the pension debt	108,363,769
Total	961,622,917

Consequently it suffices to compare the two sums relative to the net charges of the debt in 1869 and in 1874 to see the origin

of the difference of 437 millions inscribed as an addition upon the budget of 1874. This enormous increase may be considered as due almost entirely and more or less directly to the war of 1870-71.

Since then various causes have intervened, some to increase and others to diminish the debt of France in diverse forms. The causes of the diminutions have been notably amortizations and conversions.

In 1874 the funded debt which required in round numbers an annuity of 744 million francs was thus constituted:

	Francs.
For 5 per cent. stocks	344,747,641
For 4½ per cent. stocks	36,660,538
For 4 per cent. stocks	438,931
For 3 per cent. stocks	362,413,450

By successive operations the 5 per cent., 4½ per cent. and 4 per cent. stocks were converted into 3½ per cent., and these various operations which took place in 1883, 1887 and 1894 affected a diminution in the annual Treasury charges of 108, 191 and 863 thousand francs.

As for the amortizations, consisting of payments of principal in various forms, they have been effected every year for variable sums. In 1874 the Treasury refunded 200 millions, and in 1875 225 millions. Then the amortization began to vary from year to year, and sometimes fell to 63 millions, as in 1891 and 1893. The amortization provided for in 1900 amounted to 100 millions. From 1874 to 1900 the total of the amortizations effected amounted to about two thousand million and a half. The budget was therefore necessarily relieved by a sum corresponding to the interest on the last-named amount. So much for the diminutions.

But during this time France was borrowing with one hand while she was paying out with the other. We have seen that the annual charge of the funded debt has since 1874 been diminished by 108 millions through the conversions of stocks. The annuity of 1874, which was 744 millions, ought therefore to have fallen to 636; but it was 692 millions, say 56 more than it should have been. This sum corresponds to loans that had been effected after the war of 1870 for various purposes, such as colonial expeditions, public works and expenditures for army and navy equipment.

But France has effected three other loans in the form of obligations payable at maturity, or of 3 per cent. redeemable stock. So the annual net charges of the redeemable debt have risen from 108 to 219 millions, say an increase of 111 millions, representing the annual interest on the principal borrowed since 1874, over and above the loans effected on the score of the funded debt. Thus France has borrowed more than she has repaid.

However, the portion of the debt that has suffered the greatest increase is the pension list. The civil and military pensions do not cease to augment, and this progression does not seem to be nearly ready to stop. Democracies are just as fond of pensions as monarchies, and politics has scarcely any influence upon human passions. Pride, vanity, ambition, envy and interest flourish under all régimes. The danger offered to the budget by pensions is serious. It seems as if half of the French will soon have to work in order to pay pensions to the other half. This danger was long ago pointed out, but without any result.

In 1884 I was selected to draw up the general report of the budget for 1885 in the name of the budget commission and took occasion at the time to show the Chamber that the pensions were putting the taxpayers to a total annual expense of 187 millions, and added that such a figure was by far too high, and that it was indispensable within as short a time as possible to take the most energetic measures to arrest it, if not to reduce it. At present the pension expenditure has in round numbers reached 240 millions, and has not finished! The rising tide does not seem disposed to stop. The same phenomenon may be observed in all countries, moreover, and is not to the credit of the electoral régime.

Upon the whole it is easy to see by the preceding figures that the national debt in France has not ceased to increase, as is the case everywhere else save in England and in the United States, since an effort was made there to reduce the debt after the War of the Rebellion.

It is but right to add that the loans have not all been expended without some return of permanent value. The sums employed in public works have corresponded to an enrichment of the nation and government. In France the railways belong to the government, though the government does not operate them; but it will acquire entire ownership of them after the expiration of

the concessions made to the companies, say about the middle of the present century.

The government contributes only a small amount towards the first expenses of installation. Up to the present the entire system of railways has cost about 16,000 millions, out of which the government has furnished but 4,000. In consideration of this sum it is therefore owner of a domain of which the value is four times greater. This is not a bad investment for the father of a family! But the government must not increase the expenditures of its budget to such an extent that it shall find that it has consumed its heritage after the companies have placed the latter at its disposal.

In taking an intelligent glance at the debt of France we must take into consideration a few other necessary elements of estimation. A debt varies in importance according to the personal situation of the debtor. The debt of France is a big one; in fact, it is the biggest in the world. But France is a rich debtor and nothing would be easier for her than to cancel her indebtedness were she desirous of governing herself conformably to the rules of reason and of a good financial administration.

After the war of 1870-71 the country was in a terrible situation. Everything was destroyed in the military domain. It became necessary to re-establish the armaments, to reorganize the army, to restore commerce and the industries by a vigorous impulsion, to pay formidable sums to victorious Germany, and to make amends for the enormous damages done to cities, private estates and the public domain by the war and the invasion. This immense work of national restoration was directed by M. Thiers, who borrowed 5,000 million francs under conditions that seemed to be most unfavorable. The entire civilized universe gave him due credit for this work.

The expenditures of the budget have suddenly increased in a measure until then unknown. In 1869 the expenditures of the budget of the empire had been fixed at a total (for ordinary and extraordinary) of 2,013 million francs. In 1872 it became necessary to raise this total to 2,807 millions, say an increase of 800 millions per annum!

M. Thiers, however, understanding the economic necessity of diminishing the debt and of undertaking the reduction of it, vigorously organized an amortization, the amount of which inscribed

in the budget of 1872 was 200 millions! This in 1873 he raised to 208 millions, in 1874 to 214 millions, in 1875 to 283 millions, and so on, and succeeded in rapidly repaying the Bank of France the 1,500 million francs that it had contributed toward the national defence. The prosperity of France during this period was phenomenal. Its foreign trade which in 1869 had amounted to but 3,075 millions in exportations rose in 1875 to 3,872 millions. All the signs that measure the activity and productive energy of a nation were found in harmony therewith. Up to the present the country has lost none of its qualities or natural gifts. In the financial problem of France there is but one question—that of government, a political question, nothing more.

The tax comes in with a regularity and expedition without example in other countries. The collectors scarcely ever have to institute proceedings in order to collect direct taxes. The power of production of the duties of consumption does not as yet decline much. The debt of France, then, must not be regarded as exceeding the capability of the industrious and brave people who inhabit the country; and the latter must not be considered as having necessarily to succumb under the financial burden that lies heavy upon its shoulders.

But all the earnest politicians of France are in accord with the most clear-sighted economists in recognizing the fact that the burden must not be rendered heavier, and that it is necessary to put a limit to the increase of the debt.

The credit of the debtor is sound, and the latter is justly reckoned among those that are most worthy of confidence in the world. In France as elsewhere it depends upon politics to steer the government finances toward the good or the bad. The possibility of beating about is past.

JULES ROCHE.

AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES AND EDUCATION.

BY HAMILTON W. MABIE.

Sooner or later every experience must disclose its value in vital education; if it has no educational value, it does not count. One of the chief uses of the crises through which individuals and nations are constantly passing is the light they throw on those organized ideas which constitute individual and national character. When a man is in the full tide of activity, putting forth his entire strength in the management of a great range of interests, neither he nor those who look at his career are aware at every moment of his interior aims; those ideas at the very centre of his life which dominate him and shape his career among men. In like manner, when national activity is running with tidal force and volume, those ideas which lie in the heart of the nation and which are organized into its political character are often invisible for long periods of time. No one thinks of them save the philosophical observer of life; the nation is not aware of them. But when this tremendous energy is arrested by some great crisis, when in mid career of action a nation's character is challenged by some searching experience, the ideas which lie in its heart are suddenly struck into light. When these critical experiences come to a nation and call a halt in the midday of its activity, suddenly the things which it believes in its heart rise into its consciousness and become clear to the whole world.

Now, these fundamental ideas, these formative convictions which are the roots of character, are the deposit of education in its large sense. They are the product of that silent process by which institutions, inherited faiths, political traditions, formal training and physical circumstances are distilled into a few fixed habits, a few organizing ideas of life. The English-speaking races are holding their places and doing their work in the world

to-day by virtue of their political education; they are everywhere the representatives of that full development of individuality, that free play of personality, which involve definiteness of aim, concentration of will, courage adequate to all emergencies, and the power of standing alone, and, if necessary, dying alone at the place where one's work is to be done. This is the reaction on character of a form of government and a body of political institutions which have constituted for many centuries a school of popular education, political in form, but vital in essence. This education has been the result of the working out of certain rational ideas, modified by physical surroundings and historical conditions. No attempt has ever yet been made on an adequate scale to definitely shape by educational processes the development of national character; that character is, nevertheless, the product of education, and that which is the product of education may be definitely modified by educational methods which shall be intentional and conscious, rather than purely instinctive. It is a matter of secondary importance whether one political policy or another prevails. What happens to a man of strong character is always of less moment than that which happens within him; what happens *to* a powerful race is of little moment to that which happens *within* the race. If right and adequate ideas of life can be planted in the character of a people, their progress in any given decade may be advanced or retarded by the adoption or rejection of certain policies, but their destiny is determined.

The life of a great people is both inward and outward. It is a life of the spirit, and it is a life of action; and the greatness of a race is determined by the depth and volume of its life in the spirit and the adequacy of its action to express that life. There is in the heart of every race a group of ideas which may be called ideals, since they express the passions, the faiths and the aspirations of the people. There is also in the same race a power of action, an executive ability, a skill in doing; and the real national problem is the co-ordination of those two sides of life; the side of ideas and the side of action. We live in our ideas; we express our ideas by the things we do.

Now, the executive side of national life is affected chiefly by formal education, by specific training; and the efficient races are the races whose education not only gives them sustained power and concentration of will, but also adequate skill in dealing with

practical matters. Desmoulins, who has studied the question of English efficiency from the standpoint of an intelligent and open-minded Frenchman, has discovered the secret of the immense executive force of the English race in the education of the will which takes place in the English home and the English school; the steady training of the boy to stand on his own feet, to find his strength within himself, to use his resources in a crisis with cool self-command, and to be able to hold his own, if need be, in isolated and solitary strength. It is this training, developing the highest force of individuality, which enables the Englishman to live under conditions which are almost fatal to the Frenchman; to spend long months together in solitude, to overcome the home-sickness to which the Frenchman falls a victim, to resist the morbidness which comes from isolation in lonely and remote places, and to keep physical and moral health in long separation from the wholesome tonic of social relations. English ideals have worked down through the race into the individual, and are worked out through the individual wherever the opportunity offers. Englishmen in responsible positions often make blunders, but they rarely succumb to difficulties. They invariably put up a brave fight, and if they are beaten, it is not for lack of courage. The German is more thoroughly trained than the Englishman; he commands more kinds of skill, he represents a more systematic education; he is, in fact, the most thoroughly trained man in the modern world. So far, however, he has lacked the individual initiative of the Englishman because his political life has not developed his personality to its full extent; but the long subjectivity of Germany is fast being translated into a most efficient objectivity, and the German is to-day the foremost commercial competitor of the American and the Englishman. These three races are the active organizers and leaders of modern civilization in the Western world because they most thoroughly harmonize adequate ideas with adequate skill in execution. So far the Slav, with all his force, has not impressed himself on Western Europe. He has followed the lines of least resistance to the South and the East; he is practically an unknown factor so far as his ultimate race development is concerned.

Important as is this executive skill, this trained intelligence in practical affairs, it is secondary, not only in time, but in dignity and value, to those ideas or ideals of which it is the expres-

sion. These are the real springs of a nation's energy and vitality, the real sources of its power; if these are deep and adequate, there is practically no limit to the outgo of its energy and the expansion of its influence. Every great people which has finished its career has passed through a period of great intensity of action; but after a time the vital tide has ebbed, and then, in every case, the quality and depth of the organizing ideas behind it have become visible. The emergence of these ideas into the light has disclosed the secrets of its power or its weakness. Sooner or later in the ebb and flow of national life, surface activity wears out and leaves the structure bare; this structure is the product of education. Few things are more striking in history than the disparity between Roman energy and Roman ideality. This masterful race had immense force, and put it forth during a long period of time with irresistible intensity and momentum; but there were no adequate ideas of life behind this force, and after the flood of energy had spent itself there were no deep fountains from which new streams could issue; there were no fundamental ideas from which a new civilization could be evolved. The Roman mastered the world and held it in his hands, but he did not know what to do with it; and so he remains, first, a masterful figure, then an impotent wielder of forces which he did not understand. There is no more tragic anti-climax than this swift and splendid grasping of all the resources of life, followed by complete failure to understand or use them. The secret of the material strength and the spiritual weakness, of the disparity between executive force and ideas, is to be found in the Roman education.

The peril of a country which has depth of idea, but inadequate grasp of reality, may be nobler, but it is not less real than that of the country which has a deep sense of reality, but inadequate spiritual conceptions. A nation of pure idealists would miss that final truth which comes as the fruit of action, that deep and mastered truth which is gained only through experience; for action instantly reacts on character, modifies ideas, makes them more definite and grounds them more deeply. Peoples who have chiefly executive energy are forces without depth or direction; peoples who have only ideas are dreamers whose ideas never become fruitful and dominant.

Along both these great lines—formative ideas and executive

efficiency—education is the shaping, if not the creating, force. It is due to a lack of education that we are still perplexed and distressed by the elementary problems of politics, by the existence of wrong and abuses which belong to rudimentary political conditions. Whenever the political education of the country, expressed both in ideas and in executive force, is adequate, machines and machinists in public affairs will cease to be; they cannot exist in a really intelligent atmosphere; they exist to-day solely because so many American citizens are half educated politically. But education in this country is more than a question of political efficiency; the justification of democracy is involved in it. Democratic government is distinctly the most expensive in the world; expensive not only in money, but in the work which is required to give it the highest degree of purity and efficiency. It is neither so immediately effective, as an organized administrative force, as that which governs Germany, nor can it be conducted at so small an expense. If democracy were to be judged solely by the efficiency of its administrative work and from the standpoint of economy, it would fail to justify itself; its justification must be sought for on other grounds. It is the safest of all governments because its foundation is as broad as society itself. Nobody stands outside the circle of its privilege and responsibilities; no man is interested in tearing it down because it does not belong to him; every man is interested in securing the largest personal influence under it, because if he can command sufficient influence he can modify its action. Politically the whole field is open. In the long run, democracy must find its justification in the fact that it takes everybody into partnership, and that, by the equal distribution of its privileges and responsibilities, it puts forth an educational force of the most searching and permanent kind. Any form of government which trains its citizens to respect themselves and others, to guard their own rights and the rights of others, and so transfers authority from an external order to an interior principle, rests on immovable foundations, and justifies greater cost and care.

Unlike other modern peoples, we began with a great accumulation of educational results and forces. In other countries universities have come comparatively late. The first companies of colonizers who planted the seeds of civilization and laid the foundation of the State on this continent included not only men of

gentle breeding, but of university training. The scholar has been here almost as long as the explorer; he came with the earliest trader, and if he has not kept pace in his influence with the man of commerce, it has not been because he has lacked the opportunity. Colleges are older than our national life—almost as old as our colonial life. Harvard was founded in 1636, William and Mary in 1693, Yale in 1701, Princeton in 1746; thus along the seaboard, where the old world touched the new for the first time and the points of connection were made, there was a line of colleges from which, in the earliest days, the struggling young communities were fed with men of light and leading. No country in its original organization has ever made such free use of the experiences of other countries; our political system is based on the ripe experience of the whole world prior to 1776. If the generalizations of the Declaration of Independence could be traced back to their sources, we should find that not only France, Holland and England made contributions to that document, but Greece, Rome, Judea and Egypt as well. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution contain the purest and most condensed material of political wisdom, formulated first into a declaration of principles and then into a working governmental system, which men have ever had the opportunity of organizing into a new system at a single stroke. No other people has ever owed so much to its predecessors and to humanity at large as ourselves: the Greek, the Roman, the Jew, the Frenchman, the Dutchman and the Englishman have all worked, thought, suffered, legislated and acted for our benefit, and we have entered into the fruits of their labors. Other countries began at the foundation and shaped their systems under the pressure of the tremendous experience of national life; we quietly built on foundations which others had laid for us. We are what we are in our political structure and character because we have taken our political ideas from the life of the race; and we have had the freest and widest national education because we have had the opportunity of going to school to all the older races.

We are what we are as a nation largely because we have taken our political education from the experience of the entire race, and we have had the freest and widest national education because we have come so late into history that we have been able to take advantage of all that has gone before. What the value of these

large relationships is comes out very clearly when we look at the course of vital education in the past. That education has been dependent solely on the intercourse of man with man; the isolated and detached man could go but a very little way in his training; no matter how vigorous his will, or how fine his intellectual equipment, he began to learn in a large way only when he touched his fellow. In the order of development out of savage individuality into the social life of civilization men seem to have passed first through the family consciousness; and the isolated family of the savage age was the dame school in which the race in its infancy learned its earliest lessons. Then came the time when it passed out of the dame school into the primary school by passing out of the family association into the clan association; the individual member of the savage family entering into the clan consciousness and multiplying himself by sharing the experiences of a larger group of lives. When the clan has done its work in fitting men into larger relationships, teaching them more complete self-control and broadening their ideas with the broadening of their interests and associations, the clan expanded into the nation, which became the secondary school of the race, taking men out from the narrow interests of the clan into the manifold interests and relationships of the nation. And now, after centuries of expanding life, the nation seems to have reached its full development, and there comes another and greater era—the age of international action, when the highest unit in society ceases to be the nation and becomes the race; that inclusive and final unity in which all nations are to be included, and by the slow pressure of which all national interests are some day to be harmonized. And the race enters on the university period in its education.

It is this extraordinary movement which has come suddenly home to the consciousness of all intelligent peoples during the past three or four years, and is bringing home to us in a new way and with immense force our urgent need of the most thorough education in all fields of endeavor. Heretofore we have had our own problems to solve; now we are compelled to take up the burden of solving the problems of civilization. These problems we cannot escape: they do not come to us through what is called imperialism or territorial expansion; they come through the inevitable growth of our own interests; the coming together of

races through increased and more rapid facilities of intercourse, through multiplying trade relations, and by means of a thousand ties, spiritual, intellectual and social, which are being created by the circumstances of modern life. However we may feel about the question of territorial expansion, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the whole world is akin, and that whether we like it or not, we are coming constantly into greater intimacy with our neighbors and our benefactors, the older nations of the world. This higher unity which is being slowly worked out has long been foreseen by poets and prophets and sometimes by statesmen. Its realization is still in the distant future, but the tendencies which make for it and the movements which mark its direction are so clear that even the wayfaring man cannot overlook them. Toward this new unity civilized men are steadily advancing; they are drawn together in spite of themselves. It is idle to strive to keep out of the stream, for the stream is the great current of historical evolution, the movement of which has a tidal volume and power. The evolution from the unity of the family to the unity of the race will not pause till it has been perfectly worked out; and there are many who have known something of the peculiar conditions of opinion in this country during the last ten years who are ready to say: "Better a thousand times the perils of intimacy with other nations and with the race at large than the perils of isolation or of detachment from the race at large."

No man knows where he stands or what his life means till he knows the relative positions of other men, and what they are and have done. No nation understands its own strength or weakness, or can bring its ideals into clear consciousness, till it comprehends something of its historical relationships and knows what work other nations have accomplished and what point of development they have reached; for the true measure of the unfolding of the national genius and the working out of national power is the quality and magnitude of the contribution which the nation makes to humanity. That contribution may be either material, intellectual or spiritual, but nothing counts in the long run in national activity which does not mean something for the benefit of other races. The great races are those whose national life has been translatable to the greatest extent into terms of racial service; for this reason the Jew, the Greek, the Roman and the

Italian stand out pre-eminently as the leaders and teachers of civilization. The record of what they did fills our histories, and the memory of what they were stirs our imaginations. They stand, not for mere accumulation, nor for the things which are made with the hands and counted in numerals, but for the supreme achievements of the mind and the soul; they stand for religion, morality, art, political organization—in a word, for civilization. Each nation developed its own gift, brought its own character to a certain maturity, and then each shared that which it had produced and created—its most sacred and spiritual possession—with other races. The fact that the value of the racial product and the racial life is determined by their serviceableness in the development of the life of the race is a matter of profound significance, now that all nations are drifting together, or at least are being brought into such relations that they are forced to consider one another's interests and to take account of one another's strength. The unity of the race as a definite working basis for the reorganization of society is still a long way in advance; but that unity has ceased to be the ideal of men with the prophetic sense—it is becoming a matter which the diplomatists must take into account, and the politicians must consider, because it is the shaping fact in the foreign relations of every great nation; it marks the gradual, irregular but definite transference of the conception of racial unity from the region of pure thought into that of action; and a century hence it will probably be recognized as the most majestic movement of to-day. The men who strive against it do not see its immense moral implications; it is the sublimest opportunity of modern history. The fact that it is possible to discuss seriously, and with a deepening sense of its practicability, a larger unity of action between all the English-speaking peoples for the furtherance of the higher aims of civilization has not failed to touch the imagination and to awaken the enthusiasm of all those who have any generosity of spirit. But no sooner had we begun to talk about the union of the English-speaking races than we realized that the synthesis was too small; there were other factors to be included. We retraced one stage in the great emigration of the English-speaking peoples and we found ourselves on English soil; but having retraced one stage, it was impossible not to retrace the earlier stage, and we are carried in thought from the ripe and beautiful land-

scape of England to the shores of the Baltic; and the unity of the English-speaking peoples foreshadows and prophesies the unity of all men of Germanic origin. That idea is in the air to-day; more than this, it is in the thought and imagination of many serious-minded people; it has taken root and it will bear fruit because the great forces of racial, religious and intellectual traditions are co-operating with it.

But it is safe to predict that when these three nations have come to understand one another well enough to outgrow their small jealousies, which are always the fruits of ignorance, and which evaporate like the mist in the shining of larger and clearer knowledge, they will feel the need of the special qualities and services of the Latin genius and character, for, whatever may be the strength of the civilization which has its roots in Northern Europe, and which has come, by reason of its development of individuality, to hold such a great place in modern society, it is quite certain that the graces of life, the resources of a developed social nature, and the ministrations of the art instinct of the Latin races cannot be spared from an adequate conception of what the life of the modern world must and ought to be. We shall never stop with the union of the races of Germanic origin, nor shall we stop with a union of races which shall include the Germanic and Latin families; the Slav must still be reckoned with, and his literature and his history show that there is in his spirit a force which the Latin and the Germanic races need.

Nor will this great historical evolution pause till it has gone a step farther and reunited the East and the West. Nothing appeals to the imagination with such power, or seems to carry so much of prophecy with it, as the reappearance of the East in the interest and thought of the world. It is not too much to say that the centre of that thought to-day is in the Orient, where, apparently, the decisive questions of the next fifty years are to be asked and answered; where all the great nations are face to face, not only with the most perplexing questions, but with one another, in a competition which may be called selfish, and which certainly has elements of pure commercialism or pure militarism in it, but which is, after all, at bottom a new stage in the evolution of the common human life of the different races. It looks now as if the East were to be recognized under Western direction; and one does not need too much faith in human nature to

believe that reorganization is to carry to the East a larger freedom than the East has ever known in its history; for, through the rough methods of national action, and intermingled with policies which are often narrow and sordid, there run lines of influence which transcend the purposes of politicians and statesmen, and even the generous purposes of generous peoples. It is in Asia Minor, India, China, Korea and Japan that the most striking, picturesque, and perhaps the most influential acts in the drama of the world's life on the stage of the twentieth century are to be set; and as out of the East came the earliest civilization in all its forms, so in the East the fruits of the long education of history, as they have been gathered by the Western races, are likely to be revealed in their interior spirit and their ultimate effect. As the boy reveals the deepest impress of education, not at the college or the university, or in the professional school, but in the active work of life, when he is compelled to put forth instead of receiving, so the great races are likely to disclose most clearly what lies in their own deepest consciousness when they are called on at a distance and under new conditions to deal again, in the lives of other races, with the problems which they have solved or partially solved at home.

From many points of view, the re-entrance of the East as the chief actor on the great world's stage strikes home to the imagination, and opens a vista in which no change seems too vast to be credible, and no reorganization of society too radical to come to pass. The reunion of the East and West means the completion of the circle of historic life; it marks the return of the race, after the long wanderings which constitute history from the date of the first migrations, to its earliest home, where it first dreamed the great dreams of human destiny. Ten years ago this would have seemed like a vision, though even then its realization would have evolved changes less radical and of lesser magnitude than those already accomplished and soberly recorded by historians. To-day it is no longer a matter of vision; it is taking place under our very eyes. It is idle to contend against such a movement; it is worse than idle to protest against it and say that it ought to be checked. Men have as little to do with it as they have with the movement of a great natural force; it is simply the evolution of the energy of the races, and it is a new stage in historical development. It has been brought about,

not by intention, by the foresight of statesmen or by the greed of traders, but by an accumulation first of vital and then of historic force. There will be profit in it, and there is no harm in the profit, if profit be not its ultimate result, or if other and higher things are not sacrificed to profit; but there will be something better than profit in it; there will be safety. If it be true that the broader the base of a government and the more inclusive its citizenship the more stable the government, it is also true that the more inclusive the organizing unit of society, the more catholic the sympathies of the race, and the more universal its interests, the greater will be the chances of peace and the opportunities of spiritual growth. With every broadening of national activity comes a broadening of national experience, and that means not only the possibility, but the necessity of getting out of ourselves into the life of others. Nothing steadies a man so much as the pressure of great and noble interests; nothing keeps a man in such sanity and poise as the wide outlook which comes from contact with many and important affairs; nothing steadies a nation so much as great and weighty responsibilities; interests which are not limited by national boundary lines, but which are world-wide. This world process, like the individual process, is fundamentally educational.

It is significant that education can never be completed or perfected at home; one has to go away for it; and one of the most beautiful things in experience is the return of the boy from long absences at school, college and university, with a new and deeper reverence for his home, and a finer and more intelligent devotion to it. It is by going abroad in the large sense that men are educated. To stay at home is to gain a certain directness, vigor and independence, but it is to miss the larger vision, to lose the deeper insight, to be out of touch with the influences which enrich and liberate. The history of great races is a history of travel; it is a story of exploration, colonization, search and adventure. It is the story of the men who go away poor and come back rich; the story of those who take their lives in their hands for the sake of pushing back the horizons of knowledge, of touching the remote regions of the world and opening them up, bringing home with them some remote and hitherto inaccessible knowledge. The great races are always enriching themselves by searching the world for the things which make for enlightenment and power.

The secret of genius, as illustrated in every art, is to seize with absolute clearness of vision and to represent with absolute fidelity the concrete, close-at-hand, familiar thing, and then, by the magic of insight and of expression, to disclose in this intimate, familiar, close-at-hand thing a universal principle or experience. So the great painter gives us a portrait which is instinct with life to the very last detail of feature and dress, and the man stands before us, as real, as actual and as clearly realized as if we saw him erect and breathing before us; and yet in the very perfection of his individuality, by the genius of the artist, this man becomes a type to us, and we escape through his personality into a comprehension of a great group of human beings. In like manner a people must realize their own character, do their own work, live on their own soil as if they were alone in the world; and then, by a process as inevitable as it is normal, they must enter into the life of humanity, associate themselves most intimately with other races, share in the work of the world, and find their places as contributors to civilization. Self-realization comes only through action on material outside of one's self; and national ideals and governing forces do not rise clearly into the consciousness till they are put forth, in large measure, outside the immediate sphere of national life. Matthew Arnold has said that the judgment of foreigners on works of literature is the nearest approach which we can make to the judgment of posterity. The judgment of the institutions and civilization of a nation by foreigners is often warped by prejudice and limited by ignorance; but, under the worst conditions, there is always a certain amount of truth in it, and under conditions which are growing better every day foreign opinion must possess greater and greater value; as it is based on disinterestedness, it will gain in insight and authority. The influence and action of a nation on the world at large is a reflection of its character, caught in a vast mirror, and discernible for the first time by the nation which casts it; so that one of the greatest benefits which the world is likely to receive as the result of the new spirit of internationalism will be a clearer discernment by each people of its own genius, and a clearer recognition of its own defects.

The supreme test of a man comes when he goes into the world and matches himself against the field, not in a spirit of antagonism, but in the inevitable and wholesome struggle to make his

place and do his work; his place and his work are not to be seized by violent hands or held by brute force; they are exactly determined by his own strength and quality. The supreme test of a nation comes, not when it is struggling against manifold domestic difficulties to gain form and vigor, but when, having freely developed its force and planted itself firmly on elemental principles, it enters the large field of the world, finds itself in the competition of the races, and subjected to that searching and rigorous testing which goes on when diverse principles or methods of action are placed side by side; for the application of the law of selection is as rigid here as it is anywhere in the life of the race or the history of the globe. In the earlier stages of historic evolution, the immediate and the chief end of the movement of the period seemed to be to bring the nation as an organic force to perfection; that was as far as antiquity could go. When a nation was fully organized and highly differentiated from other nations, its destiny seemed to be fulfilled, and disorganization and decline began. It is true that the story of civilization is the passing on of the torch from one hand to another, each nation borrowing from every other nation; but the work of the older races was largely the development of the national idea, the national form, and it seemed impossible for the older nations, as nations, to take the next step; their influence could be diffused throughout the world only when the organic form out of which it issued and through which it expressed itself was shattered. Egypt was in decline when she became the teacher of antiquity; the independence of Greece was destroyed before the spirit of the Greek genius was liberated to make the conquest of the world. Demosthenes, standing for the pure principle of autonomy, contended against the inevitable when he made his splendid protest against Philip; but, in the loss of her autonomy, Athens gained an ascendancy which no other city except Jerusalem has ever held. Dissolution went before diffusion. It seemed as if the older nations had to die in giving birth to those great ideas with which they have enriched the world.

The significance of our age lies in the fact that the principle of nationality has now been so thoroughly developed, and has so deep a rootage in historic conditions, has become so much a part of the life of many peoples, and has passed so completely from a formal into a vital force, that it is possible to take the

step from the national to the international unity, without loss of national individuality, vitality, energy or quality. The decline of the ruling races of the older civilization was contemporaneous with the diffusion of their racial spirit; the Jew, the Greek and the Roman dividing the spiritual and intellectual government of the world at the very moment when political power was slipping out of their hands forever. The modern movement, on the other hand, is characterized by the higher development of nationality through contact with other races and diffusion of the racial ideals. The race which cannot bear the test of meeting other races in the free field of the modern world ought to go to the wall; for the lower civilization must yield to the higher by a beneficent law, and the best types of civilization and the best forms of government are to survive, and they alone.

This is the test which every modern race must meet. It is not a question of physical strength, as it would have been at any other period; it is a question of intellectual capacity and of spiritual force: ideas are to have freer play through the world than ever before. The spirit which would take America out of this competition, keep her out of the world-field, has its rise either in ignorance or in fear. A great many Americans are still smitten with that kind of provincialism which finds safety in holding aloof from one's neighbors and prosperity in attending exclusively to one's own business; but the business of the world is our business, family ties between the races are coming more and more to light. It is impossible to keep any section of a city in health if in one neglected quarter disease is bred and started on its fatal course; it is impossible to keep the modern world wholesome if the conditions attending the pilgrimages to Mecca still breed cholera at recurrent periods, or if sanitary conditions in Bombay and Calcutta revive the black death, the scourge of the Middle Ages. We shall keep our freedom not by hoarding it, but by using it; we shall preserve the integrity of our own national ideals, not by trying to build walls around them on this continent, but by holding them boldly before the whole world. Nothing could be more shortsighted than the attempt to set America against Europe; to give Americans a sense of the value of their own institutions by decrying and misrepresenting social and political conditions abroad. American conceptions of government and social order are ranged in radical antagonism to

some governmental systems on the other side of the Atlantic; but even in cases in which the difference is widest there is something for us to learn and there is nothing for us to fear from a more familiar association. We reject absolutely the underlying conception of the German Government, but the German Government has many things to teach us in efficiency, economy and intelligence, so far as administration is concerned. We have much to learn from Germany in the ability to call trained men into the public service; to place everywhere in any critical moment a man who can be trusted, not only to be honest, but to be capable. England has many things to teach us. It will indicate greater confidence in our own institutions when we give up boasting and are willing to go to school to any people who can teach us.

With the peoples of Europe we are in the deepest sympathy; under many governmental forms, in different stages of political education, they, like ourselves, are working out that common human problem the solution of which is the ultimate purpose and hope of civilization. There as here the tides of vital energy and many-sided activity are running with immense volume and momentum. Since the Renaissance there has not been such a liberation of spiritual and natural force. The fortunes of the race are once more at stake; the welfare of the race is on the cast. In this great arena we are forced to disclose our ideas in the searching light of action. *To Americans no conquests are possible save those which are won by superiority of ideas.* Ideas are the feeding springs of adequate action; action is the translation of ideas out of the world of the ideal into the world of the actual; these are the inevitable processes to which we must submit ourselves; and alike for the spirit and the hand, for the forces which inspire and the forces which shape and direct, education is the supreme necessity. In our new as in the old world, the highest prizes of life are within reach of the trained man alone; and in the great open field of the modern world the future belongs to the trained races.

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

THE COMMERCIAL DEMOCRACY OF THE SOUTH.

BY UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN LOWNDES M'LAURIN.

It is the natural destiny of the Southern States of the Union to clothe and feed the world. They will become the great wealth-producing area of the country by virtue of their natural monopoly of cotton and cotton manufactures, iron and iron manufactures, their other undeveloped resources and the new grip they are taking on public and private life. To-day America either furnishes the iron or fixes the price of it for every bridge in the world. The Southern States are producing, in 1901, $400,000,000 of exports, one-third of the total of the United States, and have $150,000,000 invested in cotton manufactures alone. Twenty million dollars' worth of Southern goods were exported last year to China and the East. Massed there, in an area not much larger than the United States, one-half of all the people on the globe are to be found. The ports of the South are not many days from this market, and with an Isthmian Canal will be much nearer. The new development of trade in Southern cotton goods has been largely in Oriental countries, the climate and needs of whose peoples are thus best supplied. The most popular manufactured goods in China come to-day from the cotton mills of South Carolina, which have grown in number from 180 in the year 1880 to 600 in the year 1901.

It is reasonable to believe that within a few years the cotton exports of the Southern States to China alone will exceed $25,000,000 annually, provided those markets are not closed against us.

Within the last ten years the centre of cotton manufacturing in the United States has been transferred from Fall River, Mass., to Columbia, S. C.—where the mills that manufacture the raw cotton are actually surrounded by the fields in which it is grown, and whence eight railroads transport the finished product. One

of its mills, the Olympia, is probably the largest and most perfectly equipped in the world.

Producing three-quarters of the world's cotton supply, netting more than $400,000,000, and valued in the finished product at $2,000,000,000, the South is now in a fair way to reap the profits of its manufactures, if politics be not permitted to bar the way.

Assuming that the first experimental cotton crop was grown in Virginia in the year 1600, it is to be borne in mind that between the years 1880 and 1890 alone the capital invested in cotton manufacturing in the South increased from $21,000,000 to $61,000,000.

In the year 1700, the American cotton crop was three thousand bales of five hundred pounds each, which realized twenty cents a pound, the highest price the raw product ever reached in this country being eighty cents, in 1865. In 1830 there were in the United States 801 cotton factories, with $40,000,000 capital. In 1834 the first cotton mill was built in Natchez. In 1897 there were 21,273 looms at work. In 1900 the yield of the United States in bales was 9,436,400. In 1901 the number of bales manufactured in the United States was 2,000,000, the number of mills was 600, and 5,000,000 spindles were at work.

South Carolina alone has to-day, in round numbers, 140 cotton mills, operating 2,250,000 spindles.

How are the markets of the East to be secured for the natural monopolies of the Southern States? By reciprocity or commercial treaties, for which the Commercial—not the "new" —Democracy stands, holding fast to all that was best in the old Democracy but looking forward and upward to where Columbia's sun is already dazzling the world by the glories of triumphs in peace as well as in war; standing shoulder to shoulder with all good Americans, no matter what their politics or prejudices.

The Commercial Democracy must go to no graveyards for principles, and to no dead men for platforms.

Commercial treaties are not party measures; they are patriotic necessities. Partisan appeals cannot undo them, for their repeal requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate. They give permanence as well as security to our industrial and financial relations with the world. They accomplish, one at a time, the very results at which a new tariff law might aim; but the suggestion of a new tariff invariably unsettles the finances of the world. We

cannot afford to use the tariff to alienate other nations. This our lamented President—one of the best and wisest friends the South ever had—had already announced as his policy when stricken down in Buffalo. I believe his successor will wisely and consistently continue it.

Not ten years have elapsed since Birmingham shipped 250 tons of pig iron to Glasgow. In 1870 the whole South produced only 100,000 tons of pig iron. To-day the production of the South is 2,500,000 tons. Her iron exports in 1900 were worth $129,000,000. In ten years her coal output has grown from 6,000,000 to 40,000,000 tons. A most significant incident was the sale by the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia to the Russian Government of 150 locomotives for the Trans-Siberian Railroad. In spite of the fact that the Russian Government owns its railroads and maintains its own shops and puts a duty of four cents per pound on imports, the equipment of this gigantic railroad system of 8,000 miles came from the United States. It had to come from there!

In other industries than cotton and iron those great developments in the South for which the Commercial Democracy stands are growing apace. The Atlantic Coast Lumber Company of Georgetown, S. C., the largest in the South, is already one of the largest in the country; the prosperity of the lumber interests in the Southern States is due largely to the Dingley tariff against Canadian pine. In the few years since 1897 lumber manufactories have sprung up all over the South; factories for furniture, wagons, buggies, spokes and handles and brooms are utilizing the enormous area of virgin forests with which the South is richly endowed—which elsewhere have been burned and wasted.

The rice crop is another significant Southern industry which owes its present prosperity to the tariff. Under the Dingley bill a duty of 1-3 cent a pound was put on all rice that would not go through a number eight sieve. As a consequence the South now grows more rice than in 1861, although under the Wilson Tariff bill the production of rice in South Carolina was practically stopped in consequence of the competition from abroad. All the Southern representatives in Congress should, it seems to me, unite in a demand for a protective duty on rice of all sizes, in spite of the tremendous pressure now exerted by representatives of the brewers, in whose interests, largely, ground rice is now admitted free.

In the past twelve years large quantities of cotton have been imported into the United States from Egypt. The same business wisdom which protects corn and wheat, and lumber and rice from the competition of countries where underpaid labor produces these staples to be brought into American markets by water freights and sold at ruinous prices, would extend the protection of the tariff which is already doing so much for manufactures in the South to raw cotton as well. Whereas ten years ago there were no appreciable importations of cotton, last year there were 70,000,000 of pounds brought in. One bale of Egyptian cotton will displace two bales of American cotton, and the estimate is put at an even higher figure by the bulletins of the Agricultural Department, which declare that four bales of American cotton are practically kept out of the market by the admission of a single bale from Egypt. At McColl, S. C., a large mill has been built to use Egyptian cotton only; there are other such mills in that State.

The Allen and Peeler long staple upland cottons were formerly grown in South Carolina, but Egyptian cotton has practically driven them out. The areas grown in Egyptian cotton are to be so increased by the completion of the dams now under construction along the Nile that it is expected an addition of 1,000,000 bales per year will be made to the Egyptian crop.

A duty of three cents per pound should be placed upon all raw cotton imported into the United States. This would make sufficient difference in the price to enable us to produce a long staple cotton which would take the place of the Egyptian.

The carpet mills of the South are now making cotton into fine carpets. The largest woolen mill in America is in successful operation at Knoxville, Tenn. The agriculture of the South has a present prosperity and a future development of the most brilliant promise. When some years ago the *American Agriculturist* offered a prize of $1,000 for the largest yield of corn from a single acre, Marlboro County, S. C., won the prize, with a crop of 255¼ bushels of corn, two crops being gathered in one year. Wheat and tobacco are produced under circumstances equally favorable.

It is for the development of new markets under a National policy which will equally benefit the whole country that the Commercial Democracy appeals to the Nation. It is for the policy

which such Democratic leaders as Calhoun, Cheves, Hayne and Lowndes advocated years before that struggle between the States which retarded the development of the South so cruelly. It was in their time that South Carolina subsidized the old South Carolina Railroad upon which the first commercially operated steam locomotive hauled trains with "a nigger on the safety valve." It is for the same expansion for which the greatest leaders of the Democratic party have stood in times past that the Commercial Democracy stands to-day: the extension of our territory, our trade, our commerce, our political institutions, our civilization, and the blessings of our freedom. No matter what the name of the party, in national affairs, which advocates that expansion, the Commercial Democracy should, it seems to me, be proud to advocate those principles.

There is no such by-product in the world as cottonseed. In my childhood the seed was only valuable for manure, and in the rich river bottoms was often thrown away. Now one of the finest oils in the world is produced from cottonseed. It is used for almost every conceivable purpose. Large quantities are exported to Italy and France, where it is relabeled and sent back here as olive oil. It is used instead of both lard and butter. The meal is used as cattle food and for fertilizing, while the hulls, which a few years ago were burned, are used as cattle food and for making paper. New uses are being constantly discovered each day for cottonseed products.

One thing needed in developing the South is more economy in handling our products at home. This will come in time as competition forces us to curtail expenses. Every plantation now has its own machinery for ginning the cotton as it comes from the field. If there was in every community an oil and yarn mill with a ginnery attached, where cotton could be ginned so cheaply that the planter would find it to his advantage to sell the cotton in the seed, it would be a vast saving of time and money. The planter would get more for his cotton, the seed be carried by machinery to the oil mill and the lint to the yarn mill. Then, if there were within easy reach a mill to convert the yarn into cloth, we would have the ideal manufacturing plant. It might also be stated that a cattle-feeding business is no insignificant item of profit in connection with many of the oil mills. The men who are making the South to-day are those great captains

of industry who are converting our raw material into the finished product, and no mawkish sentimentality should be permitted to interfere with this grand work. What we need is less politics and more business. One thing is certain, the dollar has been taken out of politics. That is settled, like Expansion and Free Trade. Now let us take business out of politics. Let us all be Americans only and not Democrats or Republicans on measures which involve the welfare of the Nation, the better development of her resources, the extension of her industry, and the expansion of her commerce. While on a purely sectional question, like white supremacy, a man must stand by his own people, it is a crime for any party to test party fealty by those broad, non-political American measures which in their essence involve the welfare of the entire Nation. President McKinley recognized, as I heartily believe President Roosevelt will, that property and intelligence must control in the South as elsewhere, that business men must fill the offices and administer the affairs of the Government in the South as in the East, the North and the West.

The balance of trade is in our favor. The South desires to share in the opportunity which is before the Nation. The people of the old world cannot produce food enough for their consumption. The people of the United States are producing yearly a greater and greater surplus of those products which the rest of the world uses, and for which it is paying us hundreds of millions of gold. If properly handled, the balance of trade in our favor will grow heavier from year to year; if we sell for gold all that we sell, and buy for gold all that we buy, the financial centre of the civilized world will have permanently passed from London to New York as it passed from The Hague to London.

JOHN L. MCLAURIN.

WHY THE CHINESE SHOULD BE EXCLUDED.

BY JAMES D. PHELAN, MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO.

When Mr. Ho Yow, the Imperial Chinese Consul-General, asked, in the North American Review, whether Chinese exclusion is a "benefit or a harm," the interrogation awakened a curious interest. The people most familiar with the subject were disposed to regard the question as not wholly serious. They recalled the patient investigation, full discussion and practically unanimous settlement which it received in 1882, and again in 1892, when Congress granted remedial legislation to cure an acknowledged evil.

The Exclusion Acts then passed were limited to ten years' duration. In May next the latest act will expire by limitation, and Congress will be asked to renew it, because, until now, Chinese exclusion has been regarded in diplomatic circles and elsewhere as the settled policy of the country. Has there been any change in the nature of the evil, or in the sentiments of the people? Certainly not on the Pacific Coast, where the lapse of time has made still more evident the non-assimilative character of the Chinese and their undesirability as citizens.

The Exclusion Act has been reasonably effective, although the Chinese, with more or less success, have employed their well-known cunning in evading its provisions by surreptitiously and fraudulently entering the United States. The law, however, has opposed a barrier to the great volume of immigration which threatened this country for many years prior to 1880. The statistics show that the whole number of Chinese in the United States has not materially increased within ten years, while the Chinese population in California has decreased. In 1880 the census revealed the presence of 75,132 Chinese in California; in 1890, 72,472, and in 1900, 45,641. In New York State there

were but 29 Chinese in 1870; in 1880 there were 909; in 1890, 2,935, and in 1900, 7,170. The Chinese in California have apparently emigrated to other States, and this will ultimately bring the question, in a practical way, before the people of the East.

The influx having been checked, the danger to California has been averted, and, consequently, during the last decade industrial conditions indicate comparative prosperity; whereas it is well known that prior to the Exclusion Laws the State of California suffered acutely from labor troubles and business derangement. Unemployed men, hungry from want of work, marched the streets of the cities, inaugurated political parties, disturbed the peace of communities by riotous outbreaks which threatened at times the foundations of law and order; and these facts gave to James Bryce a fruitful theme for speculation on democracy in his excellent work, "The American Commonwealth." He devoted two chapters to the anti-Chinese crusade in California and looked upon it as a race, labor and political question, which sooner or later, unless solved, would menace American institutions. Accusations were made at that time, which Ho Yow repeats, that the opposition to the Chinese came from demagogues alone. To show the unanimity of the people, I may point out that the Legislature submitted by referendum the question of Chinese immigration to a popular vote. For Chinese immigration 883 votes were polled, and against Chinese immigration 154,638 votes. In the City of San Francisco, representing the wealth and intelligence and containing the skilled-labor organizations of the State, only 224 votes were cast in favor of the immigration and 41,258 votes against it. This result demonstrated clearly that the resident population of California, taking the broad ground of self-preservation, refused to suffer themselves to be dispossessed of their inheritance by Chinese coolies. That is what the verdict meant.

A select committee of Congress, after investigating the question and taking testimony in California, reported in favor of Chinese exclusion, and that policy has been regarded ever since as a peaceful preventive of serious disorders affecting the body politic which would have inevitably ensued had the National Legislature failed to protect the white population of the country.

Public opinion is the most potent agency through which Congress can be influenced, and there is evidently now an organized

attempt being made, principally by high Chinese officials, to change the sentiment of the people. They strike at the national policy by acting through other channels than those of diplomacy. These officials have entered our political arenas, put petitions in circulation and directly addressed themselves to the voters. Therefore they must be answered, even at the risk of reopening an ancient feud.

The municipal authorities of the city and county of San Francisco have issued a call for a convention to memorialize Congress again on the subject, and on November 21st there will be a representative gathering of the people of California to voice the sentiments of the State.

Mr. Ho Yow, knowing the great demand there is in a new country for common laborers, has ingeniously taken the stand that the Chinese are not skilled and, presumably, are incapable of becoming skilled. Knowing also that skilled labor is organized and is always in the vanguard for the defence and protection of labor rights, he has endeavored to quiet its alarm by arguments of this kind. He thus appeals to the cupidity of the farmer and the orchardist, while he attempts to allay the fears of the mechanic. It is safe to say that his argument is a careful and studied presentation of the case. He attempts to meet the "accusers of his people" by granting with astonishing candor everything that they say. To quote him:

> "I shall concede that the Chinese do in a sense work more cheaply than whites; that they live more cheaply; that they send their money out of the country to China; that most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States; * * * that they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies and not after the American fashion."

He then boldly says that on these accounts a condition is created which "is to the highest advantage of this country, and particularly to the highest advantage of those who oppose Chinese labor and at whose instance the laws were passed." He argues—as we have seen, fallaciously—that opposition to the Chinese was the work of "political demagogues"; and he further says that, after exclusion, the business of California on that account "dried up," and that trade with China fell off $7,000,000 in two years. Ho Yow is evidently in error, because, after Chinese exclusion, trade with China steadily increased. The total imports and exports in 1880 amounted to $27,999,482, in 1882 to $31,762,313,

and in 1900 to $38,130,000. Consul-General Goodnow says (Consular Reports for August, 1901):

"The United States is second only to Great Britain in goods sold to the Chinese. * * * The United States buys more goods from China than does any other nation; and her total trade with China, exports and imports, equals that of Great Britain (not including colonies) and is far ahead of that of any other country."*

The exclusion of Chinese has had no appreciable effect on the trade between the two countries. The resident Chinese import for their own consumption dried fish, pickled vegetables and rice; and these commodities have not, according to the Custom House records, fallen off since 1881. Of course, the more Chinese there are in this country the more breadstuffs will be imported, but the commerce in silks and teas goes on irrespective of the presence or absence of a local Chinese population. The same is true of other imports.

The fact is, commerce is not sentimental. The Chinese Government, knowing the necessities of the situation, and being familiar with the fact that almost every country has imposed restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese coolies, does not regard our exclusion as necessarily an unfriendly act. Our other relations with China have been more than friendly and have been duly appreciated.

John W. Foster, in his "Century of American Diplomacy," dwells upon these cordial relations and says that, from the beginning of our political intercourse with China, we have discouraged all efforts on the part of Americans to engage in the opium trade, so injurious to the Chinese people and forbidden by Chinese law; that our Ministers have been instructed to inform the Chinese Government that citizens of the United States would not be sustained by their Government in any attempt to violate the laws of China respecting trade; and, when the Chinese Government paid the United States the sum of $735,238 in satisfaction of the claims of its citizens against China, the United States in 1895

*The United States Consul at Amoy reports that, in 1897, "the importation of American flour amounted to 312,000 pounds; in 1898, to about 3,250,000 pounds; and in 1899, to over 13,000,000 pounds."

The United States Consul at Che Foo writes that "in five years the value of merchandise known to be American increased from $739,333 to $2,171,669."

Consul-General Wildman reported from Hong Kong that "the gain in American case oil amounted to 21,473 tons, or 36.4 per cent."

Tobacco, beer, whiskey, wire, wire nails, kerosene, pig lead, timber, machinery, beef and hog products, leather, clocks and watches, fruits, nuts, butter and cheese have, according to Consul-General Goodnow at Shanghai, increased materially.

returned an unexpended balance of $453,400 by Act of Congress. This unusual international proceeding was acknowledged by the Chinese representative with expressions of kindness and admiration for the United States, and with the assurance that "the friendly relations so long existing between the two countries will thereby be strengthened." The position of the United States in respect to the recent war in China has further inspired Chinese confidence in our good faith.

America, therefore, is at no disadvantage in dealing with China on account of the domestic policy of Chinese exclusion. At one time the Chinese Government was not in favor of the emigration of its people; but its modern statesmen know the great benefit of relieving the pressure of overpopulation.

The Chinese are not like other emigrants whose departure from the land that nurtured them in their helpless infancy and childhood is an irrevocable loss. The Chinese emigrant goes out a pauper and unfailingly returns with a competency, and becomes a well-to-do member of the country in which, according to his religious belief, his bones must rest in order to insure eternal peace. This, indeed, is "territorial sectarianism," difficult to overcome, but some would ask America to assume the task.

But it is in the theory that the Chinese question is a labor question that Mr. Ho Yow seems to find his main reliance in advocating the abrogation of the exclusion laws. He argues that the opposition is inspired by the laboring masses; that the laboring masses are governed by labor unions; that labor unions are composed of skilled men in various trades and vocations, and that the Chinese are not skilled, and, therefore, are not formidable competitors. In fact, he says:

> "The Chinese are wholly unskilled, and are in the main mere laborers or agriculturists. They could not under any circumstances be called to the places of strikers in skilled lines; so that, even from the standpoint of the labor unionist, the Chinese could do the labor unionist no harm."

I contend that this is not a mere labor question, nor a race question. It is an American question, affecting the perpetuity of our institutions and the standard of our civilization. But let us examine Ho Yow's allegations of fact.

For the most part the Chinese who have so far come to this country do menial work and manual labor; but they also exten-

sively engage in skilled employments. They work on railroads, in mines, in fields and orchards and forests, crowding out the white laborer everywhere on account of their willingness to work for a smaller wage. That is the experience of the West. As mere laborers, there is little to complain of in them; but for all purposes of citizenship their usefulness ends with their day's work; and whatever they are paid, they are paid too much, because they make no contribution by service or citizenship or family life to the permanent interests of the country.

The Chinese are to the last degree imitative. They have taken up the skilled work of our white population, and mechanically duplicate it. They are makers of cigars, shoes, shirts, clothing, women's underwear, overalls, children's clothes; they have acquired skill in dentistry and photography; they engage in journalism, commercial electricity, watchmaking, painting, bricklaying; they are carpenters, broom-makers, butchers, and in the culinary arts they particularly excel, supplanting white domestic servants.

In most of these trades and vocations they have unions which are well known in San Francisco. The Hong Tuck Tong, or Cigarmakers' Union, contains 1,500 members, who are employed throughout California. The Shoemakers' Union has 1,000 members. In Chinatown, San Francisco, evidences of their skilled labor are everywhere seen; and in the business streets of the city proper they have opened numerous stores in their own names, in which they sell their own products and especially women's and children's underwear. White sewing girls have been driven out of employment; and recently, on the advice of a large dealer in dry goods who promised support, a philanthropic gentleman assisted in the establishment of a factory for the employment of white girls exclusively, under the charge of a competent superintendent. After a few months' trial it failed, on account of the impossibility of meeting Chinese competition. The Chinese work day and night without cessation, subsisting on the most meagre food, and it is physically impossible for white women to turn out goods that will sell against Chinese prices in the open market. This is a very serious phase of the labor question on account of the small number of the fields in which women may profitably work.

Fruit canneries throughout California give employment to

boys and young women; but next door to the Consulate occupied by Ho Yow in San Francisco there is an extensive cannery, which is owned and operated by Chinese. They run the steam engines, they handle the cans and boxes made by Chinese boxmakers and carpenters; they pack the fruit; their tinsmith solders the cans. It has been known that when they are short of Chinese labor they employ white boys and girls, who work under conditions and amidst surroundings which deprive labor of a great part of its dignity.

The only municipal record kept of skilled employment is contained in the Assessor's report, which shows the Chinese are engaged in most of the local skilled industries. This report, ending June 30th, 1901, is as follows:

	Number.	Whites.	Chinese.
Cigar box manufactories	5	60	80
Broom manufactories	8	100	90
Cigar manufactories	321	500	800
Chemical works	6	100	40
Clothing manufactories	30	800	250
Fireworks manufactories	1	20	12
Fruit canning factories	11	2,500	350
Laundries (white, 139; Chinese, 151)	290	1,600	850
Match factories	4	60	20
Shirt factories	40	800	700
Shoe factories	16	700	250
Woolen mills	1	125	20
Women's and children's underwear factories	16	200	570

It is vain, therefore, to claim that Chinese are "mere laborers or agriculturists."

One thing certain is that when they come to this country they know little else than manual labor; but they soon acquire a skill which enables them to compete with the trained American workingman. The Chinese in any considerable numbers are, consequently, a great potential danger to skilled labor.

But is the man who tills the soil to be supplanted by the non-assimilative Asiatic? Is husbandry to be abandoned to a servile class? Is land monopoly to follow industrial monopoly, and are large holdings, managed by overseers, to drive the farmers for employment into the cities, where Chinese labor will meet them and there deprive them of the opportunity to work? Pliny says that "large estates ruined Italy." The free population were driven into Rome by slaves, who were forced to cultivate the soil, and, deprived of honorable and useful employment, became the rabble, which finally compassed the destruction of the Republic.

Let it be granted, for the sake of argument, that the Chinese

are only common laborers and agriculturalists. Shall they be allowed to enter freely in unlimited numbers to stimulate development, or shall the development of the country be allowed to proceed with equal pace with the settlement of the country by a desirable citizenship? Ho Yow takes the coldly economic view. He modestly says the Chinese by increasing productiveness would open new fields which they themselves would be unable to enter. That is to say, the products of the mine and field would increase the business, for instance, of the transportation lines, the canning industries and the banks. That is very ingenious, but it is predicated upon segregating a servile class, and violently assuming that that class, or its more intelligent members, are incapable of taking up work which involves skill and management. Ho Yow, in this, proves too much.

The benefits accruing from the presence of a servile class, doing the rough work of a country, always belong, as in slave-holding days, to the few; and when it is considered that the Chinese are migratory and receive wages which they send out of the country, a parallel between the negro slaves and the Chinese coolies is only remarkable in this, that by any fair comparison slavery must be regarded as economically more advantageous to the State. The slaves worked for a comfortable subsistence, and did not drain the soil of its wealth by the exportation of "the wage fund," which was formerly appropriated by the slave-holder, and which, in any event, remained to enrich and develop the country. It is estimated that the Chinese since 1868 have exported from the United States $400,000,000 in gold on this account alone.

Ho Yow says that the Great Wall of China was built to exclude robbers, who gave no return. Our Exclusion Act was erected, he says, to keep out men who gave adequate return for their wages. I hold that the Chinese cannot, in the nature of things, give an adequate return for their wages, not only for the above reason, but because by their presence they exclude a more desirable population.

In an American sense, we cannot regard a laborer, as does Ho Yow, as a human machine. He speaks of the enormous productiveness due to machinery, and he points out the fact that labor-saving devices are encouraged and have increased the sum of human comfort. From this he argues that if the Chinese, on

account of their number and the little fuel which they require to keep them going, are in a sense perfect machines, they should be admitted. But there is a limit even to the capacity of a machine. It must have a man behind it. That man is a unit in the government of a free country; and we must insist, in a patriotic sense, as well as in the best economic sense, that his status as an intelligent human being, endowed by his Creator with inalienable rights, shall be preserved. The machine is the creation of intelligence and is only supplementary to the skill of man, whereas the Chinese, knowing nothing but ceaseless and unremitting toil, coming without wives and without appetites, would remain a part of the mechanism and be content. If they were allowed to enter as innocent agriculturists, there is no reason, so imitative are they, why they should not become operatives in our factories and conductors and brakemen, as they are now builders and linemen, on our railroads; as they are now canners and packers of our products, and as they are now sailors upon the sea. They would enter the fields made attractive by the greater production of wealth.

Consul-General Goodnow, in his report, says that American goods are not credited to us in the statistical tables when they are sent by "large shipments from the Pacific Coast *via* Japanese lines" (a kindred and invading race), but are "credited to Japan." The Japanese have their line of steamers. Why not the Chinese?

It is no dream in this day of industrial combinations, when we behold the unrestricted power of capital, to foresee that with the abandonment of the policy of exclusion land barons, money captains, commercial kings would reduce American labor to the condition of Oriental servility, and to a standard of living no better than that of the Chinese. This certainly would be the inevitable tendency, and I believe, on account of their tractability, the Chinese would be given preference in employment, which would mean the destruction of the American workingman, and, with the destruction of the American workingman, the destruction of the Republic.

The existence of slavery in the South resulted in the creation of immense wealth, just as Ho Yow argues would result from the presence of his countrymen; but it produced structural defects in society. It created an aristocratic class, a slave class, and a "poor white" class. It was an aristocracy with slavery as

its corner-stone. The drastic remedies of the war should be a warning to-day. The accumulated wealth of the South, created by slave labor, was wiped out by an appalling expenditure of blood and money, which can never be recovered should we endure for a thousand years. Therefore, it is not a question of wealth at any cost, nor whether the wages of Chinese are higher or lower than ours. It is the question of the desirability of having the Chinese at all. If the wages they demand are as high as those of the European, or if the work they do—paid for in reduced wages—is not equal to the work done by the white laborer, it is all immaterial in view of the fact that the presence of a servile class is repugnant to our form of society and our ideas of government.

Ho Yow answers the objection that the Chinese "do not assimilate with the American people and do not adopt American methods and ways" by intimating that their provincialism is the result of the refusal of this country to naturalize them. He says: "This whole trouble has been caused by the fact that we are not citizens and voters." He quotes approvingly the words of the Chief Justice of the Dominion of Canada:

> "It was a menace to Canada to have a large number of Japanese living in Canada and to exclude them from taking part in the legislation affecting their property and civil rights."

It is, indeed, generally true to say that the United States must admit its Chinese population to the right of suffrage and to all the privileges of American citizenship, if it grants them the privilege of permanent residence. If they are to be admitted into this country freely they cannot be held as a separate class in a state of quasi-bondage or helotry. They are either desirable as citizens or not desirable at all. They must be admitted as ultimate voters, or excluded as being incapable of wisely using the elective franchise and assuming all the rights, duties and obligations of citizenship. It is a false position to discuss them simply as laborers, skilled or unskilled. Therefore, unless America is prepared to receive them as citizens, the Exclusion Act should be renewed, and we should look to the Caucasian race, as we have in the past, for the upbuilding of our industrial, social and political fabric.

In this discussion let us recall that the United States was originally wrested from a despotic rule in the interests of civil liberty. Man's capacity for self-government was asserted and

sustained. A Republic was founded to protect its citizens in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and a constitution was adopted "to secure the blessings of liberty" to them and to their children. Thus established, the gates of America were thrown open to the oppressed and liberty-loving peoples of the world, and a new and immeasurably important experiment inaugurated. It has thriven for more than one hundred years and now it is threatened.

The conditions imposed on the new settlers for the enjoyment of rights and privileges were citizenship and allegiance, and it became the correlative duty of the State to protect them. On this basis the country was settled, and the immigrants who have since been and are constantly being molded into the American people acquire legal and moral rights which the Government must protect.

It is well understood that the invitation of the new Republic was addressed to the people of Europe, and that the Mongolians were not included in it. In interpreting our naturalization laws the Federal courts have held that the Caucasian race was alone contemplated by them, and by special exception, the negro race; that exception was the result of political necessity. The same necessity will arise, in the course of time, to naturalize the Chinese if they are admitted. But the Chinese do not come in the name of liberty as oppressed, nor are they willing to renounce their old allegiance. They are not even *bona fide* settlers. They do not seek the land of the free for the love of it. On the contrary, they are attached to their own country by a superstitious bond, and never think of leaving it permanently. It is also plain that, by their mental organization, they have no capacity for or appreciation of the blessings of liberty.

In fact, few Chinese migrate voluntarily at all, but are brought here under contracts made by their masters. It has been said that if the Six Chinese Companies of California were destroyed immigration would cease. Formerly debtors and criminals were exiled from China under contracts to work out their salvation on American soil. Of such stuff citizens fit for a republic cannot be made.

Their physical assimilation is as repugnant to them as it is undesirable for us. I am informed by the Police Department and by the managers of the Chinese missions in San Francisco

that after nearly thirty-five years of intercourse the number of marriages between whites and Chinese do not exceed twenty, and that the offspring are invariably degenerate. The California Legislature, at its last session, amended the Civil Code of the State so as to prohibit, for the first time, the intermarriage of white persons with Mongolians. Heretofore the Code referred only to negroes and mulattoes. They cannot and will not assimilate with the white population; they live in colonies separate and apart, and are in all respects a permanently foreign element.

It follows, from these premises, that there is no obligation on the part of the United States to receive the Chinese as other peoples are received, but that there is an obligation on the United States to exclude them on the ground of duty to others as well as of self-preservation.

The right of a State to exclude an undesirable immigration is fundamental international law. Self-protection yields to no higher law. Therefore it is supreme. The Chinese, by putting a vastly inferior civilization in competition with our own, tend to destroy the population on whom the perpetuity of free government depends. Without homes and families; patronizing neither school, library, church nor theatre; lawbreakers, addicted to vicious habits; indifferent to sanitary regulations and breeding disease; taking no holidays, respecting no traditional anniversaries, but laboring incessantly, and subsisting on practically nothing for food and clothes, a condition to which they have been inured for centuries, they enter the lists against men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. Our civilization having been itself rescued from barbarism by the patriots, martyrs and benefactors of mankind, the question now is: Shall it be imperilled? Is not Chinese immigration a harm?

If it were possible for unmarried white men to compete with Chinese, they must remain single, by which the State would suffer. If families were reared under the conditions of such a competition, they would gravitate irresistibly and without blame to the poorhouse and the penitentiary. Society must recognize this; to the white man it is only a question of self-support or State support.

If the Chinese are admitted, whence are the ranks of the free population to be recruited? Who shall preserve our civilization and who shall fight our battles? The Chinese may be good labor-

ers, but they are not good citizens. They may in small numbers benefit individual employers, but they breed the germs of a national disease, which spreads as they spread, and grows as they grow.

In this view it matters very little whether with Chinese labor there is increased productiveness or not, nor whether a greater or smaller number of enterprises are inaugurated. The material interests of a State must be subordinated to the social and political interests of the people. Before cheapness and abundance must we consider the status of the men who are called upon to maintain the country's institutions and contribute by their presence to its true wealth. White men are both producers and large consumers, which the Chinese are not. Coolie labor appears to the short-sighted farmer and manufacturer as desirable so long as other people find employment for the white man on whose consumption they depend. But substitute Chinese labor for white labor, and the home market would disappear. What political economy can reconcile this fact with the good of the State? But even political economy must condemn the Chinese. The Chinese leave the results of their labor, it is true, but, let us repeat, they take out of the country the equivalent, and, contrary to those economic laws on whose due observance depends the material wealth of nations, their earnings do not circulate, nor are they reinvested. So what work they perform is paid for doubly by the employer and by the community.

We must admit that the Chinese while unprogressive are a good laboring class; but we return to the question, which presses for solution, Can we in this country and in consonance with our institutions segregate men of a labor class and regard them only in the light of their capacity for work? Sir Thomas More, in his "Utopia," considers this very subject. In constructing his ideal state he made men equal; but in order to relieve its members of humiliating labor, which would, he thought, disturb the equality proposed, he provided for a distinct class which was to perform all the disagreeable functions of society. If this idea were approved by us, the Chinese would be the most desirable people for such a purpose. They work well, they are docile and they would not be concerned about their political condition; but such suggestions are repulsive to American civilization. America has dignified work and made it honorable. Manhood gives title

to rights, and the Government, being ruled by majorities, is largely controlled by the very class which "Utopia" starts out by subordinating. This political power invested in men shows further the necessity of keeping up the standard of population, and not permitting it to deteriorate by contact with inferior and non-assimilative races.

In "Utopia" men are equal in respect to their occupations; while with us, in the language of the French Declaration of 1789, more explicit than our own, "Men are equal in respect to their rights."

The American people are certainly alive to-day, as they were in 1882 and 1892, to the significance of this question. But there are many good people who, mistaking the mission and destiny of their country, in a spirit of brotherhood would welcome the Chinese and every foreign race. Have we not proved by a progressive development that we are sufficient unto ourselves? Is not our duty to the heathen subserved by missionary labors and by establishing American ideas, enterprises and trade in other lands? Must we take them into our own house?

St. Paul said to the Athenians, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men," but he promptly added, "He hath determined the bounds of their habitation." In spite, however, of the warnings of history and the dangers which we of the Pacific Coast have endeavored to point out in the discussion of this question, which is more than one of labor or locality, there are a few men in the East to whom we would politely address ourselves, whose mistaken sense of duty has arrayed them against the American policy of Chinese exclusion. Let them not merit the opprobrium of the poet's reproach:

"The steady patriots of the world alone,
The friends of every country but their own."

JAMES D. PHELAN.

ELECTRICITY IN THE SERVICE OF MAN.

BY A. N. BRADY.

THE waterfalls have been at work for untold ages. Within a generation man has harnessed their force, converted their energy into electricity and compelled nature to do the work of the world. In thirty years electrical science has advanced from the field of discovery and invention to practical application to the arts and industries, developing a tiny laboratory spark into a powerful agent which moves the wheels of industry and commerce. The telegraph and the arc light were known before; but the telephone, the electric railway, the incandescent lamp, and the electric motor have been used only within a generation.

Electric cranes and hoists would build the Pyramids to-day with ease and dispatch. The thousands of unskilled workmen who actually wore out their lives in that monumental labor of dead ages paid the penalty of ignorance. Economy and concentration of effort are the lessons of the twentieth century.

The automobile truck, wheeling tons of dead weight from place to place under the guidance of a driver whose only labor is to pull a lever, is an example in everyday life of an electric machine doing safely and economically work which was but recently the wearisome task of man and beast. Merchandise will soon be collected by electrically operated express wagons, transferred to electrically propelled freight cars, and whirled from New York to Chicago at a speed of ninety miles an hour, over trunk lines whose problems of electrical equipment and maintenance will have solved themselves.

A man who, twenty-five years ago, predicted that everyday business would be carried on to-day between New York and Chicago by direct vocal communication over a telephone wire, would have been scoffed at. It is difficult to think of any new

demonstration of the practical use of electricity which shall compare with that. But no man can deny the possible achievement of a greater marvel. All the while, electricity is coming closer home to the masses of the people, lifting their burdens, shortening and smoothing their journeys, lighting their streets and roads, and making their working tasks less difficult.

Of the two quarrymen who pierced a ledge of rock ten years ago, one holding the drill and the other plying the sledge-hammer, one only is now needed to operate an electric drill, while doing ten times the work. The laborer's task is lightened; his partner has found an equally improved opportunity; they both get more wages; and their employer gets out more rock. A few years ago, the drawbridge at Hamilton Avenue over the Gowanus Canal, in Brooklyn, N. Y., was operated by from three to five men working on a capstan requiring from four to five minutes to complete the operation. An electric motor has been substituted, which closes the bridge in fifty seconds, and the services of but one man are needed.

Traction and lighting are the two applications of electrical energy to every-day life which are most in the public eye. Twenty years ago there were no electric cars in the United States.

The application of electricity to trunk line railway traction is believed by many experts to be a development of the near future. The superior utility and flexibility of electric cars for traffic within, without and between cities, under certain conditions, is not denied. Problems of cost and convenience, which increase in importance with the length of the lines operated, are by no means insoluble. Because we do not see our way now to the economic substitution of electrical for steam locomotives on a four-track trunk line between two centres of American population, it does not follow that the change will not be made eventually. The long, luxurious sub-trolley car, handsomely fitted and brilliantly lighted, which carries its passengers along a well ballasted track at the rate of twenty miles an hour in many American cities, is a far greater advance over the musty little horse car which was in use prior to 1884 than the electric train of parlor cars will be over the steam equipment, the passengers in the former making the run from New York to Chicago between daylight and dark.

Of course, the enormous investment represented by the steam locomotives of the trunk line railway systems must be borne in mind in considering this substitution of electrical traction. But to my mind the most important consideration in the profitable use of electricity on trunk line railways is the necessity for dispatching frequent trains, made up of a smaller number of cars, instead of infrequent trains made up of a larger number of cars. The latter is the steam railroad method, by which each train pays for itself. The electrical plant, representing a great, continuing investment, would be earning no return at all except while trains were in operation. The more trains run, whether consisting of one, three, five or any number of cars warranted by the demands of the traffic, the better the return on the investment. The same reasons which would supersede steam by electricity on railways would render the superseded locomotives comparatively useless elsewhere. A syndicate in Berlin is experimenting in high speed and long distance traffic, to determine possibilities and limitations by actual test.

There are two hundred miles of inter-urban electrical roads running out of Indianapolis alone, connecting the principal cities of the Indiana natural-gas belt. The forty mile electric railroad from Albany to Hudson is in commercial operation. So is the Chicago-Joliet line, of about equal trackage. Years ago, the Pennsylvania Railroad and, to a greater extent since, the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, successfully introduced the overhead trolley on their suburban feeders. The Cascade Division of the Great Northern, the Illinois Central and the Chicago & Great Western have made decided advances in this direction recently. The consolidation of trolley companies in New Jersey, resulting from community of interests, tends as elsewhere to the operation of electric trunk lines between large cities. Similar consolidations of electric railways out of Cleveland and of trolley roads in many localities on a smaller scale look toward the same end. An electrical trunk line passenger railway is projected from Salt Lake City to San Francisco. Indeed, the practical operation of these systems of suburban, short-haul feed lines tends directly to the draining of surrounding territory toward a central point, from which a long-haul by the steam line to another central point facilitates distribution.

In densely populated portions of Great Britain, where the

railway companies own their own roadbeds and are confronted by no grade crossings which limit efficient intercommunication, electric traction can be economically applied to the hauling of passenger and freight trains before the problem is successfully solved where traffic conditions are more difficult. When trains are thus propelled, lighted and heated, supplied with electric bells and fans, dispatched by telephone instead of telegraph, the moving train being kept in continuous telegraphic communication with the outer world, the railway traveller will be in a position to appreciate more fully the services of electricity.

One of the most interesting of the electrical traction systems now in operation is the elevator service. Every great city has thus its vertical, as well as horizontal, passenger railways. Cars that are hauled up and down the streets are to-day scarcely more essential to the business life of New York City than are the cars propelled up and down the elevator shafts of tall buildings, which have been referred to as a traction system on a grade of ninety degrees. There are in New York more than two thousand electrically operated elevators, using more than 15,000 horse power. The vertical trackage of these electric cars increases continually in large centres of population, where the value of real estate is great. In fact, distinct types of business and residence buildings, as, for instance, the "elevator apartment," have been thus developed. Modern buildings not electrically equipped throughout are severely handicapped in the competition for tenants.

Electricity confers one of its greatest benefits on man by furnishing him the most perfect and the most useful light known. Under ground and under water, at midnight and at midday, in the street, in the workshop and in the house, this light is made available by various ingenious devices. In towns of only a few thousand inhabitants, as well as in all large cities, the streets are illuminated by arc lamps. The glare and flicker of the early arc lamps were considered a necessary accompaniment of all electric lighting, a defect which later improvements have eliminated. The improved incandescent light has recently been pronounced by experts at the University of Heidelberg as the most sanitary of all methods of artificial illumination. The incandescent lamp has, indeed, been perfected until its light may now be modulated comparably with that of an oil lamp or gas jet. The lighting effects which were conceded to be one of the most striking features of the

Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, were produced by small units of light—eight-candle-power incandescent lamps—instead of the usual method of arc lamps of high candle power.

The growth of electrical industries interested President McKinley. In his last speech, delivered in Buffalo on the day of the tragedy, he spoke of the necessity of the construction of a Pacific cable. Electricity was called promptly in to minister to the comfort of his sickbed. When the physicians in attendance thought the temperature of the sickroom should be reduced, an electrical fan installation was effectively cooling the air within a few hours. On the same day, a long distance telephone message from the Milburn residence in Buffalo to the Edison laboratory started on its way from Orange, N. J., under the great electrician's own supervision, the best attainable Roentgen-ray apparatus, which was received in Buffalo the next morning.

In many of the cotton factories of South Carolina, where labor is cheap, the most economical power is derived from neighboring water courses, the spinning machinery being operated by electric motors. In the armor-plate factories, electric cranes pick up great masses of steel and silently shift them from the furnace to the rolls. Electric drills pierce the earth for coal and metal-bearing ores. The ores thus extracted are crushed by electricity and refined by the same agency. Into the irrigating channels of the arid regions of the Southwest, water from the distant hills is forced by electrical pumps. The water we drink is purified by electrolysis. Electro-chemistry is preparing many of our drugs and supplying many chemicals used in the arts. In all the domain of physical science, the most minute and accurate measurements are those made by electrical apparatus; and the electric current distributed by supply companies is measured and paid for on the indications of accurate and efficient electric meters.

Economy of production and distribution is the first business lesson. The current generated at a supply station in a great city may now be used throughout business hours in moving electric elevators, furnishing motive power to shops and industrial establishments, as well as in lighting myriads of lamps in shops and residences. Thus by degrees may be overcome the difficulty with which electrical supply companies have to contend in securing a return on their investment. Where current is distributed

for private or residential lighting only, the small number of hours over which this demand for lighting extends is an important factor in determining the cost of the service. As new commercial applications and uses for the electric current are developed, extending its use over a greater number of hours, the cost of generating and distributing becomes less, in turn inviting new applications and extensions.

The public mind is already so accustomed to the successful performance of almost prodigious tasks by electrical appliances that no special attention is aroused by the construction to-day of electrical plants which would have amazed the world a few years ago. Such, for example, are those of the New York Edison Company, the Metropolitan Street Railway Company and the Manhattan Railway Company, in which enormous boiler plants generate steam for operating engines of great power, all whose force is spent in producing electricity for generating heat, light and power.

In telegraphy the Western Union and Postal systems may be estimated at $150,000,000, employing 100,000 people. Every railroad system has its telegraph lines. The ocean cables, in which there is a good deal of American money invested, approximate 200,000 miles. There are 800 cities with fire telegraphs. It is within bounds to say that a total of $250,000,000 is invested in telegraphy.

From the time of Bell and Gray in 1877, the telephone business has grown to $400,000,000. The Bell system alone is declared to represent $200,000,000, with 2,500 exchanges and offices, and 1,700,000,000 connections a year. Its exchanges have over 26,000 employees.

In electric lighting, the capitalization of central station companies, isolated, municipal and ship-lighting plants, reaches $1,200,000,000. There are nearly 3,000 companies, with obligations of about $750,000,000, of which half is bonded. There are not many less than 30,000,000 incandescent lamps connected, while more than 600,000 arc lamps are doing duty. Central station earnings have been estimated at over $50,000,000. Electric lighting employs about 150,000 people.

Electrical street railways represent a capitalization of nearly $2,000,000,000. In 1897, they were earning $150,000,000 gross, and 220 of them showed in 1898 $130,000,000 gross earnings, at

which rate the earnings of electrical street railways of the United States were $180,000,000 in 1900, say four per cent. on the entire investment. Their employees number 150,000.

It is estimated that over $100,000,000 are invested in electrical mine plants, $150,000,000 in power plants, and about $50,000,000 in electro-plating establishments.

The grand total of $4,000,000,000 invested in electrical industries in the United States has been materially increased in the year 1901.

A. N. BRADY.

HAS EUROPEAN WAR AGAINST AMERICAN MANUFACTURES BEGUN?

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF STATISTICS.

THE decrease in our exports of manufactures naturally attracts much attention both in the United States and among our trade rivals in other parts of the world. All other classes of our exports show a satisfactory condition. Agricultural products show an increase of 60 million dollars in the eight months ending with August, 1901, compared with the eight months ending August, 1900, and those of the mines, the forest and the fisheries make a satisfactory showing in 1901 as compared with last year. But in manufactures the figures of the eight months of 1901 fall 36 million dollars below those of the corresponding months of 1900, a reduction of 12 per cent.

This is the first serious check that we have encountered in the growth of our exports of manufactures, a growth in which all Americans have felt a pride, and it is therefore well to analyze it carefully and see what we can determine as to its causes, and whether the reduction is general or "local" in any sense of the term.

We have heard a good deal in the past year or two about European combinations against the United States, and now that we find not only a check, but an actual reduction of 12 per cent. in that particular class of exports against which the Europeans are supposed to be most inclined to wage war, we naturally desire to examine the question with great care, and determine, if possible, whether this is the beginning of the threatened "war against American manufactures."

Another statement which has been frequently made about the exports of manufactures, and one which has been the subject of

much sharp discussion, is that American manufactures, and especially the great combinations, frequently force their goods into the foreign market when there is an over-production at home, by selling abroad at lower prices than in the home market.

The following questions, then, present themselves in attempting to analyze the decrease in the exports of manufactures:

(I.) Has the reduction occurred in the class of articles chiefly sold in the European countries where the alleged hostility to our manufactures is said to exist?

(II.) Is the reduction in exports of manufactures general, or confined to any particular class of articles?

(III.) Have the articles manufactured and controlled by the great business organizations, the "trusts," suffered a less reduction in exportation than those produced by the smaller manufacturers?

(IV.) Is the reduction due in any degree to reduction in prices, or is it wholly in quantity of articles exported?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it is proper to say that the record of manufactures exported in the eight months of 1901 does not include the exports to the Hawaiian Islands or Porto Rico, which are now customs districts of the United States. In the corresponding eight months of 1900, the recorded exports to Hawaii and Porto Rico were over $10,000,000, and of this sum it is probable that over one-half consisted of manufactures. The real reduction of the year, therefore, is only about $30,000,000, instead of the $36,000,000 which it appears to be on the surface.

The first question to determine is whether the reduction is general, or only confined to a few articles.

If the reduction proves to be general, it may be fairly assumed to indicate a corresponding reduction in the general consuming power of the world.

If the reduction is found to be confined to a few articles, it is practicable to study conditions regarding production, prices, distribution, and consumption of each, and perhaps determine whether the cause is general or "local."

To make this analysis, I present first a statement of the total exports of the six great classes of domestic merchandise in the eight months of 1901, compared with the corresponding period of 1900.

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC MERCHANDISE FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Classes of Products.	Eight months ending August 31. 1900.	1901.
Agricultural	$523,133,140	$583,245,251
Manufactures	304,087,505	267,853,957
Mining	27,206,104	27,384,201
Forest	37,525,538	35,057,480
Fisheries	3,232,597	3,075,508
Miscellaneous	3,558,786	2,975,224
Total	$898,743,670	$919,591,621

It will be seen from an examination of the above that the total exports show a healthy growth, that those of agriculture show an increase of over 11 per cent., that those of the mines, the forest, and the fisheries show no material change, and that the reduction is practically confined to manufactures.

It is therefore necessary to proceed to analyze the exports of manufactures and to determine whether the reduction in this class is general, or confined to a few articles, and if the latter, what articles. I present, therefore, the following table showing the exports of all classes of manufactures in which the value exceeded $1,000,000 in the eight months ending with August, 1901, comparing them with the figures for the corresponding months of 1900. The list includes over 90 per cent. of the value of all manufactures exported.

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES FROM UNITED STATES, ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE IN 1901.

Articles.	Eight months ending August 31. 1900.	1901.
Iron and steel	$87,174,209	$69,346,379
Refined mineral oil	46,061,080	42,820,880
Copper	41,830,330	23,181,103
Leather	17,697,762	19,050,852
Cotton goods	15,274,667	16,941,254
Agricultural implements	13,854,774	14,558,166
Chemicals	9,188,129	9,805,136
Cars and carriages	7,334,172	7,643,216
Wood manufactures	7,899,847	7,456,569
Paper and manufactures	4,503,766	4,891,817
Scientific instruments	4,171,561	4,699,376
Paraffin	5,378,651	3,871,077
Tobacco manufactures	4,033,145	3,527,371
Fiber manufactures	2,872,007	3,138,527
Books, maps, etc.	2,044,306	2,268,557
Musical instruments	1,154,564	2,198,197
Starch	1,880,543	2,094,266
India rubber manufactures	1,710,965	1,996,310
Sugar and molasses	1,964,007	1,962,785
Clocks and watches	1,280,226	1,582,286
Glass and glassware	1,336,954	1,449,469
Brass	1,392,916	1,391,976
Paints	1,405,956	1,390,446
Gunpowder, etc.	1,266,059	1,284,473
Marble and stone	1,045,542	1,138,048
Soap	1,148,786	1,035,544
Wool manufactures	886,030	1,018,883
All other	19,196,551	16,110,994
Total	$304,987,505	$267,853,957

An examination of the above table shows that the reduction is confined to a few articles, and cannot be said to be in any sense general. About three-fifths of the articles show an increase, and the principal decreases are confined to three articles—copper, iron and steel, and refined illuminating oil. The reduction in copper alone is $18,649,227, in iron and steel $17,827,830, and mineral oil $3,240,200. Of mineral oil it may be said that the decrease is wholly in price, the quantity exported in the eight months of 1901 being 589,058,603 gallons, as against 541,365,331 gallons in the same months of 1900, an actual increase of 47,693,272 gallons; while the value has fallen $3,250,200.

This analysis, then, shows that the only articles in our entire list of exportations in which the reduction is sufficient to be considered significant are copper and the manufactures of iron and steel. The reduction in these classes is, as already stated: Copper, $18,649,227; iron and steel, $17,827,830, a total of $36,477,057, or slightly more than the total reduction in manufactures as a whole, showing that in other lines the exports have increased.

We may, then, conclude that the decrease in exports is not due to a general "boycott" of American manufactures as a whole, or indeed to a general reduction in the exportation of manufactures, and with this assumption may proceed to study the exports of the two articles in which the reduction chiefly occurs, and try to determine its cause.

On taking up the schedule of iron and steel exports, in which the reduction is $17,827,830, we find it composed of a large number of items. There are twenty-five articles or classes of articles in which the value of the exports in the eight months ending with August, 1901, amounted to over $500,000. Steel rails was the largest single item, over $6,000,000; builders' hardware, over five millions; electrical machinery, about four millions; pipes and fittings, three and a half millions; locomotives, three millions; wire, about three millions; sewing machines, two and a half millions, and typewriters, metal-working machinery, and structural iron and steel each about two million dollars, while the general classification "machinery" includes a total value of twelve million dollars. Arranging these in the order of relative value, the list for the eight months of 1901, compared with the same months of 1900, stands as follows:—

VALUE OF EXPORTATIONS OF IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURES IN THE EIGHT MONTHS ENDING WITH AUGUST 31, 1901, COMPARED WITH THE CORRESPONDING MONTHS OF 1900.

Articles.	Eight months ending August 31. 1900.	1901.
Machinery	$15,694,889	$12,063,165
Steel rails	7,761,711	6,715,113
Builders' hardware	6,583,263	5,887,658
Electrical machinery	3,590,419	3,919,574
Pipes and fittings	4,431,856	3,571,537
Locomotives	3,481,407	3,050,246
Wire	3,359,433	2,994,087
Sewing machines	3,095,842	2,528,122
Structural iron and steel	2,662,509	1,959,047
Metal-working machinery	4,712,225	1,912,297
Typewriters	1,820,107	1,905,633
Pumps and machinery	1,976,527	1,295,146
Boilers	1,223,392	903,743
Steel plates	863,921	818,000
Bars of steel	1,532,301	813,079
Shoe machinery	780,065	740,777
Castings	1,147,051	718,752
Pig iron	2,277,661	708,288
Billets, blooms, etc.	938,418	671,135
Wire nails	1,275,448	633,967
Cash registers	514,501	589,466
Bar iron	239,970	569,938
Firearms	1,027,520	543,970
Stationary engines	525,696	507,696
All other	15,658,077	13,325,943
Total iron and steel manufactures	$87,174,209	$69,346,379

The first thing that strikes one on an examination of this table is the fact that the reduction is general. In practically every one of the twenty-five items there has been a greater or less reduction in the value of exportations. The next thought is that if the reduction is general the cause must be general. In other words, it can scarcely be charged that a general reduction of exports in the list of manufactures of iron and steel, including electrical and metal-working machinery, which go chiefly to Europe, builders' hardware, which goes to the West Indies, South America and the Orient, engines which go to India, Africa, and South America, sewing machines and typewriters which go to every part of the world where civilized man is to be found in any considerable numbers, wire and wire nails which go to Australia and South America and Africa, is due to a European "boycott." The reduction is so general and makes itself apparent in so many parts of the world simultaneously that the cause cannot be found in a local hostility.

The next question which suggests itself in considering this reduction is whether it is altogether in quantity, or perhaps in part at least due to a reduction in the selling price. It is well known that there was in 1899 a great advance in the price of iron and

steel, so much so that predictions were made that exportation at the high prices which were then obtained would be impossible. This prediction was not verified, but the fact nevertheless remains that the prices of iron and steel were a year ago phenomenally high, all over the world, and that this was due to the extreme and phenomenal activity in every line of development. The whole world was engaged in the most intense industrial activity, and as a result of the extraordinary demand for material of this character, prices were excessively high. It was expected that there would be something of a reaction, and the prices in our own markets show that it has come.

Prices of Southern foundry pig iron, which in the home markets brought $15 per ton on August 1, 1900, were $10.75 on August 1, 1901; steel rails, which were $35 per ton on August 1, 1900, were $28 per ton on August 1, 1901; steel billets, which were $30 per ton last April, were $27 per ton on August 28; and Bessemer steel pig, which was $17.25 in March and April, was $16 per ton in August.

This reduction of prices in the home market suggests an inquiry as to whether there may not have been a reduction in the prices of articles exported.

To determine this I have taken all the exported articles of iron and steel in which the quantity as well as the value is stated, and obtained the average price per unit of quantity in the eight months ending with August, 1901, as compared with that of the corresponding period of 1900.

This analysis shows a reduction in the price of nearly every exported manufacture of iron and steel in which the price per unit of quantity can be determined. Iron ore fell from $3.3 per ton to $2.5; pig iron, from $18.9 per ton to $15.1; billets, from $30.6 to $24.8 per ton; steel rails, from $30.3 to $24.8; iron sheets and plates, from 3.1c. to 2c. per pound, and so on all along the line.*

The entire list of iron and steel exports in which it is possible to show the export price per unit of quantity is presented in the following table:

*These prices, it should be remembered, are the average prices per unit of quantity for the entire eight months' period, and are not comparable with those above quoted with reference to the high-water mark prices of 1900, which represent a single date or brief period.

PRICES OF IRON AND STEEL AND MANUFACTURES THEREOF EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Articles.	Unit of Quantity.	Average price per Unit of Quantity for Eight Months Ending with August. 1900. Dollars.	1901. Dollars.
Iron ore	Ton	3.32	2.49
Pig iron	Ton	18.88	15.13
Scrap iron	Ton	17.92	15.90
Bar iron	Lb.	.023	.017
Wire rods	Lb.	.026	.015
All other steel bars	Lb.	.018	.018
Billets, ingots and blooms	Ton	30.65	24.80
Hoop, band and scroll	Lb.	.023	.021
Railway rails (iron)	Ton	22.34	28.47
Railway rails (steel)	Ton	30.29	26.93
Iron sheets and plates	Lb.	.035	.028
Steel sheets and plates	Lb.	.017	.017
Tin and terne plates	Lb.	.073	.051
Structural iron and steel	Ton	57.01	54.08
Wire	Lb.	.027	.024
Car wheels	No.	6.88	7.22
Fire engines	No.	1,845.00	1,221.00
Locomotive engines	No.	10,581.78	9,159.89
Stationery engines	No.	583.99	586.93
Cut nails and spikes	Lb.	.026	.021
Wire nails and spikes	Lb.	.026	.021
All other nails and tacks	Lb.	.065	.063
Safes	No.	65.89	55.31

We see, then, from the two tables which have been presented (1.) that the reduction in value of exports of iron and steel runs through the entire list, and is thus general and not "local"; (2.) that in nearly every case where the value per unit of quantity can be determined the price in 1901 is below that of 1900, and that much of the reduction in the total exports of iron and steel may therefore be charged against the reduction in prices.

The next question that suggests itself is whether this reduction in exports of iron and steel manufactures is confined to the United States, or whether it extends to other great manufacturing countries. If the latter be true it completes the assurance that the reduction is not due to a boycott of American products, or to a falling off in the relative popularity of our manufactures. To determine this I present the following statement showing the value of exports of iron and steel from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Belgium and the United States in the twelve months ending June 30, 1900 and 1901:

EXPORTS OF IRON AND STEEL AND MANUFACTURES THEREOF DURING THE YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1900 AND 1901.

Countries.	1900.	1901.
*United Kingdom	$160,460,000	$133,486,000
Germany	107,110,000	120,304,000
United States	121,992,590	117,495,137
†France	37,600,000	35,164,000
‡Belgium	23,260,000	19,224,000

*Exclusive of machinery, cutlery and hardware.
†Including machinery, cutlery, arms and implements.
‡Figures are for eight months ending with August, and include arms, machinery and implements.

It will be seen from an examination of the above table that the United States is not alone in the reduction of exports of iron and steel, but that the decrease extends to all the great manufacturing and exporting nations of the world, with the single exception of Germany. This exceptional condition in the exports of Germany is believed to be chiefly due to the depression which is known to have existed in that country for some months, and to the efforts of German manufacturers to unload by exportation the accumulated stocks for which their home market no longer offers an attractive field.

We may sum up, then, the cause of the decrease in the exportation of American manufactures of iron and steel by saying (1.) that it is partly due to the absence of the figures of exports to the Hawaiian Islands and Porto Rico, which were about $7,000,000 per annum in iron and steel alone; (2.) that it is partly due to a reduction in price of the articles exported; (3.) that it is partly due to the general reduction in demand all over the world; (4.) that it is partly due to the conditions in Germany which have recently forced this class of articles from the German workshops upon the markets of the world at abnormally low prices; (5.) that as it occurs in articles which go to all parts of the world it cannot be said to be due to local causes or to attempts to exclude American manufactures from European markets; (6.) that the fact that other great manufacturing countries generally are feeling similar and even greater reductions shows that the causes are general and not due to unpopularity of American manufactures.

The only other article which shows a material reduction in value of the exports is copper, and this reduction seems to be due to causes entirely different from those found in iron and steel or in mineral oil. Copper exportations have fallen enormously, the figures being for the eight months of 1900 333,340,725 pounds of ingots, bars, plates, etc., valued at $55,772,166; and in eight months of 1901 252,769,328 pounds, valued at $41,260,376. Adding other manufactures, the total for eight months of 1900 is $57,852,960, and in eight months of 1901 $43,267,021, a fall of 25 per cent. in total value. It cannot be said that any considerable part of this fall is due to a reduction in price, the average value per pound being in the eight months of 1900 16.73 cents, and in 1900 16.32 cents.

The chief exports of copper from the United States are to the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Netherlands and Belgium. The official reports of the French Government show that the imports of copper into France were, in the year ending June 20, 1901, 577,134 metric quintals, against 561,331 in the preceding year, a material increase. In Germany the imports of crude copper for the same periods were 713,514 metric quintals, against 786,114 for the preceding year. In Netherlands the imports of crude copper were 48,214 tons in 1901, against 52,629 tons in the preceding year. In the United Kingdom the imports for the eight months ending with August, 1901, were: Of regulus and precipitate, 59,752 tons, against 55,833 tons in the corresponding months of 1900; of ore, 64,089 tons, against 75,733 tons in 1900; and of copper, unwrought and part wrought, 45,161 tons, against 50,425 tons in the corresponding months of the preceding year. In copper, wrought and unwrought, in which the total reduction was a little over 5,000 tons, the fall in imports from the United States alone was from 20,790 tons in eight months of 1900 to 14,124 tons in eight months of 1901, the entire reduction thus being from the United States.

It thus appears that the reduction in the total imports of the principal European countries is by no means in proportion to the reduction in our exports to them; in other words, that they have increased their purchases from other countries, while they have been reducing their purchases from the United States. The United Kingdom, for instance, in the eight months of 1901 increased her imports of copper ore from Cape of Good Hope three million tons and from Australia over seven million tons, and of copper, wrought and unwrought, from Chile about two million tons.

An examination of production in other parts of the world seems to strengthen the conclusion that the European countries are purchasing elsewhere at least a part of the supplies of copper which they formerly obtained from the United States. The production of copper in Australia, which, according to Merton & Co., of London, was 8,300 tons in 1889, was, according to Rothwell, 20,750 tons in 1899; Japan, in 1889, 15,000 tons, and in 1899, 27,000 tons; Mexico, in 1889, 3,780 tons, and in 1899, 19,000 tons; while the latest information indicates that the copper mines of Chile are rapidly increasing their output. This increase in

production in other parts of the world, coupled with the increase in American production from 105,774 long tons in 1889 to 259,517 tons in 1899 and 270,600 tons in 1900, seems to have caused a greater reduction in price in other countries than the United States. This is proven not only by the fact that the European countries have made a less reduction in their purchases from those countries than in their imports from the United States, but also by the very remarkable fact that foreign copper is now actually invading the markets of the United States, the greatest copper-producing country of the world. In the fiscal year 1901 the imports of manufactured copper into the United States amounted to about $10,000,000 in value, and the total, including ore and regulus, was $20,581,716, as against $15,489,603 in 1900, $6,817,056 in 1899, $3,905,011 in 1898, $1,625,506 in 1897, and $801,332 in 1895.

To sum up this study of the reduction in the exportation of American manufactures, it may be said (1.) that the reduction is almost wholly in three articles, mineral oil, iron and steel, and copper, and that most other classes of manufactures continue to show a healthy growth in exportation; (2.) that the reduction in mineral oil is wholly in price, and not in quantity; (3.) that the reduction in iron and steel is partly due to the absence of figures on the exports of Hawaii and Porto Rico, partly to a fall in prices, partly to forced sales by Germany, and partly to the general reduction of demand all over the world, and in no sense to a "boycott" of American manufactures; and (4.) that the reduction in copper is due in some degree to a decreased demand abroad, and largely to increased production and reduced prices in the other producing countries of the world.

O. P. AUSTIN.

ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—VI.

BY H. G. WELLS.

VIII. The Larger Synthesis.

We have seen that the essential process arising out of the growth of science and mechanism and more particularly out of the still developing new facilities of locomotion and communication which science has afforded is the deliquescence of the social organizations of the past and the synthesis of ampler and still ampler and more complicated and still more complicated social unities. The suggestion is powerful, the conclusion is hard to resist, that, through whatever disorders of danger and conflict, whatever centuries of misunderstanding and bloodshed, men may still have to pass, this process, nevertheless, aims at and will finally attain to the establishment of one world state at peace within itself. In the economic sense indeed a world state is already established. Even to-day we do all buy and sell in the same markets—albeit the owners of certain ancient rights levy their tolls here and there—and the Hindoo starves, the Italian feels the pinch, before the Germans or the English go short of bread. There is no real autonomy any more in the world, no simple right to an absolute independence such as formerly the Swiss could claim. The nations and boundaries of to-day do no more than mark claims to exemptions, privileges and corners in the market—claims valid enough to those whose minds and souls are turned towards the past, but absurdities to those who look to the future as the end and justification of our present stresses. The claim to political liberty amounts, as a rule, to no more than the claim of a man to live in a parish without observing sanitary precautions or paying rates—because he had an excellent great-grandfather. Against all these old isolations,

these obsolescent particularisms, the forces of mechanical and scientific development fight and fight irresistibly; and upon the general recognition of this conflict, upon the intelligence and courage with which its inflexible conditions are negotiated, depends very largely the amount of bloodshed and avoidable misery the coming years will hold.

The final attainment of this great synthesis, like the social deliquescence and reconstruction dealt with in the earlier of these Anticipations, has an air of being a process independent of any collective or conscious will in man, as being the expression of a greater Will; it is working now and may work out to its end vastly, and yet at times almost imperceptibly, as some huge secular movement in Nature goes on to its culmination.

Already the need of some synthesis at least ampler than existing national organizations is so apparent in the world that at least five spacious movements of coalescence exist to-day; there is the movement called Anglo-Saxonism, the allied but finally very different movement of British Imperialism, the Pan Germanic movement, Pan Slavism and the conception of a great union of the "Latin" peoples. Under the outrageous treatment of the white peoples an idea of unifying the "Yellow" peoples is pretty certain to became audibly and visibly operative before many years. These are all deliberate and justifiable suggestions and they all aim at sacrificing minor differences in order to link like to like in greater matters, and so secure, if not physical predominance in the world, at least an effective defensive strength for their racial, moral, customary or linguistic differences against the aggressions of other possible coalescences. But these syntheses or other similar synthetic conceptions, if they do not contrive to establish a rational social unity by sanely negotiated unions, will be forced to fight for physical predominance in the world. The whole trend of forces in the world is against the preservation of *local* social systems however greatly and spaciously conceived. Yet it is quite possible that several or all of the cultures that will arise out of the development of these Pan this-and-that movements, may in many of their features survive, as the culture of the Jews has survived, political obliteration, and may disseminate themselves, as the Jewish system has disseminated itself, over the whole world city.

It is doubtful if either the Latin or the Pan Slavic idea

contains the promise of any great political unification. The elements of the Latin synthesis are dispersed in South and Central America and about the Mediterranean basin in a way that offers no prospect of an economic unity between them. The best elements of the French people lie in the Western portion of what must become the greatest urban region of the Old World, the Rhine-Netherlandish region; the interests of North Italy draw that region away from the Italy of Rome and the South towards the Swiss and South Germany, and the Spanish and Portuguese speaking half-breeds of South America have not only their own coalescences to arrange, but they lie already under the political tutelage of the United States. Nowhere except in France and North Italy is there any prospect of such an intellectual and educational evolution as is necessary before a great scheme of unification can begin to take effect. And the difficulties in the way of the Pan Slavic dream are far graver. Its realization is enormously hampered by the division of its languages, and the fact that in the Bohemian language, in Polish and in Russian there exist distinct literatures, almost equally splendid in achievement but equally insufficient in quantity and range to establish a claim to replace all other Slavonic dialects. Russia, which should form the central mass of this synthesis, stagnates, relatively to the Western states, under the rule of reactionary intelligences; it does not develop and does not seem likely to develop the merest beginnings of that great educated middle class with which the future so enormously rests. The Russia of to-day is indeed very little more than a vast breeding ground for an illiterate peasantry and the forecasts of its future greatness entirely ignore that dwindling significance of mere numbers in warfare which is the clear and necessary consequence of mechanical advance. To a large extent, I believe, the Western Slavs will follow the Prussians and Lithuanians and be incorporated in the urbanization of Western Europe, and the remoter portions of Russia seem destined to become—are indeed becoming—Abyss, a wretched and disorderly Abyss that will not even be formidable to the armed and disciplined peoples of the civilization of the new era.

The chances seem altogether against the existence of a great Slavonic power in the world at the beginning of the twenty-first century. They seem at the first glance to lie just as

heavily in favor of an aggressive Pan Germanic power struggling towards a great and commanding position athwart central Europe and western Asia, and turning itself at last upon the defeated Slavonic disorder. There can be no doubt that at present the Germans have the most efficient middle class in the world, their rapid economic progress is to a very large extent indeed a triumph of intelligence, and their political and probably their military and naval services are still conducted with a capacity and breadth of view that find no parallel in the world. But the very efficiency of the German as a German to-day and the habits and traditions of victory he has accumulated for nearly forty years may prove in the end a very doubtful blessing to Europe as a whole or even to his own grandchildren. Geographical contours, economic forces, the trend of invention and social development point to a unification of all western Europe, but they certainly do not point to its Germanization. I have already given reasons for anticipating that the French language may not only hold its own, but prevail against German in western Europe. And there are certain other obstacles in the way even of the union of indisputable Germans. One element in German's present efficiency must become more and more of an encumbrance as the years pass. The Germanic idea is deeply interwoven with the traditional Empire and with the martinet methods of the Prussian monarchy. The intellectual development of the Germans is defined to a very large extent by a court directed officialdom. In many things that court is still inspired by the noble traditions of education and discipline that come from the days of German adversity, and the predominance of the Imperial will does no doubt give a unity of purpose to German policy and action that adds greatly to its efficacy. But for a capable ruler even more than for a radiantly stupid monarch the price a nation must finally pay is heavy. Most energetic and capable people are a little intolerant of unsympathetic capacity, are apt on the under side of their egotism to be jealous, assertive and aggressive. In the present Empire of Germany there are no other great figures to balance the Imperial personage, and I do not see how other great figures are likely to arise. A great number of fine and capable persons must be failing to develop, failing to tell, under the shadow of this too prepotent monarchy. There are certain limiting restrictions imposed upon Germans through the Im-

perial activity that must finally be bad for the intellectual atmosphere which is Germany's ultimate strength.

After all, I do not see that she is in a greatly stronger position than was France in the early sixties; and indeed in many respects, and allowing for the higher standards of efficiency of this present time, her present predominance is curiously analogous to that of the French Empire in those years. Death at any time may end the career of the present ruler of Germany—there is no certain insurance of one single life. This withdrawal would leave Germany organized entirely with reference to a court; and there is no trustworthy guarantee that the succeeding Royal Personality may not be something infinitely more vain and aggressive, or something weakly self-indulgent or unpatriotic and morally indifferent.

In another way the intensely monarchical and aristocratic organization of the German Empire will stand in the way of the political synthesis of greater Germany. Necessary factors in that synthesis will be Holland and Switzerland, little, advantageously situated peoples, saturated with ideas of personal freedom. One can imagine a German Swiss at any rate gladly merging himself in a great Pan-Germanic republican state, but to bow the knee to the luridly decorated God of His Imperial Majesty's Fathers will be an altogether more difficult exploit for self-respecting man.

Moreover, before Germany can unify to the East she must fight the Russian, and to unify to the West she must fight the French and perhaps the English, and she may have to fight a combination of these powers. I think the military strength of France is enormously underrated. Upon this matter M. Bloch—that alleged Angel of Peace—should be read. Indisputably the French were beaten in 1870, indisputably they have fallen behind in their long struggle to attain equality with the English on the sea, but neither of these things effaces the future of the French. The disasters of 1870 were probably of the utmost benefit to the altogether too sanguine French imagination. They cleared the French minds of the delusion that personal Imperialism is the way to do the desirable thing, a delusion the Germans (and, it would seem, a few queer Englishmen and still queerer Americans) entertain. The French have done much to demonstrate the possibility of a stable military republic. They

have disposed of crown and court and held themselves in order for thirty good years, they have dissociated their national life from any form of religious profession, they have contrived a freedom of thought and writing that in spite of much conceit to the contrary is quite impossible among the English-speaking peoples. I find no reason to doubt the implication of M. Bloch that on land to-day the French are relatively far stronger than they were in 1870, that the evolution of military expedients has been all in favor of the French character and intelligence, and that even a single-handed war between France and Germany to-day might have a very different issue from that former struggle. In such a conflict it will be Germany now and not France that will have pawned her strength to the English-speaking peoples on the high seas. And France will not fight alone. She will fight for Switzerland or Luxembourg or the mouth of the Rhine. She will fight with the gravity of remembered humiliations, with the whole awakened Slav race at the back of her antagonist and very probably with the support of the English-speaking peoples.

It must be pointed out how strong seems the tendency of the German Empire to repeat the history of Holland upon a larger scale. While the Dutch poured out all their strength upon the seas, in a conflict with the English that at the utmost could give them only trade, they let the possibilities of a great Low German synthesis pass utterly out of being. (In those days Low Germany stretched to Arras and Douay.) They positively dragged the English into the number of their enemies. And to-day the Germans invade the sea with a threat and intention that will certainly create a countervailing American navy, fundamentally modify the policy of Great Britain, such as it is, and very possibly go far to effect the synthesis of the English-speaking peoples.

So involved, I do not see that the existing Germanic synthesis is likely to prevail in the close economic unity, the urban region that will arise in western Europe. I imagine that the German Empire that is the organized expression of German aggression to-day will be either shattered or weakened to the pitch of great compromises by a series of wars by land and sea, it will be forced to develop the autonomy of its rational middle class in the struggles that will render these compromises possible, and it will be

finally not Imperial German ideas, but central European ideas possibly more akin to Swiss conceptions, a civilized republicanism finding its clearest expression in the French language, that will be established upon a bilingual basis throughout western Europe and increasingly predominant over the whole European mainland and the Mediterranean basin, as the twentieth century closes.

And while the great states of the continent of Europe are hammering down their obstructions of language and national tradition or raising the educational level above them until a working unity is possible, will there also be a great synthesis of the English-speaking peoples going on? I am inclined to believe that there will be such a synthesis and that the head and centre of the new unity will be the great urban region that is developing between Chicago and the Atlantic, and which will lie mainly but not entirely south of the St. Lawrence. Inevitably, I think, that region must become the intellectual, political and industrial centre of any permanent unification of the English-speaking states. There will, I believe, develop about that centre a great federation of white English-speaking peoples, a federation having America north of Mexico as its central mass, a federation that may conceivably include Scandinavia, and its federal government will sustain a common fleet and protect or dominate or actually administer most or all of the non-white states of the present British Empire, and in addition much of the south and middle Pacific, the East and West Indies, the rest of America, and the larger part of black Africa. Quite apart from the dominated races, such an English-speaking state should have by the century-end a practically homogeneous citizenship of at least a hundred million sound-bodied, educated and capable *men*. It should be the first of the three powers of the world, and it should face the organizing syntheses of Europe and eastern Asia with an intelligent sympathy. By the year 2000 all its common citizens should certainly be in touch with the thought of continental Europe through the medium of French, its English language should be already rooting firmly through all the world beyond its confines, and its statesmanship should be preparing openly and surely, and discussing calmly with the public mind of the European and probably of the Yellow state, the possible coalescences and conventions, the obliteration of custom houses,

the homologization of laws and coinage and measures and the mitigation of monopolies and special claims, by which the final peace of the world may be assured forever. Such a synthesis at any rate of the peoples now using the English tongue I regard not only as a possible but as a probable thing.

Now, the more one descends from the open uplands of wide generalization to the parallel jungle of particulars the more dangerous does the road of prophesying become, yet nevertheless there may be some possibility of speculating how in the case of the English-speaking synthesis at least this effective New Republic may begin visibly to shape itself out and appear. It will appear first, I believe, as a conscious organization of intelligent and quite possibly in some cases wealthy men, as a movement having distinct social and political aims, confessedly ignoring most of the existing apparatus of political control or using it only as an incidental implement, in the attainment of these aims. It will be very loosely organized in its earlier stages, a mere movement of a number of people in a certain direction, who will presently discover with a sort of surprise the common object towards which they are all moving.

Already there are some interesting aspects of public activity that, diverse though their aims may seem, do nevertheless serve to show the possible line of the development of this New Republic in the coming time. For example, as a sort of preliminary sigh before the stirring of a larger movement there are various Anglo-American movements and leagues to be noted. Associations for entertaining travelling samples of the American leisure class in guaranteed English country houses, for bringing them into momentary physical contact with real titled persons at lunches and dinners, and for having them collectively lectured by respectable English authors and divines, are no doubt trivial things enough, but a snob sometimes shows how the wind blows better than a serious man. The Empire may catch the American as the soldier caught the Tartar. There is something very much more spacious than such things as this, latent in both the British and the American mind and observable, for instance, in the altered tone of the presses of both countries since the Venezuela Message and the Spanish-American war. Certain projects of a much ampler sort have already been put forward. An interesting proposal of an interchangeable citizenship, so that with

a change of domicile an Englishman should have the chance of becoming a citizen of the United States and an American a British citizen or a voter in an autonomous British colony, for example, has been made. Such schemes will no doubt become frequent and will afford much scope for discussion in both countries during the next decade or so.* The American Constitution and the British crown and constitution will have to be modified or shelved at some stage in this synthesis, and for certain types of intelligence there could be no more attractive problem. Certain curious changes in the colonial point of view will occur as these discussions open out. The United States of America are rapidly taking, or have already taken, the ascendency in the iron and steel and electrical industries out of the hands of the British, they are developing a far ampler and more thorough system of higher scientific education than the British, and the spirit of efficiency percolating from their more efficient businesses is probably higher in their public services. These things render the transfer of the present mercantile and naval ascendency of Great Britain to the United States during the next two or three decades a very probable thing, and when this is accomplished the problem how far Colonial loyalty is the fruit of Royal Visits and sporadic knighthood and how far it has relation to the existence of a predominant fleet, will be near its solution. An interesting point about such discussion as this, in which, indeed, in all probability the nascent consciousness of the New Republic will emerge, will be the solution which this larger synthesis will offer to certain miserable difficulties of the present time. Government by the elect of the first families of Great Britain has in the last hundred years made Ireland and South Africa two open sores of irreconcilable wrong. These two English-speaking communities will never emerge from wretchedness under the vacillating, vote-catching incapacity of British Imperialism, and it is impossible that the British power having embittered them should ever dare to set them free. But within such an ampler synthesis as the New Republic will seek, these states could emerge to an equal fellowship that would take all the bitterness from their unforgettable past.

*I foresee great scope for the ingenious persons who write so abundantly to the London evening papers upon etymological points, issues in heraldry and the correct Union Jack, in the very pleasing topic of a possible Anglo-American flag (for use on symbolical occasions).

Another type of public activity which foreshadows an aspect under which the New Republic will emerge is to be found in the unofficial organizations that have come into existence in Great Britain to watch and criticise various public departments. There is, for example, the Navy League, a body of intelligent and active persons with a distinctly expert qualification which has intervened very effectively in naval control during the last few years. There is also at present a vast amount of disorganized but quite intelligent discontent with the tawdry futilities of army reform that occupy the War Office. It becomes apparent that there is no hope of a fully efficient and well equipped official army under parliamentary government, and with that realization there will naturally appear a disposition to seek some way to military efficiency, as far as is legally possible, outside War Office control. Already recruiting is falling off; it will probably fall off more and more as the patriotic emotions evoked by the Boer war fade away, and no trivial addition to pay or privilege will restore it. Elementary education has at least raised the intelligence of the British lower classes to a point where the prospect of fighting in distant lands under unsuitably educated British officers of means and gentility, with a defective War Office equipment and inferior weapons, has lost much of its romantic glamour. But an unofficial body that set itself to the establishment of a school of military science,* to the sane organization and criticism of military experiments in tactics and equipment, and the raising for experimental purposes of volunteer companies and battalions, would find no lack of men. * * * What an unofficial syndicate of capable persons of the new sort may do in these matters has been shown in the case of the *Turbinia,* the germ of an absolute revolution in naval construction.

Such attempts at unofficial soldiering would be entirely in the spirit in which I believe the New Republic will emerge, but it is in another line of activity that the growing new consciousness will presently be much more distinctly apparent. It is increasingly evident that to organize and control public education is beyond the power of a democratic government. The meanly equipped and pretentiously conducted private schools of Great Britain, staffed with ignorant and incapable young men, exist on the other hand, to witness that public education is no matter

*With a chair for Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, for example.

to be left to merely commercial enterprise working upon parental ignorance and social prejudice. The necessary condition to the effective development of the New Republic is a universally accessible, spacious and varied educational system working in an atmosphere of efficient criticism and general intellectual activity. Schools alone are of no avail, universities are merely dens of the higher cramming, unless the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses and lecturers are in touch with and under the light of an abundant, contemporary and fully adult intellectuality. At present, in Great Britain at least, the headmasters entrusted with the education of the bulk of the influential men of the next decades are conspicuously second rate men, forced and etiolated creatures, scholarship boys manured with annotated editions and brought up under and protected from all current illumination by the kalepot of the Thirty-nine Articles. Many of them are less capable teachers and even less intelligent men than many board school teachers. There is, however, urgent need of an absolutely new type of school, a school that shall be at least so skilfully conducted as to supply the necessary training in mathematics and languages, in drawing and science, without either consuming all the leisure of the boy or destroying his individuality, as it is destroyed by the pretentious blunderers of to-day; and there is an equally manifest need of a new type of university, something other than a happy fastness for those precociously brilliant creatures—creatures whose brilliance is too often the hectic indication of a constitutional unsoundness of mind—who can "get in" before the portcullis of the nineteenth birthday falls. These new educational elements may either grow slowly through the steady and painful pressure of remorseless facts, or, as the effort to evoke the New Republic becomes more conscious and deliberate, they may be rapidly brought into being by the conscious endeavors of capable men. Assuredly they will never be developed by the wisdom of the government of the gray. It may be pointed out that in an individual and disorganized way something in this direction is already being done. Such great business managers as Mr. Andrew Carnegie, for example, and many other of the wealthy efficients of the United States of America are displaying a strong disinclination to found families of functionless shareholders and a strong disposition to contribute by means of colleges, libraries and splendid foundations to the future

of the whole English-speaking world. Indisputably these men are doing a fundamentally important work in these endowments, and as indisputably many of their successors—I do not mean the heirs to their private wealth, but the men of the same type who will play their *rôle* in the coming years—will carry on this spacious work with a wider prospect and a clearer common understanding.

The establishment of modern and efficient schools is alone not sufficient for the intellectual needs of the coming time. The school and university are merely the preparation for the life of mental activity in which the citizen of the coming state will live. The three years of university and a lifetime of stagnation which constitutes the mind's history of many a public schoolmaster for example to-day will be impossible under the new needs. The old-fashioned university, secure in its omniscience, merely taught; the university of the coming time will as its larger function criticise and learn. It will be organized for research, for the criticism, that is, of thought and nature. And a subtler and a greater task before those who will presently swear allegiance to the New Republic is to aid and stimulate that process of sound adult mental activity which is the cardinal element in human life. After all, in spite of the pretentious impostors who trade upon the claim, literature—contemporary literature—is the breath of civilized life, and those who sincerely think and write the salt of the social body. To mumble over the past, to live on the classics, however splendid, is senility. The New Republic will sustain its authors. In the past the author lived within the limits of his patron's susceptibility, and led the world, so far as he did lead it, from that cage. In the present he lives within the limits of a particularly distressful and ill-managed market. He must please and interest the public before he may reason with it, and even to reach the public ear involves other assiduities than writing. To write one's best is surely sufficient work for a man, but unless the author is prepared to add to his literary toil the correspondence and alert activity of a business man, he may find that no measure of acceptance will save him from a mysterious poverty. Publishing has become a trade, differing only from the trade in pork or butter, in the tradesman's careless book-keeping and his professed indifference to the quality of his goods. But, unless the whole mass of argument in these Anticipations is false,

publishing is as much or even more of a public concern than education and as little to be properly discharged by private men working for profit. On the other hand, it is not to be undertaken by a government of the gray, for a confusion cannot undertake to clarify itself. It is an activity in which the New Republic will necessarily engage.

The men of the New Republic will be intelligently critical men and they will have the courage of their critical conclusions. For the sake of the English tongue, for the sake of the English peoples, they will set themselves to put temptingly within the reach of all readers of the tongue and all possible readers of the tongue, an abundance of living literature. They will endeavor to shape the great publishing trusts and associations that will have the same relations to the publishing offices of to-day that a medical association has to a patent medicine dealer. They will not only publish, but sell; their efficient book shops, their efficient system of book distribution will replace the present haphazard dealings of quite illiterate persons under whose shadows people in the provinces live to-day.* If one of these publishing groups decides that a book, new or old, is of value to the public mind, I conceive the copyright will be secured and the book produced all over the world in every variety of form and price that seems necessary to its exhaustive sale. Moreover, these publishing associations will sustain spaciously conceived organs of opinion and criticism, which will begin by being patiently and persistently good and so develop into power. And the more distinctly the New Republic emerges, the less danger there will be of these associations being allowed to outlive their service in a state of ossified authority. New groups of men and new phases of thought will organize their publishing associations as children learn to talk.

And while the New Republic is thus developing its idea of itself and organizing its mind, it will also be growing out of the confused and intricate businesses and undertakings and public

*In a large town like Folkestone, for example, it is practically impossible to buy any book but a current novel unless one has ascertained the names of the author, the book, the edition, and the publisher. There is no index in existence kept up to date that supplies these particulars. If, for example, one wants—as I want—(1) to read all that I have not read of the works of Mr. Frank Stockton; (2) to read a book of essays by Professor Ray Lankester, whose title I have forgotten; and (3) to buy the most convenient edition of the works of Swift, one has to continue wanting until the British Museum Library chances to get in one's way. The book-selling trade supplies no remedy.

services of the present time, into a recognizable material body. The synthetic process that is going on in the case of many of the larger businesses of the world, that formation of Trusts that bulks so large in American discussion, is of the utmost significance in this connection. Conceivably the first impulse to form Trusts came from a mere desire to control competition and economize working expenses, but even in its very first stages this process of coalescence has passed out of the region of commercial operations into that of public affairs. The Trust develops into the organization under men more capable than any sort of public officials, of entire industries, of entire departments of public life, quite outside the ostensible democratic government system altogether. The whole apparatus of communications, which we have seen to be of such primary importance in the making of the future, promises to pass, in the case of the United States at least, out of the region of scramble into the domain of deliberate control. The American iron and steel industries have been drawn together and developed in a manner that is a necessary preliminary to the capture of the empire of the seas. These things are not the work of dividend hunting imbeciles, but of men who regard wealth as a convention, as a means to spacious material ends. There is an animated little paper published in Los Angeles in the interests of Mr. Wilshire which bears upon its forefront the maxim, "Let the Nation own the Trusts." Well, under their mantle of property, the Trusts grow into continually more elaborate and efficient machines of production and public service and the formal Nation chooses its Bosses and reads its illustrated press. I must confess I do not see the negro and the poor Irishman and all the emigrant sweepings of Europe, which constitute the American Abyss, uniting to form that great Socialist party that with a little demonstrating and balloting will presently take over the foundry and the electrical works, the engine shed and the signal box, from the capable men in charge. But that a confluent system of Trust-owned business and of universities and reorganized military and naval services, may presently discover an essential unity of purpose, presently begin thinking a literature and behaving like a State, is a much more possible thing. . . .

So it is, or at least in some such ways, that I conceive the growing sense of itself which the new class of modern efficients will develop, will become manifest, here and there, in movements

and concerns that are now heterogeneous and distinct, but will presently drift to co-operation and coalescence. This idea of a synthetic reconstruction within the bodies of the English-speaking states may very possibly clothe itself in quite other formulæ than my phrase of the New Republic, but the need is with us, the social elements are developing among us, the appliances are arranging themselves for the hands that will use them, and I cannot but believe that the idea of a spacious common action will presently come. In a few years I believe many men who are now rather aimless, men who have disconsolately watched the collapse of the old Liberalism, will be clearly telling themselves and one another of their adhesion to this new ideal. They will be working in schools and newspaper offices, in foundry and factory, in colleges and laboratories, in county councils and on school boards —even, it may be, in pulpits—for the time when the coming of the New Republic will be ripe. It may even be dawning in the schools of law—because presently there will be a new and scientific handling of jurisprudence. The highly educated and efficient officers' mess will rise mechanically and drink to the Monarch and sit down to go on discussing the New Republic's growth. I do not see, indeed, why an intelligent Monarch, in these days, should not waive his Divine Right and come into the movement with these others. When the growing conception touches, as in America it has already touched, the legacy leaving class, there will be fewer new Asylums, perhaps, but more university chairs. . . . So it is I conceive the elements of the New Republic taking shape and running together through the social mass, picking themselves out more and more clearly, from the shareholder, the parasitic speculator and the wretched multitudes of the Abyss. The New Republicans will constitute an informal and open freemasonry. In all sorts of ways they will be influencing and controlling the apparatus of the ostensible governments; they will be pruning irresponsible property, checking speculators and controlling the abyssward drift; but at that, at an indirect control, at any sort of fiction the New Republic, from the very nature of its cardinal ideas, will not rest. There will be a time, in peace or under stresses of warfare, when the theory will have been worked out and the details will be ready and accepted and the new order will be ready to begin. And then, indeed, it will begin.

H. G. WELLS.

A MODERN ITALIAN VIEW OF HUMOR.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

(Second Paper.)

SIGNOR BELLEZZA talks, and we all talk, of English humor, American humor, German humor, Spanish humor, French humor, Italian humor, as if they were essentially unlike, when essentially they are alike. I will not try to say how, for that way danger lies: the danger of trying to say what humor essentially is. I notice Signor Bellezza himself shuns that as much as possible, and contents himself with giving instances without theories. We know a joke when we see it, as we know a poem when we see it; but what a joke is we can no more safely undertake to say than what a poem is. There the thing is: like it or leave it, but do not expect any one to explain to you the grounds of your liking or leaving it. That is what Signor Bellezza mainly seems to say, and he is quite in the right. If he sometimes tries to distinguish between the different kinds of humor, by nationalities, it is perhaps because he has been tempted beyond his strength. For my own part, in the kind of humor which I know best—the American, namely—I have found examples of it in regions so remote that I have been forced to choose between faith in the solidarity of humor everywhere, and fear that the aliens are now and then able, by means of some telepathic plagiary, to pilfer us of our good things before we say them.

I was always amused by the saying of a Western farmer in a very wet season, that "It rained and rained, and after a while it got so it set up nights and rained." But in Switzerland I heard of an old peasant who remarked of a very cold season, "The winter has come to spend the summer with us," and then I felt

*Paolo Bellezza. "Humour." Strenna a Beneficio del Pio Istituto dei Rachitici. Milano. 1900.

that all republican peoples were really one, or else that American humor and Swiss humor were of the same native picturesqueness.

I.

In that chapter on grisly humor, which is one of the best in the book, and is the longest, we Americans enter freely, and chiefly, as we should, in the person of Mark Twain, who is cited four times to Thackeray's once, though he is distanced by Dickens. It is interesting to note how universal this humor is, and it seems to be really the most humorous humor, in imparting that shock of contrasts, which seems to be the essence of humor, or its prime motive. Shakespeare, Fielding, Guerrazzi, Godfrey Keller, Bret Harte, Heine, Quevedo, Addison, Larra, Kipling, Steele, Flaubert, Alfieri, Byron, Daudet, Dostoyevsky, Balzac, Hoffmann and Charles Mathews are by no means all the others who figure in this famous chapter, in support of my theory that humor is human and not national. When it comes to grinning back at skeletons, mocking at murder and smiling at suicide it appears that Americans, Englishmen, Germans, Italians, Spaniards and Frenchmen are pretty much alike. The honors are not quite so easy in the matter of gallows-humor; the North carries these off, as has already been allowed. In regard to cannibalism, Signor Bellezza thinks it the forte of Mark Twain, as a humorous inspiration. "And here," he says, "I do not mean fugitive touches, but whole stories based, if I may so express myself, upon anthropophagy," and in sufficient proof he limits himself to a synopsis of that terrible tale of "Cannibalism in the Cars," which has made us all shudder. He seems not to know of that yet awfuller adventure with the box of rifles in the express car, which in the way of grisly humor may challenge all literature for its like. In bizarre humor he puts us well towards the head, instancing from Mark Twain a passage out of "Adam's Diary," registering Adam's speculations as to the real nature of his first born and his place in zoölogy, and "Lucretia Smith's Soldier," whom Lucretia nurses back to life and finds the wrong man when he is well enough to have the bandages taken from his face. From George Derby (John Phœnix) he gives that early humorist's plan for the reform of language on a mathematical basis, with a maximum grade of 100. "Example: 'How are you?' 'I am 70, but my

mother, poor thing, is only 15, and I am afraid that before night she will not be more than 10.' Or: 'Madam, I am only 7 rich, but I love you 100, and I hope by hard work to put myself in a 65 position.' "

II.

I am tempted to throw together what Signor Bellezza has to say of most significance concerning all the aspects of the business in hand. He confesses: "If I had to make a treatise in due form, or rather a regular discourse, I should find myself baffled at the start, because all treatises commence, as is just, with a bold definition, and humor cannot be defined. . . . It is a specialty of the Northern peoples, somewhat like the beer that we meridional folk find somewhat harsh to the palate, and would not like for our daily drink. It is neither acuteness, nor grace, nor *verve;* it has generally a serious aspect when all around are laughing, as Addison says, . . . and according to the greatest living humorist, Mark Twain, 'the humorist when he tells a story seems not to have the remotest suspicion that there is anything funny in it.' . . . Precisely here is the essential difference that distinguishes the humorous from the comic, of which it is yet a form; it springs rather from a contrast, and the contrast is . . . that of sorrow and joy, a pathetic situation and a comic circumstance; as has been felicitously said, 'it is an oscillation between laughter and tears.' . . . The humorist forbears the jeremiad, the lamentation, even when his soul is running over with anguish. He would not shed rivers of tears over the fate of man here below, doomed to yearn for the true, and to know it only with sore labor and in little part; but he will content himself in agreeing with Larra, that 'all the truths in this world could be written on a cigarette paper.' The social injustices that provoke the invectives of the pessimist and the sociologist he will formulate in the fashion of that famous sentence of Guerrazzi, 'Force is the great mother Eve of all the rights.' . . . But here let us understand ourselves clearly. If humor consisted solely in recognizing and formulating the relations that connect joy and sorrow, their confusion and their perennial alternation one after the other in human destiny, I should be ready to say that the humorists were as numerous as the authors, in fact, as the men themselves. . . . The

humorist is he who does not keep on singing this truth in all the various tunes, but is intimately seized and pervaded by it, and informs his thoughts and his works from it."

This is very well as far as it goes, but here nothing can go to the bottom, for if it could, humor is so deeply founded in human nature that any definition which reached it would be in danger of coming out on the other side, and proving a luminous concept of pathos. Our author makes a better try in saying of the humorist, "He does not know how to remain long, or will not, in a situation affecting, dramatic or otherwise serious; but he interrupts it brusquely with some unexpected observation that scatters, or, so to speak, disorients the ideas and sensations of the reader, and gives them a new direction." Again he says, beginning a fresh chapter, as he is apt to do with a fresh attempt at analysis, "Humor is truly among the literary kinds that which can be contained in the smallest terms. Nothing is too little; it finds its occasion in everything, even that which is slightest, thinnest, most impalpable, and for this reason it is difficult to analyze it. It lurks, let me say, in a parenthesis, in a comparison; the more modest the form it takes, the more vividly it frees itself and the more piquant it proves."

III.

Signor Bellezza, who is no mean humorist himself, says, as I have noticed, that the ancients, as they used to be called, though they have been growing more and more contemporaneous with us ever since the revival of learning, had no humor, in the modern sense. He refuses to tell why, because it would not be easy, and then he whimsically goes on to give at least one reason. "It is this: the world of the ancients was limited in space, and so by consequence in ideas, in cognitions, in sentiments; proportionately few, therefore, were those contrasts (of concepts and facts) from which humor chiefly springs. And for pity's sake, let me not be accused of irreverence for the ancients in general and their authors in particular. Shall the ancients be offended if it is said of them they did not know the use of tobacco, and were not Alpinists? That here and there," he adds, "you find in the classic writings some little splash, some slight trace, of what we understand by humor is another affair, and no one thinks of disputing it. It is seen, for instance, in that passage of Lucian's

'Dialogues of the Dead,' which I here give a part of: 'O Menippus, Diogenes exhorts you, if you have not laughed enough at things on earth, to come up here, where you will laugh more yet. There your laughter had always a certain doubt, such a doubt as, 'Who knows what will be after death?' But here you will not cease to laugh with your whole heart as I do now. Above all, you will see the rich, the satraps, the tyrants, so transfigured that they are to be recognized only by their lamentations. . . . And tell the beautiful and the strong that with us there are no longer any blond locks, nor black or blue eyes, nor carnation complexions, nor powerful limbs; but tell them that we are all pumpkin heads, skulls bereft of beauty,' etc."

It seems to me that in this passage alone Signor Bellezza casts his whole theory of the ancients in doubt, and it is curious to note that the grudge against the prosperous and fortunate, which we suppose to have come in with Christianity, was a commonplace of the pagans. As for that other before-mentioned theory of Signor Bellezza's, namely, that the Latin peoples have less humor than the Gothic, what he says in support of it is so interesting that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of reporting it. "Roots less profound, fibres less diffuse, does the plant of humor strike in Latin soil, for the reason, to give only one, of the specific qualities of its people, qualities which are determined in part at least by 'the ambient,' or the external conditions: the mild climate, the sky more smiling and sunny than elsewhere, nature all joyous, inviting to expansive jocundity. Yet if there is lacking in these literatures a true and proper current, or a continuous tradition, of the humorous, they seem, as it were, constellated by a few great writers who in this region have left the profoundest effect. Of Spain it suffices to recall that it is the country of Cervantes, as well as of Quevedo and of Larra," a humorist whom I do not know of; but I should like again to add to Signor Bellezza's list of witnesses against himself those modern Spanish writers whom I love so much. It may be that the large mixture of the Goths with the elder Spaniards brought that rich strain of humor into the Iberian blood, but Signor Bellezza has no opinion on this point. In regard to French humor, he summons enough witnesses, from Rabelais down, to put his reader in doubt again, and when it comes to his own Italians, the misgiving mounts. Is he too modest, or is he only mocking our

thick Gothic pride in a quality which we sometimes fancy we have the monopoly of? If he had said America was the classic home of humor, we should be less inclined to dispute him, but perhaps he is right, after all, in giving the primacy to England. More than in any other literature, the humorous conception of the universe prevails in the English, and that is the supreme proof of humor. It is suggested in the passage which he quotes from Lucian, concerning that certain doubt of what shall be after death, which lurks in our laughter here, and mutes it on our trembling lips. It is this certain doubt which gives its prevailing cast to English literature more in the mother isle than in our continental condition of it; and it is literature which is the expression of a people's soul. To us belongs the humor that laughs and makes laugh; I believe Mark Twain himself somewhere claims that our humor is the only humor that is funny, and without pushing this claim we can allow that it is funnier than the English. It may even be as wise, and yet at the end of the ends it is not so satisfying; so that one agrees with Signor Bellezza's final judgment when he declares Mark Twain to be the greatest living humorist, but adds: "Yet more than in Mark Twain and in Swift, more than in Addison and in Byron, the prism of humor darts from its thousand facets its varicolored and vivid flashes in him whom the world of letters so long ignored and contemned. . . . 'Wonderful Shakespeare!' exclaims Manzoni, in one of the few apostrophes which enthusiasm ever forced from the incontentable artist, 'wonderful Shakespeare!' . . . And with the names of these two idols of mine let me be allowed to close my haply too long discourse. It will be easy for critics to find defaults and mistakes in it. . . . Be my excuse with them, and with my readers generally, the immensity and the novelty of my theme, and the modest design which led me in treating it to offer nothing more than an attempt or an essay."

IV.

Through his ultimate expression of one's own opinion, Signor Bellezza puts himself so entirely in the right that one has no longer the least wish to find him wrong in anything. For my part, I should no more think of questioning his award of the eternal and universal humorism to Shakespeare than of questioning his verdict with respect to Il Twain, whom it is difficult,

after once habituating one's self to these Italian terms, to speak of in any others. He is not only the greatest living humorist, but incomparably the greatest, and without a rival since Cervantes and Shakespeare, unless it be that eternal Jew, Heinrich Heine, who of all the humorists is the least like him. Heine's humor is at every moment autobiographical, and for far the greater part Mr. Clemens's humor is so; Shakespeare's alone is impersonal, but this may be on account of the dramatic form, and more apparent than real. Heine and Mark Twain are both archromantic, just as they are both autobiographical, though to what different ends! One is subjectively romantic and personal, the other objectively romantic and personal. Mark Twain expresses in this difference the very essence and inalienable intent of American humor, which is apparently the least conscious and really the least literary of all the forms and phases of humor, while Heine's is the most conscious and the most literary. Is this measurably true of the other German humorists? I am not sure, and I cannot pretend to have the documents for the verification of the point. Of Heine I can more or less honestly speak, but as for the other German humorists, life is short, and art in them at least seems very long. The most wonderful thing in Heine is how he transmutes literature into life, and distills into it the blood and tears of literary anguish. Am I saying that he is a poseur? Perhaps I am saying that, but while he lay there in his mattress-grave in Paris, he mocked and mocked, not less than in his books, or at least when he had an audience; and no doubt the second nature which comes to men from bathing their souls in literature had made itself his first nature. He expressed the supreme humoristic conception of the universe in the cry from that grave:

"O schöne Welt, du bist abscheulich!"

and one's heart aches in pity and one's nerves thrill in awe of the poseur. After all, pain is not a pose, nor death, and there he knew both. In all his books he was at least true to his genius, for, in some light or other, everything that he wrote was humorous.

V.

In the admirable introduction which Signor Gaetano Negri has supplied to our author's work there are some passages which reveal a like, if not an equal, sense of the subject. "The classic

age," he says, "of this singular manifestation of the human spirit began with Shakespeare, and its importance grew from century to century, until it became the prevalence in ours, above all in the literature of the northern peoples. Humor is a form which could be born only of a highly complex society, traversed by various and opposite currents of thought and feeling, and in which was lost that security of principles and ideals which renders simple and clear the vision of the world. There is in humor a *fond* of skepticism more or less hidden, and a tendency to insistent and painful analysis, which finds in a smile the ultimate expression of the human contradictions."

I know that I am questioning Signor Bellezza's friend rather than himself when I doubt whether our humor did not begin with Chaucer instead of Shakespeare, and it is not at this end of the long line that I should find our essayist of an uncertain hold. It is in his notices of modern English humor that I find his hand lax, and now and then not of a wide grasp. He prefaces each of his chapters with an English motto, taking the first from Mark Twain's reply to M. Bourget, "Well, Humor is the great thing," but by far the greatest number of his instances and allusions are from and to the humor of Dickens. Now, this humor was very well in its way, but it hardly can make us laugh any more, and it was always rather of the nature of the laughter of horses, the play of horses. It was fantastic and willful and forced, and expressed itself in characters which bore much the same resemblance to the human species as the effigies which keep the crows from the cornfields, and in crude communities express the popular indignation with persons of opposite political convictions. He had not a humorous conception of life, which is the great thing rather than humor itself, if Mark Twain, who has it, will allow me to dispute him. Dickens was a great histrionic talent, and produced powerful if simple effects in that sort. But he was not of the fine English humorists who began with Chaucer, or with Shakespeare, as you please, and came down with Swift, and Addison, and Steele, and Sterne, and Goldsmith, and perhaps Scott, and Thackeray, to a humorist who may almost stand with Shakespeare himself. I mean Thomas Hardy, who in his vision of humanity, in his entirely ironical and humorous conception of life is possibly the greatest of all the present English, and I am not forgetting the Scotchman, Mr. William Gilbert. I am remembering that the

master of the whimsical cannot be the equal of a humorist in whom the sense of the droll is never parted from the sense of the dreadful, any more than it is in Heine, in whom the pathetic prevails, or Mark Twain, in whom the comic prevails. Yet Mr. Gilbert is, next to Mr. Hardy, the chief of those English humorists, after Shakespeare, who make us shake in our proud conviction that the American humorists are supreme. To this pair I should like to add the demure little figure of Jane Austen, which, when you look at it qualitatively, is so gigantic. Certainly, if any one ever had the humorous vision of the world, she had, and if her smile was dry rather than tearful, it was of an exquisite and almost unmatched intelligence.

VI.

Signor Bellezza does not mention Jane Austen with the three women whom he invites to his Valhalla, of whom two, I own, are as unknown to me as she seems to him. The third is hardly unknown to any lover of humor, and in naming and citing George Eliot he recognizes a humorist of the highest type, who failed to blend her qualities to that effect which is the highest type of humor. The face which she turned upon life was one-half tragedy and one-half comedy, and not that composite visage, so inextricably blended that you cannot tell whether it is laughing or crying, and is probably always both laughing and crying. "The humorist," says our author, "so wooes, so desires pain that the most atrocious pang becomes for him a source of satisfaction and delight; he jokes about it; he makes it the argument of pleasantries and epigrams." George Eliot was never quite up to this level; she kept her ambrosia in one cup and her infusion of wormwood in another.

Was she too honest, too kind, too good to mix them? After all, the draught is one that many tender and loving souls turn from with horror, insomuch that it may be gravely doubted whether there is humor in heaven, where there can be no contrast of the ideal and the real, the potential and the actual, which constitutes our life in this world, and which makes us burst into pitying tears, but also into cruel laughter, when we see it.

This doubt once seriously troubled me, but since the rich man began giving so handsomely as he has done, especially in America, there can no longer be the old misgiving as to his final destiny, at

least in the case of rich Americans, and I do not see why the humorists, who have got so much fun out of him here, should be shut out of his company there. Still I doubt if there will be joking there; and this ought to be some comfort to our English brethren, who are said to find American jokes so hard to understand, at a time when American jokes have become so common.

I am by no means persuaded that all the American jokes are worth understanding, or that the English are quite to blame for not laughing at them; and yet I cannot deny there is a pathos in the hard case of those jokers of ours who bring back their jokes in the original packages, as it were, from England. About this time they will be arriving home by steamer-loads, each with a sorrowful tale of humorous things of theirs that have failed in London. If we are to believe them, they have all moved in the highest English society, but even in those homes of the aristocracy, where Mr. Depew tells us there is such enlightened appreciation of intellectual worth, American humor has fallen dead from their lips with what used to be called a sickening thud. In view of this fact I have sometimes suspected that the American humorists have demanded too much of their English hosts, the nobility and gentry, with whom alone they consort in England. These have naturally not been able to supply the American atmosphere, the background of American experience essential to the appreciation of American humor. At one time our national humor played almost wholly around the difficulties of putting up and taking down that popular family altar, the parlor stove; and how should an Englishman understand it? At other times, our humor came entirely from the frontier, from the ranch and the mining camp, and was rich in the amusing suggestions of holding up travellers, and getting the drop on one's antagonists in barroom controversies, and other situations illustrative of the drollery of gun-play. The very last American joke which I heard of as failing in the best English society was that about the householder who puts his pistol into the face of the burglar at his window, with the brief warning, "You get!" and the burglar answers, "You bet!" When a glad American guest had confidently purveyed this musty chestnut, his mirthful consciousness of our national humor was chilled by the question of his hostess, "And what was the wager?" But she ought really to have had him put out of the house; and I am not sure that the English would not do well

to exclude American humorists from the society of their better classes.

I understood from something I heard Du Maurier say, twenty years ago, that telling stories at dinner had gone out in England, or was going out. "But Jones still tells stories," a commensal opposed. "Yes," said Du Maurier, "but you always feel as if he were tumbling for his dinner." In this fact, perhaps, we may find the reason of the thing which has mystified so many American jokers in their English experience. Perhaps the English have understood their stories perfectly well, but have not thought them in good taste, and so have not laughed. Or very likely they have jokes enough of their own, and do not care to be loaded up with ours. Perhaps they think we have no humor. Dickens tells us that when he first visited America he suffered from our deadly lack of it.

Certainly the English have humorists enough, and of a quality which it is preposterous for us to question, as we sometimes do, principally, I think, when we are resenting the failure of some common or garden humorist of ours to make them laugh. If they are a nation so dull as this sort of humorist reports, when he gets safely back, they should be the very richest soil for humorists to flourish in. What inexhaustible subjects for humor they must be! Even our defeated jokers find them so, when they report their failures at home, amid roars of sympathetic American laughter. We hug ourselves when we hear how those single-minded islanders have missed the point of our continental jokes; but what if after all, they are not so single-minded? What if they are in a national conspiracy to ignore our humor, and so to discourage our humorists from frequenting their shores?

VII.

The humiliating truth is that we are still not only quantitatively but also qualitatively behind the English in humor, and not only in literary humor, but also in artistic humor. I have named one artistic English humorist—he was, to be sure, a French Belgian on his father's side—who abounded in that sweetness which seems wanting in our comic artists. But Du Maurier was not the only English artist who abounded in sweetness, and whose satire was almost a caress. There was Leech, there was Doyle, there was Keene, each in his way most lovable as

well as witty. Except Mr. Peter Newell, whose quaintness is full of gentle charm, the only American like them that I can think of is Mr. Oliver Herford, who is an Englishman; the rest of our good fellows have all a biting, rather than a caressing, wit. They are inferior to the Germans as well as the English in their want of sweetness, their want of humanity, one may even call it. You can hardly take up a copy of *Fliegende Blätter,* or *Jugend,* or even *Simplicissimus,* without coming on proof of the fact; a spirit of kindliness pervades not only those little domestic comedies which humorous German art is so rich in, but it tinges the sharpest political satire on which the humorists may venture in conditions where the law of lese-majesty is over-soul. We are the most intensely domesticated people in the world, with the purest and most loving family life; but if you believe our graphic humorists, we are always aiming to make mercenary marriages, when we are not trying for divorces, and our children are of an odiousness for which universal putting to bed would be gross indulgence. These humorists of ours are not nasty as to their minds, in the French way, but they are nasty in their tempers, apparently, or else they render a perfunctory obedience to a supposed ideal in us, when they make things that are banal and brutal and cruel. There is not one of them who embodies in the graphic way anything of the colossal humor, the constant generosity, of Mark Twain. We might suppose they would sometimes let themselves go in the direction of satire on our civilization, which needs it so sadly, but they nibble conventionally round the edges of society, and give us Summer Girls when they are not atrociously mocking the misery that walks our land in the Weary Willies they delight to show in a perennial week's beard and battered hat; or else they draw us impossibly truculent millionaires.

If any of our comic artists has ever really a mind to come to the help of humanity with his pencil he will do well to read Signor Bellezza's chapter on humor in art. It will give him a perspective if it does not supply him a perfect philosophy.

W. D. HOWELLS.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

General Lew Wallace,

whose writings have made his name familiar to a great multitude of readers in many lands, was born at Brookville, Indiana, in 1827. He served in the Mexican War as a junior officer of the First Indiana Infantry, and when peace was restored he completed his legal studies and established himself in Covington, whence he removed later to Crawfordsville. On the outbreak of the Civil War he was appointed Adjutant-General of Indiana, but he went to the front as Colonel of the Eleventh Indiana Volunteers. He became Brigadier-General of Volunteers in September, 1861, and Major-General in March, 1862, and rose to the command of the Eighth Army Corps. Among the most valuable of his many brilliant services were his successful defence of Cincinnati in 1863, and his arrest of General Early's march on Washington, July 9, 1864, which saved the national capital from capture. He was a member of the court which tried the assassins of Lincoln, and president of the court which convicted the commandant of Andersonville prison. From 1881 to 1885 he represented the United States in Turkey. Besides "Ben Hur," he has written "The Fair God," "The Boyhood of Christ" and "The Prince of India."

J. C. Burrows

was born in Northeast, Erie County, Pennsylvania, in 1837. On finishing his academical education he chose the law for his profession; but shortly after the commencement of the Civil War he gave up a lucrative practice to enter the Union army, in which he served with distinction as an officer for three years. On his return from the front he was appointed Prosecuting Attorney for Kalamazoo County, Michigan. He sat in the House of Representatives in 1873-75, 1879-83 and 1885-95. He succeeded Senator Stockbridge in the United States Senate, and he was re-elected for the term from 1899 to 1905.

Edgar Aldrich,

after a classical course in one of the academies of his native State, New Hampshire, entered the University of Michigan, and graduated from the law department of that institution in

1868. In the same year he was admitted to the New Hampshire bar, and he immediately began practice at Colebrook, where he remained till 1881, when he removed to Littleton. From 1872 to 1874, and again from 1876 to 1879, he was Solicitor for Coos County, and in 1885 he was Speaker of the New Hampshire Legislature. In 1891 he was appointed United States Judge for the district of New Hampshire.

THE DUKE OF ARCOS,

José Brunetti Gayozo, is a distinguished member of the bar of Madrid. He has been in the diplomatic service of Spain for nearly forty years. From 1864 to 1880 he was Secretary of Legation at a number of capitals. He was sent to Bolivia, as Minister Plenipotentiary, in 1881; to Uruguay, in 1889; to Chili, in 1893; to Mexico, in 1898; and in 1899 to the United States.

EDWIN F. ATKINS

is eminently qualified, by an intimate personal knowledge of Cuba and long experience in every branch of the sugar industry, to write with authority on the subject to which his contribution is devoted. At an early age he entered the counting-house of his father, Elisha Atkins, a Boston merchant who for many years had business relations with the West Indies, and in 1870 he was sent to Cuba. From that time till now he has spent a portion of every year upon the Island. Mr. Atkins owns and operates a large and modern sugar estate in Cuba, which has been gradually built up under his own supervision during the past twenty years.

N. S. SHALER

graduated in 1862 at the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard, of which he is now the head. For two years he served as an artillery officer in the Union army during the Civil War. From 1868 to 1872 he was instructor in zöology and geology in the Lawrence Scientific School. He was Professor of Palæontology in Harvard University from 1868 to 1887, and since the latter year he has been Professor of Geology there.

JOAQUIN MILLER,

the name by which Cincinnatus Heine Miller is publicly known, was first signed by him to his earliest collections of poems in commemoration of his defence of Joaquin Murietta, a noted Mexican brigand. Mr. Miller was born in Wabash District, Indiana, in 1841, and when a boy moved with his parents to Oregon. After mining for several years in Cali-

fornia, he returned to Oregon in 1860 and studied law. He edited the *Democratic Register* in Eugene, Oregon, and for four years he was Judge of Grant County in the same State. In 1870 he went abroad, and he travelled in Southern Europe and in England, and while in England he published his first book of poems, which met with a favorable reception. For several years he was engaged in journalism in Washington, and he returned in 1887 to California, where he has since resided. Among his best known works are "Songs of the Sierras," "Songs of the Sun Lands" and "Shadows of Shasta."

LYMAN J. GAGE

has been Secretary of the United States Treasury since March 5th, 1897, when he entered the Cabinet of the late President McKinley. He was born in De Ruyter, New York, and learned the rudiments of business in the Oneida Central Bank, which at the age of seventeen he entered as office boy and junior clerk. Two years later he went to Chicago, where he found employment as a clerk in a planing-mill. From 1858 to 1861 he was bookkeeper and from 1861 to 1868 cashier in the Merchants' Loan and Trust Company. In 1868 he became cashier of the First National Bank of Chicago, and after holding the office of Vice-President of that institution for several years, he was appointed its President in 1891.

MARRION WILCOX.

A note regarding Mr. Wilcox will be found in the number of the REVIEW for September last.

REAR-ADMIRAL G. W. MELVILLE, U. S. N.,

was the subject of a note in this department in the number for April last.

WALTER WELLMAN,

journalist and explorer, was born at Mentor, Ohio, in 1858. At the age of twenty-four he established the *Cincinnati Evening Post*, and since 1884 he has acted as the political and Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Herald* and the *Times-Herald*. In 1892 he located the landing-place of Columbus on Watling Island, Bahamas, and marked the spot with a monument. In 1894 he led an expedition to the Arctic regions, reaching latitude 81 degrees, northeast of Spitzbergen; and in 1898-99 he headed an expedition which discovered a number of new islands in the neighborhood of Franz Josef Land.

W. H. Baldwin, Jr.,

was prepared for the university at Roxbury Latin School, Boston, and graduated from Harvard in 1885. He has been prominently identified with the railway business for a number of years. He served his apprenticeship to it as division freight agent of the Union Pacific Railway, at Butte, Montana, and he was soon advanced to be assistant general freight agent of that line at Omaha, Nebraska, and subsequently to be manager of its Leavenworth division. In 1889 he was made general manager of the Montana Union Railway; in 1890 he became Vice-President of the Union Pacific Railway, and President of the Long Island Railway Company in 1896. He was made Chairman of the Committee of Fifteen which was entrusted by the citizens of New York with the task of effecting a reform of the social conditions prevailing in that city.

H. C. McLeod

is a native of Prince Edward Island. Beginning life as bookkeeper for a law firm in Charlottetown, he entered the service of the Bank of Prince Edward Island, which was absorbed in 1882 by the Bank of Nova Scotia. As the representative of the latter institution he was engaged in bank management in Minneapolis and Chicago for ten years, residing in Chicago from 1892 to 1897, a period during which our monetary system was subjected to the most severe strain. In 1897 he was appointed General Manager of his bank.

Bliss Carman

is a Canadian by birth, having been born at Fredericton, New Brunswick, in 1861. He passed with distinction through the University of New Brunswick, and spent several years in private reading and study at Edinburgh and Harvard universities. In 1890 he became literary editor of *The Independent*, and he has been at various times connected with the *Cosmopolitan*, the *Atlantic Monthly* and other periodicals. Among the books which bear his name are "Low Tide on Grand Pré" and "Behind the Arras."

Arthur Houghton,

doyen of the Anglo-American correspondents of Madrid, is one of the best-informed foreign writers in Spain on Spanish affairs. He represents the London *Standard* and the Paris *Temps*, and is the author of several historical works devoted to Spanish politics. He has long made a special study of the finances of Spain.

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PREVENTION OF PRESIDENTIAL ASSASSINATIONS.

BY GENERAL LEW. WALLACE.

THE duty of doing something to stop the assassination of our Presidents is upon us heavily.

Undoubtedly, when the news of the shooting of Mr. McKinley went abroad, the people were like soldiers fired on while in careless march; their surprise bordered on panic—it was so complete and terrible. They went about in a kind of daze, asking each other: What kind of creature is it of a nature to do such a deed, at such a time, under such circumstances, making victim of such a man? Can there be others like him? Who and where are they? Fury succeeded the first overwhelm, then sorrow; and now that they are themselves they are spending their intelligence wondering what Congress will do, when the real question is—what Congress *can* do.

Within a few days I have put that *real* question to lawyers of good standing in their profession, casting it in this form: The people of the country are in lively expectation that Congress will do something to assure our Presidents against assassination—something adequate. Now, what can Congress do?

Many of them would meet the query with a serious look, give

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their brains a violent wrench—stop—then fall back behind the old entrenchment of the unready: "The point is new to me. I cannot recall any decision of application."

Some of the replies are of value, not specially for the legal illumination let go, but as indications of mental formations in process.

For example. "What can Congress do in the matter?" one asked, then answered: "Why, it can declare the assassination murder."

And I responded: "That would be merely cumulative. Czolgosz is about to be hung under a New York statute."

Another replied: "Congress can authorize Commissioner Powderly to double the guard at the immigrant gate, and, making the incomers prove themselves, separate the anarchists and return them."

And I answered: "Returning the anarchists upon Mr. Powderly's discovery would be an act short in comity to some Old World friend; besides, it would not be repressive of the anarchists already in domicile here. Still more, the anarchists are not all foreigners. Booth and Guiteau were natives born, and Czolgosz may be."

The same gentleman made another essay. "Congress," he said, "can give the President any number of soldiers to watch over him when he sleeps, and go with him when he goes abroad. For that matter, it can place an army of detectives at his service."

To which I in *riposte:* "Congress can impeach the President for official misconduct, but it cannot control him personally. It cannot bid him stay here or go there. Under pretence of a guard of honor, it cannot make him a prisoner. He is, in fact, the Executive Department, and in the province of discretion royally independent. Nor that merely. As Commander-in-Chief, it is already in his power to order the entire regular army of the United States to Washington, and encamp it around the White House."

Then I had to smile, for to the eyes of my fancy there rose a vision of the utterly impossible—a vision of Teddy the Strenuous about to go in search of a breath of sweet, outdoor air. The big, black horse so in his love is brought to the door; along with it comes a detachment of mounted guards, high-booted, sabred, and in far-flashing yellow splendor. Now the cavalcade

is starting. It stretches out in lengthened column. The Strenuous looks back over it, and asks himself: "What's this for?" His cheeks begin to burn, and feeling equal to his own salvation against any solitary anarchist in hiding somewhere on the road, he bids the chief of the escort: "Halt the guard. Now send it to quarters." And it is done, for the order is from the Commander-in-Chief direct. Then, while the Hero of Santiago pursues his way alone, he thinks the American thought: "The ways of the great and good Emperor William are for Germany; our American skies are not favorable to them. We are satisfied to patronize his beet sugar, without imitating his style of mustache or borrowing his idea of a nickel-helmeted bodyguard."

It should not be taken for granted, however, that Congress can do nothing to forward the object in discussion. True, it cannot make assurance absolute; *that* it could not, though in league with all the political powers of the earth; still there are resorts open to it.

It can, in the first place, make an annual appropriation of money, to be at the President's disposal without accounting, amply sufficient to enable him to maintain a secret service to look after his safety. So, without loss of dignity, without personal humiliation, without conceding anything to the devices of imperialism, without any change in the social relations which have been of such kindly existence between himself and the people since the government began, he can make his security as nearly absolute as devotion and detective genius can contrive and accomplish.

Congress might make itself useful, in the next place, by a reform of the regulations governing the admission of emigrants into the United States, the object being to separate the desirable from the undesirable of all classes, Anarchists and Nihilists in especial. An act for the purpose is of easy invention. It should contain these features:

1. One designated port of departure for emigrants in every country with which our government is in relation.

2. An *American* Consul resident at the designated port of departure, to whom the proposing emigrant must apply for a passport.

3. The Consul to make issuance of the passport dependent upon the proposing emigrant proving himself within the conditions prescribed by Congress.

4. Leaving at the port of entry (there should be but one) in the United States, a single inquiry: Is the person presenting the passport the identical person to whom it was issued?

5. Every one not possessed of the required passport to be returned whence he came by the vessel bringing him, unless held for cause.

There is yet another auxiliary service in the power of Congress, and because it appears to me the most important, I have reserved its consideration for the last. It is to set in motion an amendment to the definition of treason against the United States.

In that definition but two treasonable acts are recited—levying war against the United States, and adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort; conviction in both cases to depend upon an overt act testified to by two witnesses, or confession in open court. The definition is good so far as it goes; but I respectfully submit that it does not go far enough to cover necessities of the present time newly risen.

It is not to be supposed our fathers did not know in what treason consisted under the old English statutes; they were born and bred to them; yet when they were called on to make a definition of the crime suitable to their own independent state, they limited it to the two acts stated. With them conspiracies against the *King* and *compassing* (thinking about) his death, were familiar history; they seem, however, never to have thought of taking care of the life of the *President* of their own creation; much less that in their free America a day would dawn hideous with open proselyting in aid of societies founded upon assassination as a means of promoting an era of Chaos. In other words, Nihilism and Anarchy were in a sense unheard of by the fathers who made the Constitution, except as incidents of Hell in *Paradise Lost.* Indeed, there are a great many things of to-day, things good and things bad, which were not in the knowledge of our forbears, wise as they were; but because they were ignorant of the good, shall we not enjoy them? Because they did not anticipate the bad, shall we go on submitting to them? They discerned their conditions, and were faithful to them; why should not we study ours?

In criminology, upon the discovery of a new crime the first step is to give it a degree, the object being to arrive at a just penalty. Let us pursue the method now. Anarchy differs from Revolution (when the latter drops into the status of offense) in this:

As respects government, Revolution aims merely at substitution; while Anarchy proposes the doing away with all government. One should have no difficulty in deciding which of the two outranks the other.

Then as to murder. It seldom involves more than one victim, and in cases is justifiable. It has, also, by implication at least, somewhat of the element of fairness. As a rule, it is an incident of daylight. Provocation and passion attend it, and not unfrequently notice. Anarchy, on its side, is a seeking to make common merger of all human rights, meaning their total destruction, and to plunge mankind *en masse* into a maelstrom of confusion. Its motto is: Down with Law! Away with Order! It moves to its work out of darkness. Ambush and treachery are components of its strategy. Its primary war is with society, which has its foundations in political organization; hence the blow at the King or the President. In the nature of things its active agents and heroes must always be assassins. Other differences might be mentioned; the point being, however, to determine its degree as a crime, it seems to me enough is given. That is to say, Anarchy, could it be accomplished, would be the sum of all crimes; for which reason it should have first place in the catalogue.

Lifting Anarchy thus from an atrocious principle into the highest possible crime against society and the State, the first impulse is to say there is no commensurate penalty for it. Passion dictates death with torture when assassination is present; but civilization and Christianity both rise to the reproof of passion. Then directly it dawns upon us that we cannot do better than reform our definition of treason, and stop there; for of punishment there is nothing permitted us beyond the death of the criminal; besides which, since the day of the Roman, all the nations have been in agreement that treason is the highest crime possible of commission against sovereignty.

Nothing remains for consideration, then, except the form of the amendment. Obviously the points to be covered, or, in legal phrase, the evils to be remedied, should be allowed to control. The definition of treason is at present as follows:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court. The Congress shall have power to declare the punish-

ment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted."

Should the ideas submitted commend themselves, it may be of service to suggest amendments substantially in form:

Treason against the United States shall consist:

1. In levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

2. In feloniously taking or attempting to take the life of the President of the United States, or of the Acting President.

3. Agitation, conspiracy, or organization to subvert the government of the United States, or to hinder or obstruct its operation shall be treasonable; and for the suppression of such acts the Congress shall have power to do whatever it may judge requisite.

In the first and third cases Congress may declare the punishment; in the second case the punishment shall be death.

In the first case, no person shall be convicted of treason unless upon the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

No attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Permit me to remark, in conclusion, that with the foregoing amended definition in force the government would never again be compelled to sit helplessly by, knowing a conspiracy is making ready to destroy it.

In the next place, should Congress be of opinion that it is needful to unite with other Powers for the obliteration of Anarchy, it would have authority to do so—something not now clearly possible.

LEW. WALLACE.

THE NEED OF NATIONAL LEGISLATION AGAINST ANARCHISM.

BY SENATOR J. C. BURROWS.

No question of greater importance can devolve upon the Congress during its approaching session than the enactment of laws dealing with and looking to the suppression of the crime of anarchy in the United States. Heretofore, we have generally closed our eyes, seemingly, to the danger to the republic lurking in the presence of this monster. Possibly, it required such an occurrence as the terrible tragedy at Buffalo to bring the matter home to the Government with sufficient force to insure legislative action. In a general sort of way, we have been convinced of the necessity of doing something to hold the disciples of anarchy in check. We knew the institution and its followers as singularly hateful and especially abhorrent in a land of equal rights and universal liberty. The assassination of men and women practised by these fanatics under other governments shocked the whole civilized world, and every law-abiding American was in full sympathy with all efforts to suppress the evil and punish the criminals. But our execrations had in them something impersonal, something remote, relating to the feelings of others rather than our own, and the horror called forth by such events abroad as the murder of the Empress of Austria quickly gave way to the press of other affairs of domestic concern. Even the Haymarket slaughter in Chicago failed to rouse us except to the extent of awakening a general desire and hope that justice would be swiftly meted out to the malefactors. When the anarchists were tried, condemned and hanged by the Cook County authorities, the outraged feelings of the people were temporarily satisfied, and the demand for general national legislation against the whole body of anarchists infesting this country, which mani-

fested itself in localities, again subsided. Men who saw deeper into the matter, who pointed out the fact that the Chicago affair was only the manifestation of a disease which if permitted to spread would infest the whole country, and should therefore be eradicated root and branch, were looked upon as alarmists, and their admonitions slightly regarded. The paragraphers in the newspapers soon fell into their old habit of treating anarchy in the United States as an innocent ghost and its adherents as a body of free-thinking, harmless fanatics. In this state of mind we continued until one of these "harmless fanatics" struck down at Buffalo the best-beloved man who has ruled over this country since Abraham Lincoln. It was a terrible awakening.

Without reflecting in the least on President McKinley's immediate predecessors, it will be conceded that the loss of no other man who has occupied the executive chair would have been felt so much in a personal sense by the mass of our citizens. His gentleness, his wisdom, his patriotism, his splendid domestic fidelity, his unvarying cheerfulness had made him the friend of every one with whom he came in contact. The hundreds of thousands who had heard him speak at one time or another were charmed by his magnetic personality. McKinley had but to show himself anywhere to carry away the hearts of all beholders. Even the stress of politics, fatal to so many, left no evil wishers behind. It is of record that Mr. McKinley had almost as many friends among the active Democrats as among Republicans, and with Republicans he was a popular idol. His concern for the workingman's welfare was made manifest on every occasion. All his efforts were directed towards securing the highest pay and shortest hours for the toilers, and the laboring people, realizing this, and in appreciation of the magnificent results he had achieved for them, almost worshipped him. Altogether, he was a man who in theory and in practice stood for the best interests of all the people as he understood it, and for everything that was praiseworthy and progressive in our national life.

In this tragedy at Buffalo there were none of the conditions that made the assassination of Lincoln at least understandable. There was not even the pretext of a reason, such as encompassed the shooting of Garfield. Not the wildest stretch of imagination could conceive any betterment for the masses in Mr. McKinley's taking off. He simply fell a victim to the unreasoning propa-

ganda of murder. The assassination was inspired by the pernicious teachings of the men and women who are the avowed enemies of all government, and who seek, through the bloody instrumentality of assassination to accomplish their anarchistic purposes.

It remains to be seen whether this crime, striking so near to the nation's heart, shall at last give some effect to the efforts so often made to secure legislation against its perpetrators and advocates; for, after all, the man who fired the shot at the President was the least of the criminals. The men and women who egged him on by their teaching and preaching were far more guilty than he. Without them he would never have been inspired with his mad design. President McKinley would be alive to-day had these others, who have not even been molested, but permitted to continue their teachings, been dealt with in the first instance as their criminality deserves.

It is astounding, and in the light of the present most regrettable, that all efforts made in the past to legislate against the anarchist have been frustrated. The punishment of every other class of evildoers is provided for under National or State laws. The severity of our national criminal laws is proverbial. Their relentless execution is so well known among the professional lawbreakers that few venture to transgress them. Whatever the chances of evading State laws and State authorities, every criminal knows that the United States authorities are merciless and tireless, that the strong arm of the federal power pursues and reaches to the uttermost corners of the earth, and that neither time nor money is spared to bring a malefactor to justice. If perchance experience teaches that any mesh in the criminal web is weak or defective, there has never been any hesitation to promptly strengthen and improve it. The laws necessary for such purpose are passed almost without debate, certainly without unnecessary delay. That is, in every case except anarchy. Here there is a gap of monstrous proportions in our political and legal structure. We have neither preventive nor punitive laws. Yet it hardly required the shooting of Mr. McKinley to arouse the nation to the realization of the fact that the anarchists are the most dangerous criminals we have to deal with in this country to-day. The burglar, the thief, the highwayman and the ordinary murderer are dangerous only in a narrow sense. They threaten

none of our institutions. The anarchists, on the contrary, are dangerous in a national view. They are a greater menace than open treason or armed rebellion, because no man may estimate their numbers, compass their plots or foresee the places or times of attack. The killing of President McKinley was as unexpected as it was unjustifiable. Any man who had prophesied the crime an hour before it occurred would have been listened to with an incredulous smile. It is this feature of anarchism that makes its existence so appalling, and demands the most drastic measures for its suppression and destruction. If one fanatic can rise out of the earth, as it were, without warning, and, regardless of consequences, shoot the President at a time when all the conditions are least alarming, then it is not unreasonable, or at least not impossible, to suppose that other fanatics might at the same time, by concert of action, strike down the Vice-President and all others in line of succession to the Presidential office. That is anarchy's dream—the wiping out of all authority and all government. In view of the past, it is idle to suppose there are not a multitude of anarchist's disciples who would cheerfully "martyr" themselves to accomplish this dream. Here in the United States, as matters stand to-day, they have a better opportunity than almost anywhere else in the world to attain the realization of such a dream. Under a monarchy the governmental head never dies. The executive power descends down the line, and the line is endless. With us it descends from the President to the Vice-President, and down through the members of the Cabinet, and there it stops, the last in the line being the Secretary of Agriculture. With us ten lives stand between order and chaos, between government and anarchy, between the condition that is essential to the preservation of society and the condition hoped and prayed for by the men and women to whom we grant the privilege of assembling in our public places under the red flag, and enunciating doctrines such as these:

"I look forward with a great deal of joy and satisfaction in the hope that ere long the scenes that were enacted in Paris will be enacted in New York, and that the streets of New York will be covered with dead bodies, and the gutters will flow with blood and the houses will be a burning mass."

This was not the raving of a madman in an asylum, nor the whispered wish of a conspirator in a dark corner. It was the utterance of a man sane and powerful enough to sway an audi-

ence of applauding thousands, and was proclaimed openly from the speaker's platform at a publicly advertised meeting. The author, as principal speaker of the evening, was addressing a gathering assembled in Cooper Union, New York, on March 17th, 1890, to celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune. Every leading newspaper in the city had a reporter present, and the speech was printed *in extenso*. The hall was lined with police "to preserve public order," and all of them heard distinctly this satanic deliverance. It was afterward embraced in a report presented by the Select Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Fifty-first Congress, and appears on page 583 of that report. This one public utterance should be ample argument, if any were needed, for a national law that would enable the United States to deal directly with such disturbers of the public peace and enemies of law and order. The State authorities, it was said, could do nothing. The man was simply exercising his privilege of "free speech." It was not license, but "liberty," even under the laws of the State of New York, which are probably stricter in this regard than those of any other State. There the authorities have succeeded now and then in ridding themselves temporarily at least of anarchists by sending them to prison under the provisions of a law against "unlawful assembly" and "inciting to crime." Johann Most and Emma Goldman were both convicted under these statutes.

In the past it has been suggested that the States could very well be left to deal individually with this crime, and the example of New York in successfully sending Most and Goldman to prison has been quoted in support of this contention. It is due probably in no small measure to this argument that we have to-day no national legislation against these enemies of law and order. Yet the futility of State legislation is shown by the confession of the President's assassin that he was inspired by Emma Goldman's writings and lectures to commit his dastardly crime. As soon as the woman came out of her short imprisonment she wandered off to other States where she was free to infect the people at will with her doctrines of murder and social disorder. Such protection is no protection at all. We all know the futility of looking for uniform legislation by the States on any subjects of great importance. While New York has some stringent laws that may be applied to anarchists who fulminate against the

State, Illinois has practically none. In consequence, Chicago has for years been a perfect pesthouse of anarchy. Such a condition is worse than would be the entire absence of restrictive laws in all States, as it adds to the contempt and impudence of the anarchists if they can defy the authorities of one commonwealth by simply moving across the border and carry on their propaganda from that safe retreat. The only certain cure for the evil is national legislation. The stronger we can make such legislation within the bounds of the Constitution, the better for our people and their institutions. There is but little danger that we may go too far. The danger to be apprehended is rather that we shall not be able to go far enough because of our solicitous regard for the fundamental principles of popular government. Already we hear the cry that we must be careful, lest, in attempting to deal with the anarchists by drastic measures, we deal a blow at the foundations of our republican institutions, free speech and liberty of the press. All are anxious to preserve these essentials of free government. If they were seriously menaced or impaired, the offence might be greater even than the one committed at Buffalo, horrible as that was. But, fortunately, we may deal with anarchy on a reasonably effective basis, without infringing in the least the rights of free speech and an untrammelled press. All we need do is to use common sense; to mark well the difference between liberty and license; to hunt down relentlessly those who either by speech or in print abuse the freedom granted by our laws; to silence the men and women who come to this country from abroad to spread the doctrine that all government is wrong and should be destroyed, and that all rulers are criminals and should be killed.

Legislation making this possible under constitutional safeguards has frequently been attempted in Congress during the past ten or fifteen years, but for some reason it has always failed of consummation. There are a number of bills buried in the archives of the National Capitol, which, had they been enacted into law, would almost certainly have prevented the tragedy which so recently startled the nation. These bills were chiefly preventive. They provided for the exclusion and deportation of foreign-born anarchists wherever found entering or within our borders. True, the man who killed Mr. McKinley was a native-born American, and could not have been touched by these measures; but had we

had laws such as these in force, he would not have required attention. All the testimony at the man's trial showed that he was a peaceable, law-abiding citizen until his mind was poisoned by the teachings of Emma Goldman and other imported anarchists. He would never have dreamed of murdering the Chief Executive of the nation had our laws permitted us to silence the teachers who changed him from a law-abiding citizen to a murderer and outcast. He was not a man of original initiation. He was simply a weak, susceptible creature who was carried away by the ravings we permitted him to listen to in the name of "free speech." And so it is always. The instruments that carry out the doctrines advanced by the leaders would rarely degenerate into dangerous persons if deprived of their inspirers, the men and women who feel that with us they are at liberty to play upon the passions of men and infuriate their dupes to the point of killing, without imperilling their own necks or jeopardizing their own liberty.

There was a measure introduced in the Fifty-third Congress, in 1894, which, had it been enacted into law, would have probably prevented the Buffalo murder. Had it been passed, Emma Goldman would have been deported to her birthplace, Russia, long before she had had an opportunity to convince the McKinley assassin that the murder of a President is a divine duty. Most would have been sent back to Germany, where the authorities are anxiously waiting to lay hands on him, and the whole horde of foul conspirators and agitators who would tear down the social structure we have so carefully erected would have followed suit. The anarchist nests at Paterson, New Jersey, at Chicago and elsewhere would have been broken up, and we would not find ourselves to-day in the position of locking the stable door after the horse is stolen. The bill I refer to was known as the "Hill Bill." It was one of a class of similar measures that have been introduced in Congress from time to time, whenever the anarchist question was forced on our attention by one of the atrocious crimes which have made the name of anarchy infamous among men. I single this bill out because it came nearer to final passage than any other measure, and shows the trend of legislative thought at that time on this question. After passing the Senate without opposition and being reported favorably to the House by the unanimous vote of the Committee on

the Judiciary of that body, it was finally sidetracked by the capricious action of a single member.

This bill was approved, if not drawn, by one of the greatest lawyers in the country, John G. Carlisle, who was Secretary of the Treasury at the time of its introduction. It was revised by another great lawyer, Mr. Olney, then serving as Secretary of State. Its sponsor was Senator David B. Hill, then Chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, and it had the strong endorsement of Senator Chandler, who, as Chairman of the same committee for several terms preceding, had gone very extensively into the subject. The bill embraced all the best features of a large number of bills that had been introduced for years before, including several by Mr. Chandler himself. It was based in a large measure on the results of the extensive investigation made by the Select Committee of the two Houses in 1890 (House Report No. 3492), from which I have already made a quotation, and on Senate Report No. 1333, submitted by the Senate Committee on Immigration to the Fifty-second Congress, second session, February 22d, 1893. All questions of partisanship seemed to be eliminated in the matter. Republicans and Democrats were practically a unit on the question of the desirability of the bill, which had been drawn to meet the conditions arising from the wanton assassination of President Carnot in France, which sent us the usual horde of anarchists driven out of every other country by police activity. With all these considerations in its favor, the bill still failed, and it may be worth while to trace its course and the reason for its failure from the files of the Congressional Record, that we may see exactly how and why it was defeated. The bill was offered for final passage in the Senate by Mr. Hill on August 16th, 1894, after it had been agreed to by a Conference Committee representing both houses. Part of the colloquy that followed shows that any objection to the bill, sweeping as it was in its terms, that might exist was not that it went too far, as some of our friends to-day seem to fear we may go, but that it did not go far enough. So good an American and stickler for constitutional liberty as the late Senator Sherman is reported as saying (page 1,035, Congressional Record, unbound copy of August 17th):

Mr. SHERMAN. "When this bill or a similar bill was before the Senate the other day, on the motion of the Senator from New York

there was a provision inserted that when any person had come into our country and had been naturalized, if it could be proven before the proper tribunal that he was not a man of good moral character, that he was not attached to the Constitution and principles of our Government, and was not disposed to the good order and happiness of the same, he should be deported. That language is omitted from this bill, and I do not see why it should not be contained in it."

Mr. HILL. "By the provisions of this bill, in the first place, if an alien immigrant should be convicted of a crime and the judge should determine upon a further hearing that the person had been guilty of a crime involving moral turpitude, and that his presence in the country would be a menace to the Government and the peace and good order of society, he may be ordered deported. It was thought wise by the conference committee not to use the words 'attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States,' as it left too much open. As the man is an alien, of course it is not expected that he will be attached to the principles of our Constitution. An alien who behaves himself in this country would not and could not be touched under this bill, and we do not propose to do it."

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Mr. SHERMAN. "But it does seem to me that every person who has been admitted under our immigration laws ought to be required to stand by the declaration we require for admission; and if it be proven afterward that he is not a man of good moral character, that he is not attached to the principles of our Government, and is not disposed to the good order and peace of the same, he ought to be excluded."

Mr. HILL. "We do not touch the citizen who is naturalized. We do not think it wise to go so far as that."

Mr. SHERMAN. "I see no reason why persons who are brought into our country under our naturalization laws should not only prove at the time they are admitted that they come within its provisions, but that they should maintain that condition, or else be liable to be deported."

Mr. HILL. "I will simply say, as has been said heretofore in regard to other bills, that it is a step in the right direction. Sooner or later we may adopt the idea, which is an entirely good one, of the distinguished Senator from Ohio, but it is a little too early to do it now."

Mr. CHANDLER. "I wish to say that it was not deemed advisable by the committee to provide that every alien should be deported whom we would not be willing to naturalize and make a citizen of.

"This bill was drawn in the Treasury Department, and has been subjected to very careful scrutiny. It may not go so far as the Senator from Ohio would like to go, but it is an excellent bill, which has been carefully rewritten by the Senator from New York [Mr. HILL], the chairman of the Committee on Immigration, and there has been inserted by the committee a provision in reference to the writ of habeas corpus, which effectually guards any alien against being deported without all the proceedings which result in the order of deporting being carefully reviewed by a judicial tribunal.

"The bill is stringent enough for the time; it is sufficiently well guarded, and it is of the highest importance, in the opinion of the

committee, that it should be passed without delay and sent to the House of Representatives, where we are assured it can be immediately acted upon."

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The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The above quotations from this debate are particularly instructive and should be read with exceptional care. If experience teaches anything, we have certainly arrived at the period when we ought not alone to pass such a bill as was submitted, but to go even further, by adopting the further provision advocated by Mr. Sherman for the deportation of alien anarchists, even after they have become citizens. European governments that are troubled with these people do even more than this.

The measure came up in the House the same day that it passed the Senate, but was withdrawn on objection to unanimous consent,* and referred to the Committee on Judiciary. That committee reported unanimously in its favor, and on August 22d its sponsor, Mr. Boatner, of Louisiana, called it up, asking unanimous consent for its immediate consideration. Then followed the debate† that killed it in that session, which was drawing rapidly to a close.

Mr. WARNER (John Dewitt Warner of New York). "Mr. Speaker, I must object to the consideration of that bill in its present form."

Mr. BOATNER. "I desire to make a brief statement with regard to this bill, and I trust the gentleman will not object until he hears it."

Mr. WARNER. "If the bill is to be amended, the amendments can be proposed and arranged before we are plunged into a discussion of the measure."

Mr. BOATNER. "Mr. Speaker, this bill has the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the Secretary of State. It was unanimously reported by the Committee on Immigration of the other House; it was passed by the Senate unanimously, and it has been reported unanimously by the Committee on the Judiciary of this House."

Mr. WARNER. "My objection is not that the bill does not have good sponsors, but that in its present shape, it is a bad bill. It is more likely to make anarchists than to punish them."

Mr. BOATNER. "A word further, if the gentleman will permit me. The Administration also urges the very great importance of passing this bill at the present session of Congress, owing to the fact that we are advised that a large number of the most dangerous anarchists in the world are now on their way to the United States, and that at this time there is no law on the statute books which prohibits the landing of an anarchist in this country."

*Cong. Record, Aug. 17, unbound copy, pages 10,066, 10,067 and 10,068.
†Cong. Record, Aug. 22, unbound copy, pages 10,265 and 10,266.

Mr. WARNER. "And this bill does not even define the anarchy which it proposes to punish."

Mr. BOATNER. "Just a moment. According to authority which is equal to that of the gentleman from New York, all rights of those who are charged with being anarchists are safeguarded and taken care of in this bill.

"For these reasons, I appeal to the gentleman not to put his judgment and opinion against the opinion and views of so many who are interested in this measure, which they regard as necessary for the maintenance of public order."

Mr. WARNER. "Whenever it is proposed to put into the hands of administrative officers such powers as this bill proposes that they shall employ against so large a number—hundreds of thousands—of persons who are now in this country legally, and permits them to do this without what I consider proper safeguards, I must, without regard to the backing that the bill may have, object to its consideration in this form. The gentleman himself knows that this bill should be amended; and he knows that the proper method of procedure is to prepare the amendments and have them carefully considered before we plunge into a discussion of the subject in this House."

Mr. McMILLIN. "Does not the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARNER] know that there are now five hundred anarchists on their way to this country, the description of whom has been furnished to officers of the Government?"

Mr. WARNER. "No amount of panic can scare the 'gentleman from New York' into putting into the hands of an administrative officer the detection and punishment of a crime which is not even defined in the measure which proposes to punish it by deportation. Nor will the 'gentleman from New York' be scared by any other kind of panic into providing patronage for twelve men at $2,500 a year."

Mr. OATES. "Allow me just a moment. The gentleman's objection is that anarchy is not defined in the bill. Does he not know that where a word or term is used in a statute without definition, it always takes on its usual or common-law definition?"

Mr. WARNER. "Does not the gentleman know that there is no definition of 'anarchy' to be found in the common law?"

Mr. OATES. "I think the gentleman is mistaken——"

Mr. WARNER. "Gentlemen inform me they have been looking for it, and can not find it——"

Mr. OATES. "And if not, the word would be construed according to its ordinary or dictionary signification."

Mr. WARNER. "The Superintendent of Immigration informs me that for several months he has been attempting to draw up a measure defining anarchy, and has not been able to do it."

Mr. BOATNER. "I suggest to the gentleman from New York that doubtless he will be able to support with enormous strength of argument the position which he now assumes and will be able to impress upon the House the necessity of adopting such amendments as he advocates. The best way to get a good law on this subject is to consent that this bill be considered; the gentleman can then bring to our assistance in perfecting the bill his great ability and large information. Unfortunately he is not a member either of the Judiciary Committee or the Committee on Immigration, and therefore we have not

had the benefit of his services in considering the measure in committee, but if he will consent to its consideration now by the House, members can be enlightened and a measure can be adopted which will reflect credit upon the gentleman from New York as well as the House."

Mr. WARNER. "If anything could induce the 'gentleman from New York' to do what he knows to be a foolish thing it would be the very persuasive suggestion of the gentleman from Louisiana. But I can not help thinking that by agreeing upon amendments which he may draft, in cool deliberation and with mature judgment, not in the heat of debate, we shall arrive at better results than by any crude suggestions in that direction which I might make at this time and under the present circumstances."

The SPEAKER. "Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?"

Mr. WARNER. "I object."

This was the end of the bill. An attempt was made to revive it at the next session with some amendments, but by that time the immediate interest in the question caused by President Carnot's assassination had died out, and the effort failed.

Read by the grave in Canton that covers the remains of our martyred President, this debate in the House makes uncomfortable literature. But for the idle words then so lightly spoken, but so effective, Mr. McKinley might be in the White House to-day, instead of sleeping the eternal sleep.

In a different way, but by means not unlike those here recorded, all other attempts to secure anti-anarchistic legislation of a preventive character have hitherto failed. For instance, when the present immigration law, which went into force on March 3, 1891, was under consideration, there were a number of other measures in Congress along the same lines, all of which excluded anarchists. One of these bills (H. R. 58, Fifty-first Congress, second session) was reported favorably by the Committee on the Judiciary, through its Chairman, Mr. Oates, of Alabama. On page 2 of the committee's report (No. 3808) submitted February 14th, 1891, it is set forth:

"The first section of the bill under consideration prohibits from landing in the United States idiots, insane, paupers, persons liable to become a public charge, persons who have been convicted of felony or other infamous crimes, polygamists, *anarchists*, etc."

Though this bill came before the House under the most favorable auspices, it failed of enactment, and the bill passed in its stead which is now on our statute books, the law of March 3d, 1891 (H. R. 13586), carefully omitted to mention "anarchists"

among the class of undesirable aliens to be excluded. It confined the list to "convicts, lunatics, idiots and persons liable to become a public charge."

It is too lengthy a proceeding to go into the history of all the bills of this class that aimed at the exclusion and deportation of anarchists which have been presented in previous Congresses and failed. Efforts to this end began in 1888, nearly fourteen years ago. On January 4th of that year Representative Adams, of Chicago, introduced H. R. 1291, which provided for the "removal of dangerous aliens from the territory of the United States." Of course, his inspiration was the Haymarket affair. The bill was read a first and second time and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered printed. It was never heard of afterwards.

Senator Mitchell introduced a bill the year following, 1889 (S. 453), in the Fifty-first Congress, first session, "to prohibit objectionable foreign immigration, encourage desirable immigration, defend American institutions and protect American labor." This bill provided:

"That from and after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any person, a subject of any foreign government, as well as those who are now within the limits of the United States, and who may hereafter leave the United States and attempt to return, as those who have never been here, or having been here, have departed from the United States, who is an avowed anarchist or nihilist, or who is personally hostile to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, or to the form of government of the United States; or who is an idiot, etc., to land in any of our ports."

This section, apparently reasonable enough, was violently attacked at the hearing before the Select Committee of the Fifty-first Congress, twice before alluded to. On page 25 of this committee's report (House Report No. 3472) Mr. Rosewater, editor of the *Omaha Bee* one of the witnesses, declared:

"It shows to what an unreasonable extent some men would go in their idea to Americanize, as they call it, all our institutions. Right there let me say they do not Americanize them, but they do just the opposite."

Mr. Rosewater was animated by the most laudable feeling undoubtedly, but he fairly voiced the sentiment of those who are always so apprehensive that our position as the asylum for the oppressed may be imperilled, that they go in the other direction.

In the Fifty-second Congress those who held true to the de-

sire to get rid of anarchists went on with the work. Senator Chandler, as Chairman of the Committee on Immigration, submitted "Report 1333, to accompany Senate Bill 3786," to the Senate on February 22d, 1893. On page 2 of this report, which advised the passage of the bill, the committee said:

"The third exclusion is that of 'persons belonging to societies which favor or justify the unlawful destruction of property or life.'

"It may be difficult to detect immigrants belonging to such societies, but as the law now stands they can not be excluded even if they boldly admit that they are members of organizations whose purposes are to be accomplished by fire and dynamite, by murder and assassination. Under the proposed law, whatever sentiments an individual may entertain, he may come in if he does not belong to such an organized band; if he does, he ought to be kept out of this land of law, order, and peaceful methods."

This conclusion was not impeached by any one; no active opposition to the bill manifested itself, any more than it did in any other case; but, like every other bill that threatened the anarchist, it was permitted to sleep.

It is not the least remarkable thing about this phase of the subject that the men who introduced these bills were almost always among the most influential in their respective houses. The list includes such names as Hale, Hoar, Lodge, Milliken, McMillan, McCreary, Owen, Washburn, Quay and others already mentioned. That the spasmodic bills of new and inexperienced members might be regularly sidetracked without any special design is easily conceivable; but when the legislative efforts of such men as I have mentioned, made perseveringly, invariably meet with failure, there is almost room for believing that there is something besides mere accident to account for the disastrous result attending every attempt to pass preventive legislation against anarchists.

In the matter of punitive legislation, as distinguished from preventive, the opinion has been very generally expressed that Congress should and probably will pass a law that shall make an attack on the President, even if it has no fatal consequences, a capital offence punishable in the United States Courts. Practically every other government in the world has such a law. Our position has always been that the President is simply a man like all other men, and entitled to no greater protection than the humblest citizen. In theory, this is sound, democratic conclusion; and if we had only well balanced, moral, law-abiding people in the

country, it could very safely be left to stand as it is. Unfortunately, the facts are not in harmony with this theory, and the time has come when we ought to deal with the condition uninfluenced by mere sentiment. What are the facts? While the law holds the President to be simply a man as all other men, and classes attacks on him as it would an attack on the humblest citizen, yet it is known that the fatal blows aimed at our Presidents are not directed against them as men, but as rulers. Lincoln was shot, not because of a personal grudge, but because as President he had done those things in government that were obnoxious to a band of assassins organized to take his life. Garfield would in all probability be alive to-day if he had not been elected Chief Executive. The creature who murdered McKinley declared:

"I had no feeling against the President. I shot him because he was the ruler, and held such power as I do not think any man should have."

It was the government, not the individual, at which the blow was aimed. We should look this fact squarely in the face, and act accordingly, to safeguard the republic. We should enact a law making it not only a capital offence to attack the person of the President while President, but all others who stand in the line of succession as well. The Vice-President and the members of the Cabinet should be hedged about with like defences. The people are thoroughly aroused on this question, and the demand is general for prompt and effective action. Mere sentimentality must not stand in the way of effective legislation.

The first attempt at legislation of this character in recent years was made after the assassination of Garfield. Mr. Lapham, then Senator from New York, introduced a bill (S. 34) in the Forty-seventh Congress that provided:

"For the punishment of persons unlawfully attempting to take the life of the President of the United States, or others clothed by the Constitution and laws with the discharge of the duties of the office of President."

It read:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"That if any person or persons shall hereafter attempt by any means whatever to take the life of the President or Vice-President of the United States, or the President *pro tempore* of the Senate of the United States, or the Speaker of the Senate of the United States, or the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, or of

any other person or persons who shall be authorized by law in any contingency to perform the duties of the office of President of the United States as provided in the Constitution of the United States, except under such circumstances as would render the attempt justifiable or excusable by the common law, such person or persons shall, on conviction, be punished by imprisonment for life, such imprisonment to be by solitary confinement or at hard labor, in the discretion of the Court."

Mr. Lapham was an excellent lawyer, one of the leaders of the New York bar, and any measure drawn by him is valuable in the suggestions it contains upon this subject. Of course, the Presidential succession has been changed since this bill was drawn, but otherwise it may very well stand as a guide, though I would make death the punishment for such an attack instead of imprisonment for life.

That our Presidents might be in special danger from anarchists was foreseen for years, but about the only attempt at legislation against this special class along these lines was in 1894. On June 25th of that year Representative William A. Stone introduced a bill in the Fifty-third Congress that attempted to define anarchists and provide for their punishment if they attempted in this country their favorite practice of bomb throwing, which is so general with them abroad. The bill read as follows:

"That any person or persons who shall belong to, or who shall be appointed, designated or employed by any society or organization existing in this or in any foreign country which provides in writing or by verbal agreement, understanding or countenance for the taking of human life unlawfully or for the unlawful destruction of buildings or other property where the loss of life would be the probable result of such destruction of property, shall be deemed an anarchist.

"2. That any person or persons being anarchists as defined by the first section of this act, who shall attempt the life of any person holding office, elective or appointive, or employed under the Constitution and laws of the United States, or who shall attempt the destruction of any building or buildings or other property where the loss of life of any such United States official or employee would be the probable result of such destruction of buildings or other property shall, upon trial and conviction of such offence in any circuit or district court of the United States of the district where such offence is attempted, be sentenced to death by hanging, which sentence shall be executed by the Marshal of the District in accordance with the sentence of the Judge before whom the case is tried."

This bill is interesting principally because of its attempt at defining the term "anarchist." This question has always been somewhat of a puzzle, and may have contributed materially to the invariable defeat of anti-anarchist legislation. It came up

at almost every hearing and discussion when efforts were made to frame suitable legislation. At the hearing before the Senate Committee on Immigration appointed to consider the "Proposition for the suspension of immigration for one year," sitting at Washington on April 23d, 1892, there was an instructive colloquy between the Chairman (Senator Chandler) and Mr. Lodge, then a member of the House of Representatives, who was called as a witness. On page 147, Senate Report 1333, it appears in full. I reproduce the following extract:

The CHAIRMAN. "The bill which you introduced excludes polygamists, anarchists, and nihilists. Polygamists were inserted in the law of last year, and I would like your impression as to anarchists or nihilists, and whether it is feasible to exclude such persons, ascertaining who they are and keeping them out."

Mr. LODGE. "I appreciate the difficulty that is always presented by any of these vague terms, general terms, and at the same time I think it would cover certain specific cases. I think those, for instance, who have taken part in the recent demonstrations in Paris, who were absolutely known to belong to anarchist societies and to believe in those doctrines, would come under the description in this bill. I think it is a description which is in several other bills."

The CHAIRMAN. "It is in bills which I myself have introduced, but the more I think of it the more difficulty I see in its enforcement."

Mr. LODGE. "'Nihilist' is somewhat vague, but the word 'anarchist' is pretty well defined just now."

The CHAIRMAN. "The word 'socialist' has been introduced in some bills. Do you think it would be wise to exclude them, describing them simply in that way?"

Mr. LODGE. "I do not think that is a class you can put in a bill."

The CHAIRMAN. "What on the whole is your impression?"

Mr. LODGE. "I think the term 'anarchist' is a proper one, because that refers to a class of persons who believe that the reform of society is to be brought about by blowing up their fellow-beings."

The CHAIRMAN. "Is it well to keep out of the country anybody on account of his beliefs?"

Mr. LODGE. "I should say an anarchist who was actively engaged or an avowed member of those societies. I believe that those who believe as does Ravachol are not fit to come into this country."

The CHAIRMAN. "How would it do to make that the test, 'members of societies of anarchists or nihilists?'"

Mr. LODGE. "That might be done."

When the Hill Bill, which passed the Senate, was up for discussion, the matter of defining an anarchist was threshed out at great length, and I must confess no very satisfactory conclusion was reached. Mr. Hill, in defending his bill,* gave the best definition he could, saying:

*Cong. Record, 53d Congress, 2d session, p. 9,697, unbound copy.

"Mr. President, it is not proposed by this measure to make belief in anarchy a crime. Therefore it is not necessary by the express terms of the bill to define what anarchy is. No provision is made for an indictment; no provision is made for punishment; but provision is made that such a person known as an anarchist shall not land in this country, and if he does land, by certain proceedings to be taken by or through the Secretary of the Treasury that person may be deported.

"The first section of the substitute provides—

"That no alien anarchist shall hereafter be permitted to land at any port of the United States or be admitted into the United States; but this shall not be so construed as to apply to political refugees or political offenders.

"That last clause was deemed necessary so as to avoid all question in regard to persons in other countries who are engaged in some proceeding to overturn one government in order to replace it with another.

"An anarchist, according to all well-defined definitions, does not believe in any civil government whatever. He cannot be a political refugee within the meaning of the statutes upon that subject. He believes in no form of civil or social government. He is a disturber of the peace of society. He believes in social chaos. He believes in having no government whatever with which to guide humanity. That provision which I have read is the first section of the bill."

Mr. Hoar thought this description somewhat "nebulous," and declared that he hoped "that the wit of committees, of members of legislative bodies, and of the American people may hereafter set itself to devising a substitute which may be better" (p. 9708).

"But," he concluded, "having stated these objections and confessing the great weight they have with me, I still say that if the committee come to us saying that is the best they can do, I am prepared to concur with them in passing the bill as a means of meeting the present evil and the present condition."

That we have the absolute right to exclude "anarchists," no matter how wide the difference of opinion as to the definition may be, cannot be doubted. That question has been definitely settled. Even so ardent an advocate of human rights as Mr. Hoar conceded this in his argument, saying (p. 9708):

"But I agree that we have the absolute right to exclude persons of other countries from coming here, and we have a right to put upon them the burden of showing their fitness, not merely in the light of their past conduct, but their fitness, judging them by their purpose, judging them by their opinions, judging them by the nature of their pursuits and thoughts, and the burden of showing that they come with safety and benefit to the country to which they come."

We have, finally, the authority of the Supreme Court, whose decision covering this point is cited in House Report No. 1460,

page 3. This decision was handed down in the case of Nichimura Ekin *vs.* The United States and Charles A. Garter, and it held:

"That every sovereign nation has the power, as inherent in sovereignty and essential to self-preservation, to forbid the entrance of foreigners within its domains, or to admit them only upon such conditions as it may see fit to prescribe. That the supervision of the admission of aliens into the United States may be intrusted by Congress to the Department of the Treasury. That the final determination of the facts in the case may be intrusted by Congress to executive officers, and in such a case, as in all others in which a statute gives a discretionary power to an officer to be exercised by him upon his own opinion of certain facts, he is made the sole and exclusive judge of the existence of those facts, and no other tribunal, unless expressly authorized by law to do so, is at liberty to re-examine or controvert the facts upon which he acted. That the decision made by the inspector of immigration in that case was final and conclusive, and that the petitioner was not unlawfully restrained of her liberty."

With the constitutional right and power to legislate upon this subject unquestioned, the American Congress will come far short of performing its duty or meeting public expectation if it fails to devise some measure to protect the republic from these assassins of civil government.

J. C. BURROWS.

THE POWER AND DUTY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT ITS AGENTS.

BY EDGAR ALDRICH, LL.D., UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Czolgosz killed Mr. McKinley, not because he was William McKinley, but because he was President of the United States; not because of his personality, but because he represented the idea of law and government. The violence was directed against the official, rather than against the private individual; against the office, not the man. All the surrounding circumstances, as well as the admission of the assassin, show that personal malice, ordinarily present in crime, was altogether absent, and that malice against the idea of government was present. The motive for the fatal shot was not to destroy McKinley, except as a step in the direction of destroying the idea of government and law, which, for the time being, he represented as the head of the executive branch of the government. Mr. McKinley was the representative of the people in respect to their idea of government; and the blow being directed against the idea, it follows that the real crime was against the people and their government, rather than against McKinley as an individual.

The motive and the malice of such malevolents being thus impersonal *(malitia impersonalis)*, and against the idea of the restraint of government through law, the resulting impulse prompts the hand to be raised in deadly violence against any one who happens, through the suffrages of the electors, to be charged with the duty of administering the government. That is a most venomous and deadly motive. It at once involves a menace and a crime against the existence of the government. Those who, without personal malice, would raise the hand to kill a brother man because he is conscientiously administering a civilized govern-

ment, are few in number. Just how many there are is not known, but the time has come when the extent of this deadly impersonal malice should be known. If there are only a few who hold and carry it, let us know it, and make reasonable protection against them; if there are many, let that be known, that we may either yield to the deadly malice or deal with it sternly and resolutely.

Under our system, the government means nothing above or beyond the intelligent expression of the will of the people; and when the people ordain that a form of government shall exist for the protection of communities in accordance with the requirements of civilization, they assume the responsibility of upholding the institution which they have created. The government cannot administer itself except through its chosen agents, representatives or servants. These it must have in order to become operative for the purposes for which it is created. It lies with the people to create a government; they may, therefore, maintain it. The people cannot maintain a government without agents; they may, therefore, protect such agency through such legislation as the necessities arising out of a threatening evil or pending danger demand.

To justify such legislation it is not necessary to invoke the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution, which declares that Congress shall have power to "provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," because all governments necessarily possess the inherent power of self-defence, and such general inherent power of self-defence will justify all necessary and well ordered legislation for the protection of all necessary agents and representatives. While, as a general rule, civilization and communities receive protection from the State governments, the federal government does exist as an entity and for certain limited purposes expressed and contemplated by the Constitution; and, so existing, it may pass all laws necessary for its safety. It may declare violence upon its agents, servants and representatives to be a crime against its own existence. It may declare threatened violence to be a crime, because that involves conduct calculated to disturb the good order and well-being of its administration. In short, it may, without regard to the enumerated and defined offences of the old common law, throttle and control any evil directed against its existence or well-being. This is a necessary and inherent power. The doctrine of the right of

self-preservation is as ancient as law itself, and is based upon a natural right. The right of the government to defend, protect and preserve itself against whatever evil may threaten is a natural, inherent, fundamental, self-evident, incontrovertible, and paramount right.

The killing of William McKinley as a private citizen in Ohio, or as a transient inhabitant of any State, would be an offence exclusively against the laws of that State; but the killing of the incumbent of the Presidential office, because of the office and what it represents, may well be declared a crime against the existence of the federal government, because the government cannot exist without administration, and it cannot be administered in its present form without a President.

Thus far, Congress has undertaken to deal with murder only when committed by persons in the army in time of war, and when committed upon the high seas, or within the forts, arsenals, dockyards and districts under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, or upon the arms of the sea and the rivers and waters within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction thereof, and out of the jurisdiction of any particular State; and this is for the reason that, as a general proposition, the offence of murder, under our system, is left to be regulated and dealt with by the State governments.

It is, quite likely, true that assumption by the federal government of general jurisdiction over actual and threatened murder of private citizens in the various States would be unwarrantable; still, while, as a general proposition, it rests with the States to deal with individual homicide, pure and simple, Congress may well declare it to be an offence against the general government to use the mails for the purpose of producing homicide, like sending poison through the mails, or the germs of infectious disease, for the purpose of spreading death and destruction; and this is upon the ground that the general government has inherent and unquestioned power to protect itself in the service which it undertakes to perform in the interests of civilization and for the benefit of the people. It is upon this ground that Congress has made it a crime to use the mails for the distribution of obscene literature and prints, and for gambling and other immoral purposes. Doubtless, if a mail carrier should be unlawfully killed within a State, the individual crime would be cognizable there; but the

general government might well declare it to be an offence to kill, or plot to kill, any or all of the mail carriers in the country, not because they are individuals, but because they are officials or servants charged with the operations of the general government in respect to a duty which the general government is expected, under the Constitution and the laws, to perform for the people. Larceny, as a general proposition, is an offence cognizable in the State courts; yet the general government may and does deal with it in respect to property used in its service and operations.

From a very early date, the federal government has assumed and exercised jurisdiction over crimes against the existence and operations of the government. Under title LXX. of the Revised Statutes (2d ed., 1878), page 1048, chapter five, under the head of "Crimes against the Operations of the Government," there are enumerated various offences against the service which the government performs, like counterfeiting coins and securities, bribery of officials, robbery of the mails, breaking and entering postoffices, and sending letters through the mails with intent to defraud. Some of these statutes were passed as early as 1823. A preceding chapter enumerates crimes against the existence of the government, in which such subjects were dealt with as early as 1790.

The old English statutes provide against assaults committed upon particular persons and in special places, like assaults upon legislators, clerical persons, and in places of worship, in places for state affairs, and in courts of justice. Mr. Bishop, in his work on criminal law, says the principles of these statutes and of the judicial decisions thereunder have come to us through the adoption of the common law. In recognition of this familiar principle, Congress, as early as 1790, enacted a law, which is now section 4062 of the Revised Statutes, making assaults upon public ministers, in violation of the law of nations, an offence against the government. Section 3869, passed in 1872, makes an assault upon a letter carrier in uniform a federal offence, and section 5398, found under the title of "Crimes against Justice," in the Revised Statutes, makes it a crime to assault an officer of the United States in serving a process. This statute was enacted in 1790. Therefore, if Congress may make it a crime to assault a foreign minister, a mail carrier, or a United States Marshal or his deputy, who are in the exercise of a public function, it may unquestionably make it a crime to kill such agents.

In other words, it follows, without the enunciation of any new principle or doctrine, that if the government has power to protect its existence and its operations by declaring it to be a crime to bribe or to interfere with its servants and its operations, it may declare it to be a crime to destroy the servants necessary to inaugurate and carry forward the operations and service contemplated by the Constitution and the laws, and for which the government was created. So it may well be declared that the killing of a President for the purpose of destroying the effect, or disturbing or stopping the operations, of the government shall be a crime. It may also well be declared that plotting or conspiring to kill and destroy the agents and representatives necessary to the exercise of the functions of government shall be a crime. And, if it shall subsequently be found that at Paterson, or elsewhere within the federal jurisdiction, there are men who plot to destroy the government or its necessary servants or representatives, such offenders, upon conviction, may well be dealt with as criminals against the government and its operations. If it shall be found that there is, there or elsewhere, a school in which is inculcated the assassination of Presidents and others charged with the execution of the laws, not upon personal motives but because they are officials; if it shall be found that, for the same purpose, they teach how to shoot and where to shoot to make the shot fatal, or how to make and use powerful explosives for such destruction; or if it shall be found that they appoint persons from their number to kill, and designate the officials to be killed, and appoint alternates to act in case the persons so appointed shall fail, it would be justifiable, upon trial and conviction, to deal with such a nest and such offenders in such a way as would scatter them to the four winds; and, if deemed necessary for the protection of the people and the government, Congress may declare that, upon proper proceedings and conviction, those who plot to kill its servants and representatives shall themselves suffer death, nor need the law wait until the raised and threatening hand is red with the blood of the victim. In doing this, Congress only needs to invoke the ancient, fundamental, and familiar doctrine as to the right of self-defence.

It is not necessary to deal with the subject of anarchy historically, philosophically or theoretically. The situation presents a condition, not a theory. It is not necessary, in deciding whether

unlawful and premeditated killing is culpable and should be visited with commensurate punishment, or whether threatened unlawful and deadly violence should be restrained, to go back centuries to examine as to the cause, as was done by Mr. Charles Johnson in his article on the Anarchists and the President, published in the October number of this REVIEW. Violence and threatened violence against the operations of the federal government should be dealt with practically, as other crimes are dealt with. In the meantime, the duty is upon us to discover and remove the cause as speedily as possible. Fight the danger as you would fight a raging fire, subdue and control it, and then look for and regulate the cause.

All vice and crime are supposed to result either directly or remotely from unwholesome conditions, in which environment is a prominent element. Notwithstanding this, however, it remains a duty and a necessity that communities shall be protected against murder, rape, arson and other vices and crimes. It is not even necessary to stop to inquire what criminal impulse or what phase of degenerate and venomous malice it is that raises the hand in violence against a government founded upon principles of equal rights to all, and without personal malice carries the deadly dagger to a heart which beats in sympathy with the oppressed and unfortunate everywhere.

For the purposes of resolute and decisive action, it is enough to know that the impulse and the evil exist and that the danger threatens. It is not necessary to precipitate philosophical and theoretical discussion and argument by declaring against anarchy or socialism or freedom of speech, or to raise discussion as to an amendment of the provision of the Federal Constitution which declares of what treason shall consist. It is immaterial whether those who plot violence against the government are nihilists, anarchists, socialists or pretended saints. Violence against the government, or its necessary, lawful and constitutional representatives, may be declared a crime wherever found and by whomsoever inculcated or inspired, whether by anarchists or those who are not anarchists, whether by laymen or judges or heretics. Let the blow be directed against the violence and those who inspired it, whoever they are. Do not hazard the imperative call for immediate remedial legislation, or dissipate the chance of an effective remedy, by declaring against a class, or by declaring

who are within a certain class, but provide the required remedy by directing it against those who teach and practice deadly violence. Do not offend the beliefs of any reasonable man in respect to the right of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, guaranteed by the Constitution. Probably no one will claim, however, that the constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech and of the press goes to the extent of protecting persons in the open advocacy of the unlawful killing by violence of the necessary and constitutional agents and representatives of the government. It would be a strange argument which should hold that the constitutional provision as to freedom of speech was intended to justify the advocacy of violent and premeditated destruction of the constitutional President and necessary head of the government as fast as one after another shall be inducted into office. No one will claim that.

The general government may protect itself against the danger of threatened violence. It may through its Congress declare that persons who associate themselves together or assemble for the purpose of discussing or considering means for destroying persons charged with the execution of the federal laws shall be deemed guilty of conspiracy, and it may through its Congress provide such punishment as the dangers and exigencies of the situation demand.

As already said, the blow which killed Mr. McKinley was directed against the operations of the government; and while the premeditated killing of a President for such a purpose is murder, and an offence against the laws of the various States, the real and higher offence, the moral offence, is against the federal government, for the reason that the prime, indeed, the only, motive is to injure the government and the operation of its laws rather than the individual who happens to be the incumbent of the Presidential office.

This being so, it is within the unquestionable power of Congress to declare it to be a crime against the existence, purpose and operations of the federal government.

Thus far as to the power of the government, under the Constitution, to protect its existence and administration. Now what as to the duty?

The duty is plain. The question of duty is settled by a question which answers itself: Shall the government exist, and shall

it protect itself and its necessary Executive against unprovoked and deadly violence?

It should not only make actual violence a crime, but it should make threatened violence a crime. It should declare it to be a crime against the government to plot and teach how to destroy its instruments and agents of law and order. It should declare conduct of a character calculated to inspire unlawful violence a crime. It should not deal with any phase of the question in a spirit of vengeance, but it should deal with all of its phases in a spirit of stern resolution and courage, and with an unalterable determination that all things shall be done which are necessary to preserve and protect the government and its operations under the Constitution and the laws, and it should do all this to the end that all of its agents and every citizen and resident under its jurisdiction shall be secure in life and peace and protected in all their just rights.

The statement of a grievance fairly enough calls for some practical suggestion as to a remedy, and I therefore venture to present for discussion the following tentative draft of a bill relative to the conditions involved in the situation which confronts the American people:

Section 1. Any person or persons who shall intentionally kill, or who, with intent to kill, shall assault the President of the United States, the Vice-President thereof, or any person in the line of Presidential succession as fixed by the Constitution or laws of the United States, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by death.

Sec. 2. Persons who, with intent so to do, shall by word or print incite others to kill, and who by such means shall have caused others to kill the President of the United States, the Vice-President thereof, or any person in the line of Presidential succession as fixed by the Constitution or laws of the United States, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by death.

Sec. 3. Any person or persons who shall intentionally kill any ambassador or minister from a foreign state or country resident in the United States, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by death.

Sec. 4. Persons who, with intent so to do, shall by word or print incite others to kill, and who by such means shall have caused others to kill, any ambassador or minister from a foreign state or country resident in the United States, shall upon conviction thereof be punished by death.

Sec. 5. Any person who shall threaten to kill the President of the United States, the Vice-President, or any person in the line of Presidential succession, shall be deemed guilty of a menace to the good order and well-being of the federal government, and of conduct calculated to incite violence upon persons charged with the execution of

its laws, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned not exceeding thirty years.

Sec. 6. Any person who shall assault or threaten to kill an ambassador or minister of a foreign state or country accredited to the United States and resident therein shall be deemed guilty of a menace to the federal government and of conduct calculated to incite violence upon persons whom, by the law of nations, it is bound to protect, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned not exceeding thirty years.

Sec. 7. Any person who shall expressly, openly and deliberately approve of the intentional, violent and unlawful killing of a President of the United States, a Vice-President, or any person in the line of Presidential succession as fixed by the Constitution or the laws of the United States, shall be deemed guilty of conduct calculated to incite unlawful violence against the government of the United States and upon persons charged with the execution of its laws, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned not exceeding twenty years.

Sec. 8. Any person who shall expressly, openly and deliberately approve of the intentional, violent and unlawful killing of an ambassador or minister representing a foreign state or country and resident in the United States, shall be deemed guilty of conduct calculated to incite unlawful violence upon persons whom, by the law of nations, the federal government is bound to protect, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned not exceeding twenty years.

Sec. 9. Persons associating themselves together or assembling within any State or Territory for the purpose of discussing and considering means for killing any person charged with the duty of executing the federal laws, shall be deemed guilty of conspiracy against the good order and well-being of the federal government and the due execution of its laws, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by death.

Sec. 10. Persons associating themselves together or assembling within any State or Territory for the purpose of discussing and considering means for killing any chief or head of a foreign state or country, or any ambassador or minister of a foreign state or country resident in the United States, shall be deemed guilty of conspiracy against the good order and well-being of the federal government, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by death.

Sec. 11. Any person who shall openly and deliberately advocate the violent overthrow of all government whatsoever, and who shall openly and deliberately declare himself against the enforcement of any and all law, shall be deemed guilty of a menace to the federal laws and to the good order and well-being of civilization, which the federal government is in part bound to uphold and maintain, and of an offence against the government of the United States and, upon conviction, shall be imprisoned for ten years or for a less period as justice in the particular case may require.

This draft enunciates no new doctrine. It invokes no new principle. It only carries the ancient, well-known and wholesome principles of the common law to the needed protection of the general government. Let it at once be declared by Congress, and

let it at once be understood by all who are here, and by all who may come, that killing, conspiring and threatening to kill the necessary agents of the federal government because they are such are crimes against a government which must and shall be upheld. It is high time that this should be declared and understood. It is worse than idle, it breeds contempt for the government, to surround the President with detectives to hunt through a mass of humanity to find those who carry revolvers, daggers and explosives for deadly use, when no adequate federal remedy is provided for dealing with such offenders when found.

It has always been unlawful to kill, and section one of the suggestive draft declares against that. It has always been unlawful to assault with intent to kill, and section one declares against that also, with a severer penalty than has ordinarily attached to such offence in modern times; and the severer penalty is justified by the enormity of the offence, that of attempting without provocation to destroy an innocent man because he happens to be the representative of the people's government. A malice or a general malevolence which provokes an assault under such circumstances should receive a rebuke commensurate with its enormity.

Section two declares against those who incite others to assassinate. This has always been an offence, and all this section proposes is that the government shall assert its right to invoke and administer, for its necessary protection, the law which other jurisdictions have enforced from time immemorial. Section three proposes to include within its provisions ambassadors and ministers from foreign countries. This is upon the ground that Congress may, under the general welfare clause, pass any law necessary for the protection and well-being of the general government. Its welfare and well-being imperatively demand that ambassadors and ministers from foreign countries with whom it has international relations, and who are residents at its capital, shall be protected from violence. The obligation of protecting such foreign agents has existed, under the principles of international comity and the law of nations, at least since the days of Vattel and Phillimore.

Section five deals with threats to kill. While threats alone have not been generally accepted as sufficient to constitute an assault, yet by the old common law threats to kill were treated as

a breach of the peace; and it is proposed to carry this principle to the protection of the government on the ground that threats to kill its agents are deemed to be a menace to the good order and well-being of the federal government, and involve conduct calculated to incite violence upon persons charged with the execution of its laws.

Sections seven and eight propose to deal with those who approve of unlawful killing, and this is upon the ground that the conduct involved in such expressions of approval is calculated to incite unlawful and deadly violence. It is one thing to express satisfaction or approval of the natural death of a person or an official; it is quite another and a different thing to express approval of their unlawful and violent destruction.

Section nine deals with those who associate themselves together for the purpose of plotting the violent destruction of persons charged with the duty of executing the federal laws. It has for centuries been an offence at the common law to conspire for the purpose of taking human life. A plot to kill or destroy persons charged with the duty of executing the federal laws may well be made an offence against the government, and this may be done without enunciating any new principle. The law of conspiracy does not require or wait for an overt act in furtherance of the conspiracy. The gist of the crime is in the plot, and the law at once operates upon all who conspire for an unlawful purpose. Section ten declares against a plot to kill or destroy any chief or head of a foreign state or country, or any ambassador or minister from a foreign state or country resident in the United States. This may well be done under the general welfare clause of the Constitution, for it is plain enough that the welfare and the well-being of the United States Government require that plots shall not be hatched and perfected upon American soil for the destruction and assassination of European rulers with whom it holds friendly international relations.

Section eleven declares against those who openly and deliberately advocate the violent overthrow of all government, and who declare themselves against the enforcement of any and all law. At the common law, such persons were treated as outlaws. This again presents a situation to be dealt with practically. How idle it is to hope that, as humanity now exists, people could rest in peace and security without law and without government. It is one

thing to advocate a different kind of government, or a less oppressive government than that which we have; but it is another thing, and a crime against the well-being of civilization, to advocate the overthrow of all government, and to declare against the enforcement of all law. Why should not a man whose voice and whose hand are raised in violence against all law, and against all men, as a class, who are charged with the duty of upholding and executing the laws in the interest of peace, good order and the well-being of states and communities, be deemed an offender against the Government, to be dealt with according to the modern idea of civilized punishment, and subjected to such restraint as Congress shall deem proper in such a case, and such as shall be deemed commensurate with the offence? Those who declare against all government and all law are inimical to civilization and good order, and their conduct portends evil to our institutions. Such persons are unfriendly to and against our government, and such attitude should be declared by Congress to be an offence. Why, upon trial and conviction, should not the blessings and the protection of government be wholly withdrawn, and why, upon conviction should not such offenders be treated as foes to civilization and humanity? If Congress deemed it expedient it might unquestionably go beyond what is proposed in section eleven by way of penalty and enact a law authorizing a judgment of outlawry against a person convicted of such an offence against the government, and such a law would not be a bill of attainder within the meaning of the Constitution. Outlawry process against offending and convicted persons was well known in the English law when our government was founded, was not inhibited by the federal Constitution, and has been used and practiced since the Constitution was adopted in several of the states—as, for instance, Virginia, Alabama and Pennsylvania.

Though under the shadow of a crime so shocking that it appals the civilized world, and though confronted by an unjust and unreasoning fury, the cry of the American people is not for vengeance, but for clear and resolute repressive measures against violence and threatened violence; and the honor and integrity of the nation demand that such measures shall be enacted into law.

EDGAR ALDRICH.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF ANARCHISTS.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE OF ARCOS, SPANISH ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE UNITED STATES.

SPAIN'S experience with anarchists seems to have demonstrated one thing—the difficulty, the impossibility almost, of preventing those overt acts which have made anarchy the most detested form of political agitation extant. Repressive measures of the most severe order have had the effect of driving a great many of the malcontents out of Spain and of scattering their forces. But it has seemed impossible to devise any scheme of law that will prevent assassination or secure immunity from individual outrages. The great body of anarchists are, no doubt, free from the desire to commit murder. They are intelligent enough to appreciate that nothing hurts their cause so much as assassination. The trouble, then, is not in controlling them *en masse*, but in locating and controlling the individual fanatics in their ranks who look upon murder as a holy rite. It is inevitable that such men should constantly be developed by the spread of anarchistic theories. When you preach the unrighteousness of all law, the outrage of majority rule, and the divine right of the individual, it is natural that some misguided person should rise here and there to take this doctrine literally, and to come to the logical conclusion that it is his right to act as judge, jury and executioner. Naturally, then, murder follows the spread of anarchy as fire follows the touch of a match. The trouble is that no one can know where the match may be touched. The very fact that the anarchists generally are harmless enough, and, in the narrow sense, remain within the pale of the law, creates the difficulty of the situation. The anarchist who is a mere visionary and theorist cannot be separated, before the act, from his violent brother who

carries the theories of the cult as he understands them into effect. In this particular, anarchists are somewhat like wild animals. They have no general standard. Unlike almost any other class, they cannot be treated as a body. It is a fundamental creed of their order that each individual is a law unto himself; and, therefore, each must be judged and handled separately. This renders concerted or general action against them most difficult, and tends to make futile the adoption against them of such preventive measures as may be employed with some assurance of success against every other class of dangerous agitators and law-breakers.

It has been suggested by at least one writer on the subject (Emanuel, in "*Anarchie und Seine Heilung*") that anarchy might be wiped out if all anarchists were classed as lunatics and treated accordingly. Alienists are agreed that there is no such thing as a harmless lunatic. They say a man who has one delusion to-day may develop another to-morrow in an entirely different direction, and that direction may be homicidal mania. Accordingly, they declare that, for the protection of society, all lunatics should be locked up in an asylum until cured, the "harmless ones" along with the others. Similarly, this writer proposes that all anarchists should be confined in asylums until cured of their mania.

This, like other remedies against anarchy, is very well in theory, but in practice it would cause more trouble even than the most violent of their misdeeds. Once the custom of locking up ladies and gentlemen who advocate "advanced" theories of government and sociology was inaugurated, it would not take us very long to get back to the condition peculiar to the Middle Ages when rulers were in the habit of putting obnoxious subjects who demanded political advancement in filthy dungeons and keeping them there until they rotted.

Most of the philosophical writers on anarchy have given it as their belief that education will cure the evil; that when the masses of the people everywhere are given opportunity for mental advancement we will not be troubled with assassins. These men apparently lose sight of the fact that it is only since education has become general that anarchy has come into the world. Almost without exception every anarchist who has turned assassin has been a workman whose education has been far better than that of his fellows. In the eighteenth century, when the working peo-

ple were like animals, perfectly content to be fed and to lie in the sun, there were no assassins in their ranks worth mentioning. As education spread among them they learned to see the inequality of things in this world, and to grope in a blind way for improvement. Unfortunately, education has not progressed far enough with these people to make it clear to them that their remedy does not lie in assassination. It is the half-education that is doing the mischief among the workingmen who are tainted with anarchy. It develops their receptive powers without proportionately developing their reasoning powers.

Education may ultimately kill that form of anarchy that finds expression in murder, but it must be a much more comprehensive education than is available now to the average man and woman among the masses, even in the most advanced countries. The anarchists are a strange, oblique people, and no amount of education seems able to cure them of their peculiar way of looking at things, for among them we often find men of classical learning. These men, however, are never, it must be confessed, the ones who develop into assassins; but, in common with those who do, they are aiming at something undefinable. No one apparently knows what they want, least of all they themselves. As for the assassins in the ranks, they are utterly illogical. Every other class of political assassin has at least some definite, tangible object in view. He commits murder because he seeks to remove some particular ruler, or a member of some particular governing party or body. The anarchist assassin, however, murders simply at haphazard. He is not even as logical as were the Irish dynamiters, whose eccentric crimes at one time seemed to defy all logic and explanation. Investigation, however, showed that, in each case in which the Irish dynamiters exploded their bombs, they had some specific person in view or planned the destruction of some specific structure. Not so these anarchists. Take, for example, the outrages they committed in Spain in 1893, and the outrages that they are perpetrating from time to time to this day in Paris. They exploded bombs in a theatre in Barcelona which was filled with innocent men, women and children, none of whom were connected with the government which the agitators pretended they wished to destroy. In Paris they explode bombs in cafés frequented only by persons who work for a living, and who never had to do with the "ruling classes" or with government officials in their lives.

Then the assassination of the poor Empress of Austria! Here was a lovable, kind, gentle woman, who had absolutely no connection with politics, whose living or dying could not have the slightest effect on any one except the members of her immediate family and her friends. By what specious reasoning she was singled out for assassination by men professiong to work for a different form of government and social order no man may even guess. What can you offer madmen who act thus as an inducement to refrain from their murderous course? What can you do or leave undone that would assure you against the commission of an act such as the one that robbed the United States of its chief executive? Here you have a country where anything may be achieved at the ballot box, where all institutions may be torn down and set up in a new form by the expressed will of the majority. Supposing that to-morrow all the riches of the country were redistributed equally among the people, such fanatics as the man who murdered the President would soon find new inequalities that to his diseased mind would justify murder.

If the anarchists were to be restrained from doing acts of violence by granting improved conditions and an advancing situation for the poor there could not possibly be any assassins among them to-day. Never in the world's history has social improvement been so rapid and so pronounced as within the past sixty years; and yet it is within that period that the percentage of political murders, or rather murder done in the name of politics, has been greatest. And it is also within that period that the political murders have been most illogical and most barren of results. Not one of the deaths wrought by the anarchists has brought about any change or social or political improvement. The only effect they have had, if any, has been to produce, for the time being, a check on the progress of liberality. Yet the murderers go steadily along; and, judging by experience, they will increase in proportion to the spread of knowledge, or rather half-knowledge, among the masses. That education will bring us relief in the end is comprehensible, but this relief can only come when general education passes the crude stage in which we find it to-day. We are everywhere making the most distinct progress along this line. The anarchist outrages are part of the price which we must pay for this progress. It is with social and political improvement as with physical improvement. The process is

full of danger while it is under way, and gives off certain noxious products which endanger health and often bring death. The planting of a new sewerage system means the upturning of soil soaked with disease germs. We know this to be a fact, and that fever and death lurk in the process. This does not deter us, however, from putting in the new sewerage. We keep our minds fixed on the future, and guard as well as we may against the dangers that menace us in the present. That view of anarchy is the most consoling one. We must look upon it as a noxious incident of the advance of civilization and the spread of education.

Some partial protection may be found in a proper police control, but this protection must always be unsatisfactory and incomplete. What, after all, is to be done to safeguard our rulers and ourselves against the attacks of men who are perfectly willing to die for what they consider their "cause." You cannot deal with them by making it hazardous for them to attempt murder. An anarchist who makes an attack with a knife, or a pistol, or a bomb means to kill. He knows that his own capture is inevitable and that his fate is fixed. To pass a law making an attempt on a ruler's life equivalent to murder does not solve the problem of protection even approximately. The penalty makes absolutely no difference to these deluded creatures who are bent on assassination. After the Barcelona outrages Spain adopted the most drastic measures in the hope that assassination could be stamped out. It was provided that any man responsible for explosions likely to cause death or serious bodily injury should be executed or sentenced to penal servitude for life. Severe sentences were provided for all persons, and especially newspaper editors, who advocated or condoned bomb-throwing. Anarchist societies were declared illegal, and the government was empowered to dissolve them wherever found. Trial in each case was to be by court-martial, in order to secure more expeditious punishment. All these measures had apparently little or no preventive effect. Almost on top of them came repeated new attempts, the record of recklessness being finally topped with the assassination of Canovas in 1897 by the anarchist Angiolillo.

Spain was one of the last countries to feel the manifestations of anarchy. While Italy and France and some of the other nations had long been struggling with the question, Spain still remained free. It was not until the eighties that missionaries

were sent from the camps outside our borders to foment trouble among our workmen and plant the seeds of anarchy. Up to that time the extreme political agitators were all socialists, men of a radical type, but with no taint of assassination or violence. It did not require very long to convert the extreme element among the socialists to anarchistic doctrines, and soon thereafter anarchist outrages began to manifest themselves. It was not until 1892, however, that these outrages became so flagrant and so numerous that they riveted the attention not only of the nation, but of the entire world. Several attempts were made to blow up the residences of some of the leading statesmen, and efforts were also made to get at the person of the King. A number of bombs were exploded in the grounds of Canovas's residence, but the perpetrators of these outrages were not apprehended. Careful work on the part of the police revealed a number of extreme anarchistic groups, among whom there were several men on whom the crime of exploding bombs was saddled. These persons were located at Xeres. After a brief trial they were convicted and executed on February 10th, 1892. This execution was the signal for a general massing of strength by the anarchists, who vowed venegeance on the government. The police kept in close touch with the conspirators, and almost every week a raid was made on one den or another where the groups congregated. In the very teeth of this police activity the anarchists, on June 12th, 1893, exploded a bomb in a crowded plaza of Barcelona. On September 24th General Martinez Campos was conducting a review of troops at Barcelona, when two bombs were exploded under his horse. The General and four of his aides were severely wounded, and one policeman was killed. The bombs, it was shown, had been thrown by a cigarmaker named Pallas Latorre. This person was a fair example of the type of human beings developed by the theory of anarchy. He also illustrated the absolute recklessness and contempt for punishment characteristic of the political assassins. Instead of attempting to escape with the multitude after the explosion of the bombs, he stood his ground and gloried in his crime, calling on heaven and the people to witness his bravery that made it possible for one man to attack single-handed the flower of the Spanish army. Of course, he and his fellows were entirely oblivious to the absurdity and foolishness of his position. He looked upon himself as a "martyr to the cause." Latorre was

tried by court-martial and shot on October 6th. It was hoped that this speedy execution would have some effect in deterring others from committing outrages. But within a month, on November 7th, the massacre in the Liceo Theatre occurred at Barcelona. Two bombs were thrown and thirty people, all innocent spectators, were killed or fatally injured. The police after this put out a drag-net and made over a hundred arrests. While the authorities were most active another bomb was exploded on November 15th, in a plaza where thousands of people were gathered to cheer the troops that were departing for one of the colonies. Still another explosion of dynamite followed within a few days, this time in the barracks of Villaneuva.

The nation by this time had grown desperate and demanded summary vengeance on every one who was tainted in the slightest degree with anarchy. Hundreds of anarchists were gathered in and put on trial before a court-martial. Justice was meted out swiftly; and, while the evidence warranted few executions, hundreds among the extreme anarchists were transported.

In an effort to destroy the evil, root and branch, the Spanish Government, in December, asked the governments of the world for international action. A conference was held in Rome, but nothing positive came of this.

England, the most prolific breeding-ground of the anarchists, was not represented at all. Her statesmen refused to consider any proposition looking to concerted action, on the ground that a course might easily grow out of such an action that would abridge the personal and political liberty which that country had always maintained.

The wholesale deportation of the fanatics apparently had the effect of giving Spain some respite from their assaults, for it was not until the following year that another attack was made. This, fortunately, was ineffectual. It was aimed at the civil governor of Barcelona, and the perpetrator avowed that his deed was done in revenge for the execution of Pallas. This move was followed by further repressive measures on the part of the government, which resulted in the court-martialing and shooting of six of the ringleaders. For a while matters quieted down and police action relaxed, until the assassination of President Carnot in France, on June 24th, by the anarchist Caserio. This again roused Spain, as it did the whole world, to renewed activity against the anar-

chists. It also made clear once more the fanatical and desperate character of these people, and the hopelessness of relying upon ordinarily preventive measures for safety. Carnot, it will be remembered, was murdered in the midst of a regiment of cavalry. If the ruler of a nation is not safe from assassination when he is surrounded on all sides by soldiers who are faithful to him, then what means of precaution may be relied upon?

It was not until 1896 that there was a further violent manifestation of anarchy in Spain. On June 2d of that year, while General Despujols was reviewing the troops at Barcelona, a bomb was exploded under his horse. The General escaped with slight injury, but eight other persons were killed, and a large number were injured. Wholesale arrests were at once ordered by the police, and 380 avowed anarchists were taken into custody. They were carefully sifted until the guilty ones were located. These were put on trial before a court-martial, and eight were condemned to be shot. In addition, more special legislation was passed by the Cortes. It was provided that any person found guilty of promulgating anarchist propaganda of the violent type, and any one found guilty of concealing a plot for the explosion of a bomb or any other act of violence, should be punished by death or penal servitude for life. The ink on the signature to these laws was hardly dry before an attempt was made to blow up a train. Investigation showed this to be clearly an anarchist plot, and more arrests followed. There was more or less agitation after this, with sporadic outbreaks here and there; but no serious incident occurred until the assassination of Canovas on August 8th of the year following, 1897.

The foreign complications that came upon Spain not long after this event seem in a measure to have diverted the anarchists from their usual course of murder. It is too much to expect, however, that the quietness which Spain has enjoyed will endure for any length of time. The respite has had the usual effect with us, and the effect that it has with most other countries. It has put police surveillance very largely to sleep, and thus robbed us of about the only remedy that is efficient in keeping anarchists down. It is with Spain as with America. On the heels of a great calamity such as the murder of the President there is a great public outcry and a demand for repressive measures. The authorities everywhere are active and the anarchists are kept under close police

supervision. Suspected persons are carefully watched, and the laws against inflammatory speeches are rigidly enforced. Special legislation is planned, and under the spur of the public demand drastic laws are put on the statute-books. This continues until the public mind turns to other subjects. Then a period of inactivity ensues. It is at that point that the anarchists always get a fresh start.

International action that would bring about ceaseless surveillance and general co-operation between the heads of police all over the world would be an excellent thing. Whether any other effective measures could be taken by the governments acting in concert is a question. But the adoption of a general plan of police warfare could certainly be accomplished, and the gain would be undoubted. As I have said before, it would be too much to expect that this or any other course would effectively prevent the dastardly acts of assassination that from time to time shock the world. What could be done, however, would be the reduction of the chances of such events by keeping down the agitators who put the murderous ideas into the heads of weak-minded creatures. It is a peculiar thing, and one worthy of notice in that it may offer a suggestion, that the anarchist who turns assassin is never one of the leaders of the movement. The men who struck down the Empress of Austria, the Prime Minister of Spain and the President of France, like the murderer of President McKinley, had never been heard of until their infamous acts blazed their names all over the world. None of these men had any power of original thought. They were all inspired by others, by the speeches or writing of the leaders, the men and women who are known to the authorities, but who are shrewd enough to keep out of danger. The real guilt is with these leaders rather than with their instruments; and if they could be muzzled a long step would be taken in the right direction. Concord of action among the nations, along the line of extending and systematizing the police power against anarchists, would go far towards making this muzzling process possible. As it is now, the anarchist agitator who is driven out of one country by the authorities finds lodgment in another, and from that vantage point pushes his propaganda in print and by mail almost as actively as he could have done on the scene and in person. A system that would make the police all over the world a solid, interacting force

against them would deprive these anarchists of the immunity they now enjoy. By confining such international police co-operation entirely to persons well within the anarchist class, no danger to the general or political liberty of others could be apprehended. The police would keep themselves in close touch everywhere with the anarchist movement; they would exchange information bearing on the doings of the agitators, and have complete descriptions in every bureau of the men and women concerned.

Spain was profoundly affected by the news of Mr. McKinley's assassination. It has revived the old hatred and fear of anarchy, and put the public mind in a state in which any proposition for general action against anarchists would no doubt be hailed with satisfaction. The same sentiment, no doubt, exists in all the other countries. Even England would probably now consent to participate in a formal international conference on the subject. Comparatively, England has been reasonably free from internal anarchistic troubles, a fact which is due, no doubt, to the fact that under her institutions it is possible to conduct a perfect system of exportation of anarchists and anarchist materials into other countries. Notwithstanding this, however, and despite all the leniency shown these agitators, several attempts against the late Queen's life are on record, and the measure of gratitude of which anarchists are capable was pretty accurately shown by the assault made on King Edward during his visit to the Continent. It is not altogether improbable, therefore, that England would now listen to a proposition for an international arrangement that would permit police control and pursuit of suspected incendiaries all over the world. If such an arrangement should be perfected, the fearful crime of which Mr. McKinley was the victim, a crime that robbed the American people of one of its best beloved rulers, of one who in the opinion of his countrymen was a model of domestic and civic virtue, would, in a measure, bring its own atonement.

ARCOS.

CUBA'S IMMINENT BANKRUPTCY.

BY EDWIN F. ATKINS.

It is now three years since the United States Government took charge of Cuba. During that time order has been restored, schools have been established throughout the Island, cities have been put in good sanitary condition as far as surface cleansing can do so, contagious diseases, including yellow fever, have been almost stamped out, and an effective customs revenue system has been established and enforced.

Only those who have been upon the spot and who have watched the progress made, from month to month, can appreciate the untiring energy and executive ability of Governor-General Wood and the thoroughness of the work of the army officers in charge of the various departments. The patience and perseverance of these men, often exercised under most trying conditions and with no thought of reward other than that accorded to the soldier whose duty has been well done, cannot fail to arouse both respect and admiration for the United States Army in the mind of the careful observer.

All that the administrative arm of the Government (as represented by the Army) could do for the benefit of Cuba has been well and thoroughly done up to the present time; the responsibility for her future welfare now rests upon Congress.

The economic conditions of the Island call for prompt and decisive action, or Cuba will be bankrupt before it can be turned over to its Independent Government, and its population, deprived of employment, will again be in a fit state for rebellion against any established government.

While the President of the United States, in his capacity of Commander of the Army and Navy, has full power to regulate the affairs and adjust the custom-house revenues of Cuba through

the War Department during the period of military control, that power does not extend over the customs revenues of the United States, and only Congress can change or modify the established tariff rates.

The extreme protection accorded to domestic producers of sugar under the Dingley tariff and the annexation of the Sandwich Islands and Porto Rico have largely aided in bringing about a most serious crisis of affairs for Cuba, which, although it is under the military government of the United States, is in all other respects treated as a foreign country.

The present economic condition of Cuba is most serious. The price of New York, duty-paid, centrifugal sugars of 96 per cent. purity, which grade of sugar forms the market standard of cane sugars of the world, has now fallen to the extremely low figure of 3.75 cents. When the duty of 1.68½ cents is deducted, 2.06½ cents remain as the bond value of Cuban sugars in New York, while the same grade of sugars from the Sandwich Islands and Porto Rico, as well as the domestic product of New Orleans, has the duty paid value of 3.75 cents per pound.

The bond price of sugars last January was 2.69 cents; consequently, the decline since that time has been five-eighths of a cent per pound.

The price at which Cuba sold her past crop between January 1st and July 1st averaged 2.44 cents per pound in New York, which showed a decline from the previous year of about a quarter of a cent per pound.

From the present bond value in New York, 2.06½ cents, must be deducted a tenth of a cent for ocean freights and a quarter of a cent for shipping charges in Cuba, including packages, storage, lighterage, shipping commission, etc., so that there remains only 1.71½ cents per pound.

This figure of 1.71½ cents per pound in United States currency, or its equivalent in Spanish money, is all that the Cuban planter now gets for his sugars, delivered at a port where they are salable; and out of that mentioned sum he must pay the inland transportation to the shipping port. As the duty upon these sugars under the Dingley bill is 1.68½ cents per pound, it amounts upon the present value to just about 100 per cent. upon the planter's price, which is now far below the average cost of production.

With a declining market for his sugars, the Cuban manufac-

turer has also had to contend with an advanced cost in his labor. He is now paying for labor double the price paid in the large beet sugar producing countries, such as Germany and Austria, double the rates that are paid in Porto Rico, and eight times the rates that are paid in Java, with all of which countries he has to compete in the New York market.

Owing to the bounty systems of Continental Europe, Cuba's sugars, as well as sugars of other cane producing countries, are practically shut out from the British market and have to seek an outlet in the United States, Java, being the only important exception, now sending over one-quarter of her crop to China. There is but the smallest hope for Cuba through any material improvement in prices, for the following reasons:

The total world's crop of sugar for the year ending October 1st, 1901, was 9,581,000 tons, showing an increase over the previous year of 1,123,000 tons, a figure far in excess of the increased consumption; during the same period the visible stocks of sugar had nearly doubled, and the decline in New York was one and a quarter cents per pound. The estimated increase in the world's crop for the coming year is 800,000 tons, which, if realized, will show a total output of 10,300,000 tons.

All the beet sugar countries of Europe are now producing far in excess of their own requirements and of those of Great Britain, and their exports, particularly those of Russia, have already driven cane sugars out of the Italian and Turkish markets, and the surplus beet crop must either find an outlet in the United States or be added to the world's stock.

The consumption of the United States for the year ending January 1st, 1901, was 2,220,000 tons. For the current year it may be estimated at 2,330,000 tons. Against this requirement the supply of free sugar, as estimated for the crops now under way, is as follows:

	Tons.
Hawaii	320,000
Porto Rico	120,000
Louisiana and Texas	300,000
Domestic beets	150,000
	890,000

Thus our requirements of foreign sugar would be but 1,440,000 tons.

The supply of duty-free sugar as compared with the requirements for consumption will be about thirty-nine per cent.

Owing to the bounty systems of Europe, their beet sugars can be sold in the markets of Great Britain at considerably below the cost of production. There being no such countervailing duty in England as there is in the United States, this naturally throws the cane sugar supply of the world upon the United States markets, together with the excess of the beet sugar crop.

Against the above-mentioned requirements of foreign sugars by the United States, say 1,440,000 tons, we have the following estimated supplies of cane sugar alone:

	Tons.
Cuba, estimated crop	800,000
British West Indies	269,000
Santo Domingo	50,000
South America, for export	150,000
Java	700,000
Egypt	90,000
	2,059,000

A very small proportion of the aggregate of the above-mentioned cane sugar can find an outlet either in Great Britain or the Orient; and with the balance, as well as with the excess of the European beet crop, Cuba must compete in the markets of the United States.

As Germany is by far the largest sugar-producing country of the world, the price of the New York market has for many years past followed that of Hamburg, and been sustained at a parity with it; now the effect of so large a prospective supply of duty-free sugar is already being shown by the bond price of the New York market dropping below that of Hamburg.

Germany is now producing 2,000,000 tons, nearly three times her requirements for consumption, and is making desperate efforts to hold her export trade; to this end, a syndicate of manufacturers and refiners has been in operation for some time past for the purpose of maintaining prices of her domestic consumption at as high a point as the import duty upon sugars will allow, thus enabling them to export at prices which otherwise would entail a considerable loss.

The operations of this syndicate, known as the "Kartel," are quite apart from the export bounty paid by the German Government; and, together with the bounty, the German manufacturers are enabled to ship their surplus abroad at fully one-half cent a pound below their cost of production. Against the Government export bounty the United States protects itself by a countervailing duty; against the "Kartel" there is no protection.

Europe, principally Germany, sent us last year about 400,000 tons of raw beet sugar.

The same bounty system prevails in Austria, Holland, France, and Russia. A recent German trade circular, in speaking of the system prevailing in Russia, makes the following comment:

"The Russian consumer not only covers the cost of production, the excise, and the additional tax, but also pays the export profits, dividends to the planter and sugar manufacturer, and besides is refunding the losses on exports to foreign countries."

There are left but two important consuming countries in the world, Great Britain and the United States. From the markets of Great Britain Cuba is excluded by reason of the various bounty systems of Europe, where, to illustrate with Germany as a seller, she has to meet a price, which, at present figures, is fully half a cent a pound less than cost of production.

In the United States market she has to meet the same German competition at a price a quarter of a cent a pound below cost of production, and against the domestic production of the United States she is met with a specific duty, which now amounts to one hundred per cent. upon present value of the sugar to her planters.

Through the recent Platt law, Cuba is virtually prohibited from making any trade treaties, which possibly might help her situation, with any country other than the United States.

In order to carry out the spirit of the Teller resolution included in our bill of Declaration of War against Spain, which declared the intention of the United States to be the establishment of an Independent Government in Cuba, the United States is now preparing to withdraw her troops from the Island, leaving the management of Cuban affairs in the hands of the Cuban people. The property interests of the Island are largely in the hands of foreigners, Spanish, American, English and German. These classes, while holding probably three-quarters of the property of the Island in the form of direct ownership, mortgages or open accounts, are entitled to no vote or representation in the political affairs of Cuba; to the protection of this property the United States is morally pledged under the Treaty of Paris.

Under the rulings of the military government of the United States, the franchise has been restricted by a property and educational qualification, but under the constitution recently adopted by the Cuban people universal suffrage was granted.

The census of Cuba taken in 1899 by the United States military officials showed a total population of about 1,500,000 souls, some five-eights of the adult population being unable to read or write; whether under a majority rule a stable government can be permanently maintained and property adequately protected without interference by the United States, remains to be proven.

Under the present military administration, their customs revenue, which is practically the only method of taxation, amounts to some $15,000,000. This sum is unquestionably required for the proper administration of public affairs and for carrying out the plans of the military government for the education of the Cuban people and for public improvements. Looking back to the Spanish budget of 1895-1896, we find the estimated revenue of the Island to have been $24,753,000 (although yielding less), of which the Custom House revenue was estimated at $11,890,000, the balance being from direct taxation, lotteries and internal revenue stamp taxes.

In the year of 1895 the agricultural products of the Island were approximately $100,000,000 in value.

Through decreased crops in consequence of the insurrection and the war, combined with the great shrinkage in values during the past few months, taxation as compared to crop values, as representing the paying capacity of the people, now bears quite as high a ratio as under Spanish rule.

It is evident that the sugar industry of the world is rapidly approaching a crisis, which cannot fail to most seriously effect Cuba at a time when she will be most in need of revenue; for a financial crisis there must diminish importations and consequently the customs revenue. To withdraw our troops and protection in order to establish an independent government, while maintaining our present tariff against her products, would be to invite failure at the very commencement of her independence.

Cuba's crop commences in December; her troubles will be upon her at once. There is no time for a discussion of reciprocity between our incoming Congress and a Cuban Government yet to be established. Only prompt and decisive action on the part of Congress can save Cuba from the direst disaster.

EDWIN F. ATKINS.

BOSTON, November 4, 1901.

THE PROPOSED APPALACHIAN PARK.

BY PROFESSOR N. S. SHALER, DEAN OF THE LAWRENCE SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

WHILE the administration of the lands belonging to the national government has not always been wise and sometimes has been shameful, one feature of it goes far to balance the account of misdeeds. This is the reservation in the Far West of many great domains, parks, forest reserves, or sites of the reservoirs which are to provide for the storage of water to be in time used on the arid lands. This course of action has not only given the people of the Cordilleran region the nation's guarantee for the preservation of some of the noblest features of the scenery and the most important natural resources of their part of the country. It has a larger import; for it indicates, by the successive legislative steps which have been taken, that the Congress of the United States is prepared to accept the principle that certain parts of the land, which by their beauty are of importance to the general welfare, shall belong to the commonwealth.

That nations should own and administer lands such as forests is common enough; but the selection of these areas, because of their beauty, or of their peculiar value to the people, and their effective dedication to public use, is most exceptional, if, indeed, it finds a parallel in any other country or age than our own. It may be charged that the legislation which established these reservations is, in its tendencies, socialistic, but the most inveterate enemy of that political theory, if he be open to reason, will not be disposed to contend against such action. He will have to acknowledge that these gifts to the community are very helpful to its best interests, and that they could not have been secured by private or corporate endeavor or even by the action of individual States. They can be obtained by national action alone.

If the sense of national responsibility as to the public domain had come to the Federal Congress at its first session, instead of a century later, all our great reservations would not have been situated west of the hundredth meridian, as is now the case. They would be scattered over all the territory which was once the possession of the national government. In this way, the most charming bits of scenery in the eastern and central parts of the Mississippi Valley, the sites of the most important Indian monuments and the choicest areas of forest would have been preserved from the destruction which has come upon them. They, too, would be counted among our national treasures, safe for all generations to come. It is true that no part of the Atlantic coastal region north of Florida or the territory east of the Alleghenies was ever a part of national domain; yet, if the principle of reservation, now definitely adopted, had been accepted a hundred years ago, it would have been an easy matter to have acquired all the area most desirable for public use, by purchase or in exchange for other lands, from the several States which then held them as public property. Unhappily, the time is past when any such arrangement is possible. Except the part of the Adirondacks which is held by New York, and certain scattered areas in New England and Florida, practically all the State lands which are in any way desirable for public reservations have become private property. In most cases they have been so far changed from their primitive conditions that they no longer have any value as parks, while they have too great a value for other uses to justify their purchase for public service.

Let us imagine that our forefathers of the eighteenth century had been endowed with as much prescience as to other public needs as they were in matters political, and that, with such access of wisdom, they had looked over the territory of the United States, as it then was, to find where they would establish a reservation that should, for all time, preserve the noblest features of the great wilderness which it was their part to conquer, as it has been ours to subdue the vaster fields of the Cordilleras. I shall endeavor to indicate how they would have viewed the question, had they approached it in the light of our present knowledge and motives.

By far the most noteworthy natural feature of all the region east of the Mississippi River, at the time when the English colo-

nies were planted, were the forests of broad-leaved trees which extended from central New England to Georgia. The splendor of these primeval woods was recognized by the early explorers, and from these they judged as to the fertility of the soil; for it was a matter of common experience that from heavily timbered land rich fields could be won. They saw here the representatives of the Old World trees, oaks, elms, maples and beeches, but in far greater variety of species than existed in Europe, and along with these familiar groups many others, such as the tulip tree, the various gums, the magnolias, etc., which had no living representatives on the other side of the Atlantic. This wealth of arboreal life not only made a strong impresion on the imaginations of the first explorers and students of eastern North America, but added to their estimate of the commercial value of the country. Though Great Britain, when the American colonies were founded, had a population not one-fourth of what it has at present, its forests of structural timber, especially that used in ship-building, had already become scanty, and it looked to America for its future supply.

The early impression made by the forests of broad-leaved trees that inhabit eastern North America, to the effect that they were among the wonders of the world, has been affirmed by the better knowledge of our day. Elsewhere there are far greater trees, as the gigantic conifers of the Pacific Coast, or the species of Eucalyptus in Australia; but the botanically higher group of broad-leaved forms nowhere else in the world attained to anything like the development they exhibited in the district from the St. Lawrence to Georgia, and thence diminishing westward to the prairie district of the Mississippi Valley. If there was any one class of natural features of the eastern part of this continent which deserved to be kept in its best example for the pleasure and profit of future generations, it was these great Atlantic forests.

Although the broad-leaved forests of eastern North America have lost their primeval splendor and nowhere exhibit their noblest species of trees in their best estate, it is not too late to provide, by a suitable reservation, a field wherein they may speedily regain their primitive aspect. It is characteristic of this group of trees that the forests they form are self-renewing, so that any considerable area from which the species have not been actually exterminated, if kept from the axe and fire, will rapidly re-

occupy the ground, and, in a period that may be counted brief in the lifetime of a nation, regain the character of a primitive wood. There is, indeed, one section of the Appalachian Mountains where, in scattered yet large areas, there still remain fragments of the original growth which, owing to the difficulties of transporting timber and the relative immunity from fires due to the considerable rainfall, retain something like the primeval conditions. This field lies in the higher parts of the great upland of the South in the State of North Carolina, but near the confines of Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. Here it is proposed that the federal government shall secure by condemnation, with the usual full compensation to the owners, a large area—it should not be less than a thousand square miles in extent—which shall serve the people for all times, as does the National Park of Wyoming, or, in less degree, the many other public reservations of the Far West, by preserving much beauty that otherwise will speedily vanish, and in other ways contributing to the good of the commonwealth.

The reasons why the mountain district of western North Carolina is the fittest place for a great national reservation in the eastern section of the United States, are easily made evident. In that upland district we have the highest elevations of the Appalachian system, many of the peaks surpassing Mount Washington in height. The region is still well wooded, the tilled fields being essentially limited to the narrow valleys. These settled areas could be exempted from condemnation; or, if here and there they need be taken, the number of people disturbed would be inconsiderable. The actual value of the ground is small, being for large areas but little, if any, more than the price of government lands; and the assessable average value is much less than that of many of the more extensive reservations in the Far West.

It is also to be noted that this region is in the very heart of the original broad-leaved forests of eastern America, where a greater number of the hundred or so important trees attain their full growth than in any other equally extensive field. Owing to the variety in height of the surface, a large and well-selected reservation would have a range of elevation of about five thousand feet, which would afford climatic conditions in which all, or nearly all, the broad-leaved species inhabiting the field from Georgia to

Canada would flourish. It is worth while to note the fact that this upland appears to have been the main cradle-place and stronghold, for many geological ages, of the broad-leaved trees of the northern hemisphere. Ever since these groups of plants began to develop, the conditions of this area appear to have been essentially undisturbed. Repeatedly the northern parts of the Appalachian field have been swept over by glaciers, and the lowlands of the Mississippi Valley and the Southern States have to a great extent been occupied by lakes or by the sea. But, through the ages since the coal period, this mountain region of the South has been, so far as we can discern, the one safe ground where these broad-leaved species could maintain themselves. It is more than likely that from here they spread to the Old World. That in this district the varieties of this group are more plentiful than elsewhere, may be due to the fact that they were here nurtured and have here attained their characteristic qualities.

Although a national reservation in the southern upland will, perhaps, most commend itself to the people from their interest in the noble forests which it will permanently preserve, there are economic considerations that would of themselves warrant the undertaking. The effect of such a forested area on the streams which have their headwaters in this mountain district would be considerable and most advantageous. Properly located, this park would include the tributaries of rivers which flow to the Ohio, as well as streams that course to the Atlantic. It is evident that, in the future, these water courses, like all others in settled countries, are to be extensively utilized as sources of electric power. Owing to the form of the country, it will not be possible, as it is in New England, to hold back the stream water in reservoirs for use in the dry season of the year; the only economical method will be to have the water stored in the spongy mat which naturally forms in an unbroken forest, and which to a great extent prevents the water-courses from becoming beds of torrents in rainy seasons and in other times dry channels. In proportion to its area and rainfall, in relation to the whole of the drainage of the rivers flowing from it, such a forest reservation would serve to diminish the floods which, year by year, become more destructive to the tilled grounds and towns along the lower reaches of our great waterways, and more injurious to their value for navigation. This evil, already great, is constantly becoming

a more serious menace, as the steep sides of the mountains are further stripped of their woods. It is, indeed, likely that, before the end of the century, it will be a matter of national concern. So far as the proposed reservation of forests in the Southern highlands will tend to remedy this ill (that it will in some measure do so is certain), it will help where help is much needed.

The experience which has been had with the state forests of Europe, an experience already centuries old, is that they have value to the public in that they afford a needed supply of timber and, with systematic management of their reserves, a fair money return for the investment made in them. It is no disadvantage to the life or beauty of a wood to have the ripe trees removed, provided the work is done in a manner that does not seriously damage the younger growth or increase the risk of fire. From such a preserve—of, say, a million acres—as could be made in the Southern upland, provided it were well administered, there could be an annual output of timber which would go far to insure the neighboring region against the dearth of constructural woods, which is sure to be experienced in the country at large before the end of the century.

It may be said that, so far as such a reservation as is here proposed is to be regarded as a source of timber supply, it falls into the category of economic ventures which should be left to private or corporate enterprise, and not dealt with by the government. That it is not properly so classed is fairly shown by the fact that, although the destruction of our forests is going on at a rate which makes certain a serious dearth of their products within half a century, there is no provision being made for the needs to come. It has been proved that plantations of our more valuable timber trees, established and maintained with ordinary business ability, will, in the course of a half century, prove amply remunerative, repaying the initial costs as well as those of management, and leaving a permanent source of income for the holders. Yet such ventures nowhere tempt investors; the evident and natural reason being that men are not willing to invest money where the profits, however great, however well assured, are to come at a time beyond their expectation of life. It is, or should be, an accepted principle that the government is to provide for public needs when private enterprise, for any reason, cannot be induced to make adequate provision.

The necessity as regards a future supply of timber in the eastern section of the United States is hardly less immediate than it is in the western section. The federal government has made tardy and rather insufficient, but, as far as they go, excellent establishments in the way of forest reservations to provide for this need in the western part of the country. It is true that this has been done by setting aside national lands, but there would be no important difference in the action if lands were, with due compensation to the owner, taken in the eastern section of the country for like uses. Whenever ground is required for public needs, such as fortifications, it is thus taken. Such takings are frequently made for parks under State laws. The only question is as to the measure of necessity and of benefit to the mass of the people, which may justify the disturbance of proprietors.

Not the least of the advantages accruing to our people from the establishment of an extreme reservation in the Carolina highlands is, that it would preserve for ordered public use the most admirable recreation ground in the South. In all the eastern part of the United States there is no other area which is by nature so well fitted to be a resort for health or pleasure as this upland district. The great extent of territory which here attains a height of more than two thousand feet above the sea, gives to the district a climate more characteristically mountainous than is found elsewhere on the continent east of the Rocky Mountains. To all the people of the southern plain-land, it is the most fitting summer resort; while, because of its mild and equable winters, it is peculiarly well-suited to be the winter residence of invalids from the North. So far as this field is brought under federal control, we may be sure that it will be retained in a condition to serve the health and pleasure of the public, secured from the degradation that everywhere comes upon such places if they are left without such protection.

The question may be asked why North Carolina should not assume the costs of establishing such a reservation as is proposed. The answer is that the cost to a single relatively poor State for the initial expense and the expense of maintenance would be excessive. Moreover, the advantages would accrue to the whole country and would be about as great to the neighboring commonwealths as to that in which the permanent forest is established. It is evidently a task such as the federal government

should assume. The work might conceivably be undertaken by an association of the States contiguous to this area; but such co-operation is not in our traditions, nor is it politically desirable that limited, associated action of our federal units should be brought about. It is evidently better that the work should be done by the general government. To that power we may fairly look for a continuance of the good work which has insured to coming generations a common right in the best that nature has given to the Far West.

If any one questions whether the establishment of the proposed reservation in the South would meet with the approval of the people, he may have his doubts removed by observing the resort of the folk of the Rocky Mountains to those which have been established in the Far West, particularly to the National Park of Wyoming. All through the summer, he may see camping parties of the country-folk on the way to these pleasure grounds. They often journey for hundreds of miles to have their outing on what they justly feel to be their own property. Living in their wagons and tents, in the care of an admirable corps of guards, they rejoice in their domain—theirs and their successors' forever. Such truly imperial gifts have greatly enriched a part of this country; it will be well, before the remnants of primeval nature have vanished, that the other parts of our realm should have like share in them.

N. S. SHALER.

THE CHINESE AND THE EXCLUSION ACT.

BY JOAQUIN MILLER.

It is telegraphed to us of the Pacific coast that the head of the American Federation of Labor, the Secretary of the National Federation, and others, have called on the Executive to urge the re-enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act; and it is, perhaps, in order now to inquire whether or not we of the West and the real laborers of the United States want, or ever did want, this Exclusion Act; also, to ask what these men know of China, the Chinese, or real American labor?

There are laborers and laborers. The real working man, in the main, is on "the firing line," his shoulder to the wheel; his face is not against his fellow man but for him; he is heading to the front; he is in the van of civilization, as his fathers, the founders of this mighty Republic, were before him, and he is proud, happy and content to be there. He is a Lincoln, a Garfield. He is a builder, not a destroyer. And these silent men at the front, of the forest and the field, outnumber the noisy city "laborer," so called, ten to one, although you would think the figures exactly reversed, to hear the city man and read his noisy resolutions.

Moreover, these silent laboring men on the firing line, the men of the forest, the field, the miners of the frontier, are in the main Americans. Get the names of the noisy city "laborers," and you will see that they are foreigners mainly, many of the names reading with an accent that is grimly suggestive of the incendiary and the anarchist.

Let all be equal before the law. But whom shall we heed, the great majority who build up, or the noisy few who tear down? The real laborer is not fretting the President with indolent and insolent delegations; he is quietly at work. There is work for

all who want to work. There will be work for all who really want to work until the Western States are entirely inhabited. It will be ages and ages before our last acre is plowed and planted, let come to us who care to come and labor and obey the laws. Now, do these real laborers, the men who work in content, want and need the Chinese with us? They both want them and they need them. Senator Morton, when he was at the head of the committee which had this matter of the Chinese in hand, said:

"That they have injuriously interfered with the white people of California, or have done them a serious injury, may well be doubted. The great fact is that there is to-day and has always been a scarcity of labor on the Pacific coast. There is work for all who are there, both white and Mongolian, and the State would undoubtedly develop much more rapidly were there more and cheaper labor. There was much intelligent testimony to the fact that the Chinese by their labor opened up large avenues and demand for white labor. The Chinese performed the lowest kind, while the whites monopolized that of a superior character."

Do the real proprietors of the Pacific coast, the owners of property and the taxpayers, want the Chinese with us? They do, almost without exception, and it would be strange if they did not; for, since the exclusion of the Chinese, property in our largest cities has, in the main, been at a standstill. And behold! our chiefest city, San Francisco, has slid back from its proud place as the seventh city in the Union to that of the ninth! Of course, if we had excluded all other foreigners along with the Chinese, we might have held our own, perhaps advanced as at the first; but these remaining foreigners have kept up such a turmoil that capital, always very sensitive, has been afraid to come and in many cases has moved out, and moved out to stay.

True, there are good foreigners with us; true, there are some Americans among the noisy, ignorant, discontented element; we can't draw sharp lines here; but, as a rule, it is the foreigner who has made and will continue to make trouble here until told and taught to keep in his place or get out of the country, as he pleases. True, there are a few Americans who prefer to do their hardest work on the day of election, along with the noisy foreigner—poor, misguided creatures, who have no brains to speak of—but, as Senator Morton said, there is work for all who want work.

The outcry against the Chinese began in San Francisco, and it began early; and it came from sailors, mostly, up from Aus-

tralia and other colonies of England, penal and otherwise. These foreigners, ever ready with fist or tongue, wanted to be porters, cooks and dish-washers; they wanted their sisters and their cousins and their aunts to do the chamber work. The politicians and the saloon-keepers wanted the votes of these "citizens," born but the day before; and as the Chinaman is, as a rule, more nearly a Christian in patience and forbearance than any other foreign-born laborer, he soon gave the sidewalk to all, and, for better security, began to go apart and to live apart with his own kind.

It pleased the rude element and the noisy politician and saloon-keepers who got nothing out of them, to see the newspapers mock the quiet and solitary Chinaman; and so every paper, except a few Christian publications, pounced on the Chinaman, on every possible occasion; and there is nothing in this world so conscienceless and cowardly as the average American newspaper; except, perhaps, the average American politician.

This outcry has widened and spread, until to-day there are few property owners in San Francisco who care to have their real sentiments on the subject published. But I repeat that all the tax-paying and substantial citizens of our cities and the real laborers of our Pacific Empire, from Alaska to San Diego, want and need these people with us, for, as Senator Morton said, they do "the lowest work." The man with a home, whether he has a little shop or a little farm, does not want his wife and growing children to cook, wash and do chamber work, when he can get a silent and submissive little Mongolian to do it for a song. I tell you more: the real laborer on this coast is a Christian, and when he reflects that "the little, brown man" is starving, starving for work, and that his people at home are literally starving for the dollar or two a week, which is all he asks when he first comes to us, why, this Christian man wants to open his home to him, and his heart, too, and give him work. We have, perhaps, the finest, best people in the world on this Pacific coast, the select of the Republic, and we can keep this standard up, and even advance it, and do Christian good at the same time, by not only allowing but inviting the little brown men to come. For our ambitious and splendid white boy or white girl cannot get on nearly so well at school if kept at home to do washing, do chamber work, and help mother to do what Senator Morton called

"the lowest work" about the house. The foreign girl simply will not go away from the city; and even in the city, if we except the Swede, German and the like, she must have light work and heavy wages. My work as a teacher, talker at Teachers' Institutes, Colleges and so on, has, in the last four years, taken me into nearly every county in Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and Louisiana, and I have nowhere heard one voice in favor of the Chinese Exclusion Act, but the contrary, at all times and places. The Chinese are particularly wanted in the great Southwest.

I can count letters from women by hundreds, begging that this brutal Act be not perpetuated. Our women here in this warm land are not so strong. They must have "help," and they cannot depend on foreign white "help," and their daughters must go to school.

Now a word about the "hordes" that are to "overrun us." Senator Morton estimated that we had about 75,000 Chinese in California. We may have that number now; we may have only half so many, but I think, at one time, we have had at least a quarter of a million. This was when the placer mines were open to all, and the Harvard, Yale and Princeton graduate shovelled dirt in the same gulch with "John," and found him a very quiet, cleanly little fellow, from the Oregon Sierra to the Sierra Madre. And when the graduate, the gentleman, got his claim washed out, he sold it to "John" for gold and went home; and John sold it to his newly-arrived cousin, "on tick," and went home also. Then the cousin worked the claim to the bed-rock and went home, too.

So things went on till the first Pacific railroad was built, and when the last old claim was worked out, as a rule, the Chinaman went home. The quarter million of Chinese, without any restriction at all, had dwindled to about 75,000. Thus much for the "hordes" that are to overrun us. How illogical that the yellow element of the American press should be forever boasting of American valor, and yet constantly warning us to beware of the "hordes of degraded Mongolians that are to overrun us."

One word more about these "degraded" foreigners. They are, all their hundreds of millions of them, the best educated people in the world. They, as a rule, spend just about twice as much time at school as the Americans. They, perhaps, learn more

than twice as much; but, unfortunately for them, their lessons are all of the past. They know little of the present and trust their future entirely to the just precepts of Confucius, however antique and impracticable these may be. A child is taken to school almost as soon as it is big enough to walk, and it stays there ten hours in the day, seven days in the week and ten months in the year. The Empire provides the book. It is all in rhyme, and every line of the one thousand, more or less, is a precept or a proverb, and each precept is in three words or sounds. The very first lesson, or line, ever laid in the hands of these hundreds of millions is simply this:

"Man born good." The second line, or precept, is: "Gem be polished."

I have a cousin who is Consul about 1,500 miles up the Yang-tse. We went last summer to hear one of these little dots recite. He turned his back and, closing his eyes and rocking from side to side, went entirely through the book of about a thousand precepts, missing but a single line. Astonished, I asked the child's age. The teacher told my cousin that he was nearly six years, but explained that, as the Chinese always count the year before birth, he was, by American calculation, not quite five. This tax on the memory continues until the student goes up to Pekin for the final contest, when he is locked up in a box with a bottle of water and a ball of rice, and his judges hear his answers through a grating. The great prize, if he gets it, is simply this: "Qualified to hold office in —— Province." He is by this time, in the main, an old man, and only these old men can hold office. Learned in the letter but dead in the spirit, little wonder they dislike progress or change.

The pay of an office-holder is poor, because China is very, very poor. I do not see why the world does not know this. Ten millions starved to death there in a single year but a little time ago. China is the poorest part of the globe I ever saw, and as travelling has been my trade for nearly half a century I have seen and have considered the earth and its peoples, far and wide. I know too well how poor is the soil and are the people of China; and I doubt if the soil was ever very rich, for you see no great ruins there, as in India, Egypt, and some other ancient countries.

As for the honesty of these people, I appeal to every English merchant or banker, from Pekin to Hong Kong, to answer if he

ever heard of a dishonest Chinese merchant or banker. So far from that, not only has every English bank two Chinamen to receive and hand out money, but every bank in Japan has the same. The English will tell you, half in jest, that the Japanese is an Oriental Yankee, and does not trust his own people; and they will tell you, half in earnest, that the English bankers employ Chinese to handle their money because they never make mistakes. These people of China have never had anything like a bankrupt law. If a man cannot pay his debts, or some one does not secretly come forward and pay them, at the end of each year, he has "lost his face," and so he dies by his own hand. Yet, with all their piteous poverty, they have no such word as "hard times," for everything must be settled up at the end of the year. There can be no extension of time. Confucius forbade it.

Filthy? There are some places in San Francisco, kept for show—I know what I am saying—where "guides" beg to take you at night. Go into these "show" places, opium dens or worse, and you will find that the only persons there, except the keepers, are depraved white men and women. The Chinaman does not go into a "joint" to smoke opium. It is against the law, and he knows how eager the police are to take him in a wrong. Besides that, he is a solitary creature, as a rule. At home, since the British forced opium upon him, he smokes much, but alone.

Of course, we have but an inferior class of Chinese with us, for they are naturally proud and will not come where they are not wanted, except to get bread. But if you care to go to the little Chinese settlement in San Francisco, to shop or to see, go alone. You may learn a little bit about real China there. For instance, you will see the man, not the mother, fondling the little one. You will see him stand the little, animated flower-pot on the sidewalk and see it throw its little, silk sleeves around its papa's legs and hug heartily. You will see plenty of heart and not so very much dirt.

If I could only induce our Americans to journey to and through the Orient, instead of going so much to Europe, I am sure they would learn to despise all thought of an Exclusion Act.

The Chinese in the placer mines, where I worked alongside of them for years, always took time, at the end of a day's work, to entirely change their clothes and take a bath. I never knew a Chinese miner who did not. I never knew any other foreign

miner who did. In fact, I never knew one of the other foreigners to take a bath of any kind, except by accident. The Chinese are the cleanest people in person in the world, except, perhaps, the English gentlemen who take their daily "dip."

In conclusion, let me say I never saw a drunken Chinaman. I never saw a Chinese beggar. I never knew or heard of a lazy one. I sat as County Judge of Grant County, Oregon, for four years, where the miners had sold out to the Chinese to such an extent that the larger half of the mining properties was Chinese. Yet in all that time there was not one criminal case involving a Chinaman and but one civil one, and in the latter case a white man was finally indicted by his fellow-citizens for perjury.

Be assured, you will find all this wild cry simply sensation, as was the yellow howl of late in San Francisco, where the "laboring man" went on a strike at a time when there was more work than he could do, and at the best wages ever paid in the last three decades of our history. This laboring man struck because other laboring men did not choose to join him and his "beer joints." And nothing came of it, except that many good men were either killed or maimed and millions were wasted. Then the "laboring man" had to go to work alongside of the non-union man or not at all, as he pleased. But this sort of "laboring man" has paralyzed the coast before and will do it again, if he can.

It is but equity that the Chinaman shall come here if we go there. This land is too great and too good to forget equity. I repeat, we need the Chinese quite as much as they need us, and that is much indeed. And I say that, so long as the city of San Francisco, the State of California, and the Federal Government pander to and try to please and appease this ignorant mob of outlaws, who crowd the saloons and in their drunken desperation tear to pieces honest men who want to work but refuse to associate with them, just so long will San Francisco remain a reproach, as it has been all the season past. Bring in the Chinamen, and plenty of them, to help to take their places if they do not want to work. Let us see which is the stronger, a hoodlum mob of San Francisco or the President and the people of the United States.

Bear with me. I am a laboring man. I have never aspired to or attained to much beyond hard work. I have built miles

of stone wall here, planted thousands and thousands of trees, worked alongside of all sorts of "hands" right here, as all know, for the past fifteen years, all the time when not at work elsewhere, and so it is that I know what a real laboring man is.

I will not venture to advise; but I will say that if the man who really wants to work will keep out of the saloon, and go into the country and get a piece of land and go to work on it, he will soon look at things as I have set them down. He will soon want Chinese "help" for wife and babes, and, above all, a Chinese gardener. Or, if he cannot tear himself from the city, let him open a shop, start a factory, and employ Chinese, do almost anything except beg and bully; for that is simply about all that a strike means. This is about all that these missions to the President and these appeals to Congress mean. The so-called "laboring man," who is not one in ten of the real laboring men, simply is a beggar and a bully. He does not want to work. He only wants to get something for nothing.

JOAQUIN MILLER.

The Heights, Oakland, Cal.

CUSTOMS INSPECTION OF BAGGAGE.

BY LYMAN J. GAGE, SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.

In this land of freedom we have no imperial, personal master. We have as our ruler only that impersonal thing, the law. The law is impartial, universal. Its bans and its blessings must extend alike over the rich and the poor, the great and the humble. Whoever seeks to violate it for his own supposed advantage commits moral treason against the state. Those who administer the law must be as impartial and as inexorable as the law itself.

From the standpoint of even justice and fair dealing, no fault can be found with the procedure of the customs officials in the port of New York. They are simply enforcing the law, as it appears on the statute books, without fear or favor. The discriminations that formerly existed, that had slowly crept into the administration of the law, have ceased. Everybody, rich and poor alike, is now on an even footing. Nor does there seem to be any general demand for a return to former methods. The persons affected, even if they are not all better satisfied than with the old order of things, are at least very generally convinced of the justice of the Government's course. This is shown conclusively by the fact that the protests, with which the Department was formerly visited, are greatly reduced in number. There are not two dozen cases on record where complaint has been filed since the order of last March went into effect. Under the old system, on the contrary, hundreds of letters were received every year by the Customs Division of the Treasury Department, from persons who expressed dissatisfaction at the methods of the New York custom-house in the examination of baggage. Travellers realize that they are all treated alike, that no undue hardship is imposed, that everything possible is done to facilitate examination, and they are satisfied.

One of the greatest evils that existed before was the wholesale extension of the so-called "courtesies of the port." Every

man and woman who had any sort of acquaintance, remote or near, with men in public life, made an effort to take advantage of these courtesies. First, the courtesy was taken to mean merely the facilitation of inspection. Instead of taking his or her place in the regular line, the person who had secured the "courtesy" was pushed to the front, a most unjust discrimination. This was bad enough; but it came to be the custom, by and by, that anyone so favored was subjected to practically no examination at all. His baggage was simply put through, regardless of what dutiable articles it might contain. In the course of the year many thousands of dollars were thus lost to the Government, and a gross injustice was imposed upon those travellers who were less fortunately situated. More than this, a serious business loss was inflicted upon the regular merchants who took their goods through the custom-house in the regular way. They were brought into direct competition with firms in Europe which did a thriving business with the men and women who felt safe in laying in large stocks of goods, knowing that they could bring them in under the blank permit which was practically granted by the extension of the courtesies of the port. This has now ceased.

On March 5th of this year, the Department issued an order to "Collectors and other Officers of the Customs" that entirely cut off the old impositions. The circular read as follows:

"A practice has existed for many years under which this Department has occasionally issued instructions to collectors to extend special courtesies to persons duly named, upon their arrival from foreign ports, such instructions having been based upon reasons set forth in applications made directly to the Department.

"This privilege was originally granted only to principal members of the diplomatic corps and other high officials of foreign nations, and to invalids and other persons entitled, under some peculiar conditions, to humane consideration.

"The demand for such courtesies has constantly grown in extent, and the practice has afforded justifiable ground for protest against its discrimination between private citizens. The Department has also received information which shows that the safety of the revenue requires a return to the original purposes of the usage.

"The chief officers of customs are hereby instructed that the extension of special courtesies to arriving passengers will hereafter be limited as follows:

"1. To foreign ambassadors, ministers, chargés d'affaires, secretaries of legation, and high commissioners.

"2. To similar representatives of this Government abroad returning from their missions.

"NOTE.—All the above officers are entitled by international usage to the

free entry of the baggage and effects of themselves, their families, and suites, without examination.

"3. To such high officials of foreign governments as shall be the subjects of special instructions from this Department.

"4. To invalids and their companions, to persons arriving in charge of their dead or summoned home in haste by news of affliction or disaster, special courtesies may be extended whenever authority in each case has been received from the Department.

"No requests for special courtesies will hereafter be granted except under the above conditions.

"It is also found imperatively necessary, in the interest of the revenue, to withhold the issuance of passes on the revenue vessels which carry the boarding officers to their assigned vessels, and such passes will no longer be furnished except under the restrictions above set forth regarding courtesies and by the special authority of this Department."

Recently, an old friend of the writer who was travelling abroad wrote that he was to return on a certain steamer, and asked that the Collector at New York be instructed to extend to him the courtesies of the port. He was informed that the favor he asked could not be granted. Knowing him well, the writer asked him to prove that he harbored no hard feeling because of this refusal, by himself doing a favor to the Department. This favor was that he should come in like any other traveller, take his chances, and report in full detail his experiences. He was advised of the attitude that had been taken by some of the newspapers, of the general assertion of hardship and ill-usage at the dock, and he was asked to co-operate in ascertaining what foundation there was for these charges. He agreed to the proposition and in due course ran the gauntlet of the inspectors, writing the Department from New York. He said that, so far as he could judge, the examination of baggage had proceeded with far greater dispatch than had ever been the case before, and he had gone through the mill a great many times. He found no dissatisfaction among the passengers whom he had interrogated on the question, and though he had kept a very sharp lookout for rough usage, he had found nothing that would have justified the slightest protest. Altogether, in spite of the fact that the courtesies of the port had been denied him, he said he felt impelled in justice to admit the superiority of the present method over the old.

It is not, however, on such testimony as this that the Department rests its conviction as to the wisdom of the change which has been effected. No man's judgment has been accepted in this regard. The Department relies upon facts and figures.

Where one dollar was collected before, over four dollars are collected now. For the seven months ending September 30th, duties amounting to $655,048.13 were collected on the personal baggage of passengers arriving from Europe. For the corresponding period of 1900 the collections were $152,455.15. The number of passengers was practically the same each year, over one hundred thousand in round numbers. The difference in receipts, therefore, is to be attributed solely to the more honest and even-handed inspection. A close examination of individual cases shows clearly enough where this difference came from. Last fall there arrived one ship with 600 cabin passengers. The records show that the total amount of duties collected at the dock amounted to about $400. This spring, after the new regulations were in force, the same ship landed 300 cabin passengers. The total duties collected amounted to $16,000. It happened that on both these trips the ship carried a considerable number of well known dressmakers and milliners. The records of the baggage of some of these show how foolish is the cry of injustice that has been raised. Without exception, almost, the declaration was made that there was nothing dutiable in the baggage.

In one trunk goods amounting to the appraised value of $4,335.56 were found. The duty on these was roundly $1,500. An examination of the records showed that the dressmaker owning this trunk, a woman, had been making trips to Europe for years back. She insisted that in the past she had always paid duty, but it was found that she arrived in March, 1898, March, 1899, and September, 1899, and in no case had she declared dutiable goods except once, when she declared $90 worth, which she had passed under the $100 exemption. When confronted with the facts, she still maintained that she had never brought in anything dutiable in the past, but in the course of the examination she let fall the statement:

"I am not the only one in this sort of business."

It was shown that she was correct. It was found that in all the great cities there were numbers of dressmakers, milliners, and even merchants who made from one to four trips a year to Europe, bringing back with them, undoubtedly, each time a lot of valuable merchandise in their trunks. These trunks were smuggled into the country, the traveller acting in collusion with dishonest inspectors. There was some trouble in getting definite

facts, but patience and perseverance finally brought to light a number of cases such as the one instanced.

In March, 1900, a dressmaker landed with two trunks which she declared had nothing dutiable. An examination found goods to the value of $4,617.48, on which duties were collected amounting to $1,742.78. This case, like the others, was discovered in the course of the special investigation that was conducted for more than a year previous to the issuance of the order which brought about the change on March 5th of this year. Going back over the records, it was ascertained that this dressmaker with the two trunks had landed from Europe in March, 1898, and 1899, and September, 1899, and each time her baggage was passed as containing nothing dutiable. On the same ship was another woman whose trunks on examination yielded $1,090.52 in duties, though she had sworn that they held nothing dutiable. The records in her case also showed that she made trips in 1898 and 1899, landing and putting her baggage through without paying the Government a penny. A man dressmaker, who had been in the habit of making two trips a year for a long period, almost succeeded in passing trunks containing goods to the value of $12,000, on which duties of $5,394.06 were levied.

Altogether, nine cases of this particular class were found. How many escaped cannot even be conjectured. The nine that were discovered had declared on an average goods amounting to $152.15 each. The examinations showed an average of $6,218 each. Here on one ship were $55,000 worth of goods that under the old system would have been brought into the country without yielding the Government practically any revenue. The manner in which these persons operated was simple enough. They had as confederates the regular inspectors of the Government, men who were paid $4 a day and who took this means of enriching themselves at the expense of the Treasury and their own morality. Both parties to the transaction were equally guilty in the eyes of the law, and it is this fact that has made it impossible to mete out proper punishment. The only thing that could be done was to break up the system, and this has been done to a large extent. The Department is doing its best, and there is hope that gradually dishonest men may be weeded out entirely. Even now, it is safe to say that the percentage of dishonest inspectors is so small as hardly to count. The great majority of the men are honorable.

Nor is the inspector the only person who has been benefited morally and mentally. A well known man who is a great traveller and is constantly going back and forth between this country and Europe came to the Department recently. He said he had just come to pay his respects, having just returned from Europe.

"How did the Custom House people treat you when you landed?" was asked.

He looked serious as he answered, "You hold a fellow down pretty close these days."

"How is that?"

"Why, for the first time in my life I had to pay full duty."

"Did you, indeed, and how much did you pay?"

"One thousand dollars."

"Did you enjoy it?"

"No, I cannot say I enjoyed it, but—," and here his face brightened visibly, "I must say I feel more respectable. It is almost worth the price not to have the sneaking sensation that a fellow used to have when he landed a lot of stuff that he ought perhaps to have paid duty on."

This man is a fair example of his type. Men worth millions of dollars, knowing the lax system in vogue, have in the past bribed inspectors and smuggled in goods, not because they had to, nor yet because they cared for the money particularly. They were simply victims of a generally accepted condition. Knowing that many others did it, they committed perjury and broke the laws of their country and helped to make criminals of the Government representatives whom they found as guardians of the customs regulations. The system was demoralizing all around. It kept up its incessant grind, producing malefactors on both sides of the line. The customs inspector, receiving $4 a day, was inevitably demoralized by the spectacle of the wealthy man whom he found willing to perjure himself for the sake of escaping duty amounting to a few hundreds or thousands of dollars. It was inevitable that the inspector should argue that "if this man with all his money is willing to become a law-breaker for a sum of money that is insignificant to him, why should I scruple to do likewise?" So he accepted $20 or $50 or $100, and passed the goods, knowing that he was getting but a very small share of the duties avoided.

Under the new order of things, both sides are infinitely better

off; and, undoubtedly, deep down in their hearts they are much better satisfied.

The practice of bribing inspectors and smuggling goods was so notoriously common that it would have seemed a comparatively easy matter to make a criminal case and to break up the whole system. As a matter of fact, nothing was harder. A man living in New York, or Chicago, or Boston, or elsewhere, would land with a large consignment of dutiable goods which he passed through the custom-house without paying a cent, thanks to the connivance of a dishonest inspector. Perhaps the duties would have amounted to $1,000. Instead of paying this sum to the Government, he paid the inspector, say, $100. After he landed his goods, the traveller did not hesitate to boast of his smartness in beating the custom-house. Somehow the Government heard of these remarks. Investigation was made and the Collector notified. The inspector who had passed the goods was sent for and taxed with his action. Of course the man denied his guilt.

"But," said the Collector or examining officer, "what's the use of denying it; the man who paid you the money is telling about it openly. He doesn't attempt to conceal his part in the transaction."

"Well, he does not speak the truth, and I wish you would bring me face to face with him and I'll prove him a falsifier."

"Very well, we'll do it."

So the smuggler was notified and requested to come down to the Collector's office at such and such a time. The inspector in the meantime prepared his defense. He hunted the man up and said to him:

"I understand you've told somebody that you paid me $100 to pass in your goods."

"Yes, I said that. It's true."

"Is isn't true, and you know it isn't."

"It isn't true? Why, man, I gave you the money in person!"

"Oh no, you didn't; just you think again."

And then the inspector called the man's attention to Sections 26 and 27 of the Act of Congress of June 10, 1890, which provide as follows:

"SEC. 26. That any person who shall give, or offer to give or promise to give any money or thing of value, directly or indirectly, to any officer or employee of the United States in consideration of or for any act or omission contrary to law in connection with or pertaining to

the importation, appraisement, entry, examination, or inspection of goods, wares, or merchandise, including herein any baggage, or of the liquidation of the entry thereof, or shall by threats or demands, or promises of any character attempt to improperly influence or control any such officer or employee of the United States as to the performance of his official duties shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not exceeding two thousand dollars, or be imprisoned at hard labor not more than one year, or both, in the discretion of the court; and evidence of such giving, or offering, or promising to give, satisfactory to the court in which such trial is had, shall be regarded as prima facie evidence that such giving or offering or promising was contrary to law, and shall put upon the accused the burden of proving that such act was innocent, and not done with an unlawful intention.

"SEC. 27. That any officer or employee of the United States who shall, excepting for lawful duties or fees, solicit, demand, exact or receive from any person, directly or indirectly, any money or thing of value, in connection with or pertaining to the importation, appraisement, entry, examination, or inspection of goods, wares, or merchandise, including herein any baggage, or liquidation of the entry thereof, on conviction thereof, shall be fined not exceeding five thousand dollars, or be imprisoned at hard labor not more than two years, or both, in the discretion of the court. And evidence of such soliciting, demanding, exacting, or receiving, satisfactory to the court in which such trial is had, shall be regarded as prima facie evidence that such soliciting, demanding, exacting, or receiving was contrary to law, and shall put upon the accused the burden of proving that such act was innocent and not done with an unlawful intention."

This makes very impressive reading under certain conditions, and when the inspector reinforces it with the assertion that, if he is convicted of bribe-taking, he will make it his business to see that the other man is convicted of bribe-giving, the other man changes his point of view very rapidly. He will even, if necessary, furnish the inspector with an affidavit declaring his entire innocence. That has been the great difficulty in bringing this matter to a head long ago, that and the regular system and influential connections that had been built up by the offending inspectors in the course of a great many years. When the matter was first systematically taken up by the present administration it was thought that the chief offenders among the passengers, and the only ones who got any substantial pecuniary benefits out of the system, were certain people in business. Experience since March has shown how erroneous was this impression. It has been found that ladies and gentlemen of the most immaculate respectability have not scrupled to make false declarations under oath, in order to escape the payment of a few hundred or a few thousand dollars. Only recently there arrived a woman, the

daughter of a manufacturer who had built up a great business under the fostering protection of the tariff. She boasted to her acquaintances on the steamer coming across that the "courtesies of the port" would be extended to her, in consideration of the high standing and the social, political and financial influence of her family. In her declaration, made at Quarantine, she swore that she had nothing dutiable in her baggage. Arrived at the dock, she found that the courtesies of the port were no longer extant, and that her baggage would have to be examined just as any other person's. Her trunks were found to contain draperies and hangings and other dutiable articles on which a tariff amounting to $1,500 was levied. She protested strongly against this action and declared she would not pay it. She was advised that in that event the goods would be seized. Under this pressure she paid the duties, but came at once to Washington to demand restitution and to lodge complaint at what she termed her "outrageous treatment." This was one of the few complaints that have reached the Treasury. The situation was explained to the lady, and every endeavor was made to show her the justice of the system. She declined, however, to be convinced and went away vowing that she would place the matter in the hands of a lawyer. She was advised that this was the proper course to pursue if she felt herself wronged. So far, the Department has heard nothing further from her, and we presume that her lawyer was successful in convincing her of the propriety of the Government's course.

Many women seem peculiarly unable to appreciate the immorality of smuggling and bribing, and to understand that it is as great a crime to swindle the Government as it is to swindle one's neighbor. Not long ago, a gentleman and his wife went to Europe for an extended trip. The wife announced before going that she intended to lay in a stock of laces in Europe that would last her the balance of her life. The husband forbade her doing anything of the kind; and, to make sure that she would not offend, he kept entire control of the money they carried in his own hands. The wife was allowed to buy anything she pleased, but the husband insisted upon paying for it, and he was careful to preserve a complete list of all their purchases. Serene in his confidence that he had frustrated his wife's smuggling designs, the husband reached Quarantine, and in his declaration he gave in all the things that they had bought abroad of which he knew.

After this declaration had been made out, his wife greeted him triumphantly with the statement:

"Well, I've got those laces."

He didn't believe it and said so.

She proved, however, that she had, having purchased them with money that she had saved out of her housekeeping allowance, and of which he knew nothing. The laces she had concealed on her person. The husband concluded to give his wife a lesson.

On the dock, he made his way out of the line, and hunting up one of the inspectors he pointed out his wife, saying:

"You see that woman there? She has a lot of laces concealed on her person, which she is trying to smuggle into this country."

An inspectress was called, the woman was searched and the laces were found. The husband came to the rescue and paid the duty and the penalties. No amount of reform can altogether prevent smuggling of this character; but it can and does cut it down very materially; and the operations of the professional smugglers, such as the dressmakers and milliners who have been spoken of before, are all but wiped out. Under the old state of affairs, these dressmakers had a regularly organized system which was maintained year after year. The inspectors who were bribed were not paid on the spot. A card with the name and address of the owner was laid on the trunk to be passed, and the inspector put this in his pocket and called later in the day at the hotel or place of business of the smuggler for his pay. An examination of the baggage declarations of certain prominent tradesmen shows that the same inspector handled their baggage every time they arrived from Europe. Knowing in advance the ship that these people were to come on, the inspectors would manœuvre to have themselves sent down to Quarantine to meet that particular vessel. There they would accept the declaration, and when the ship was docked they either passed the trunks in person or else, when this was impossible, saw to it that one of their confederates in the service was posted and passed the trunks.

Long years of immunity had emboldened the dishonest inspectors to such an extent that some of them did not scruple to follow promising-looking passengers to their hotels. These passengers, perhaps, had not had the hardihood or the intention to bribe the inspectors outright to pass their baggage, but would accept its passage free of duty with great satisfaction. When the

inspector afterward hunted them up at their hotel or their home, they rarely objected to giving up a generous sum.

The Department has not been content, merely, with dropping the suspected men. It has changed the entire system of baggage supervision. Formerly, the regular examining inspectors were sent down to Quarantine to take the declarations of the passengers. This gave an excellent opportunity to passenger and inspector alike to enter into an arrangement, if it was desired, to pass the baggage. They had all the time between Quarantine and the dock to fix up a deal. Under the present system the inspectors are relieved entirely from the responsibility of taking declarations on the ship. This is done, as the law has always provided it should be done, by deputy collectors, who are generally clerks in the Collector's office, detailed specially for the work. When the ship reaches her dock, these men hand over the declarations they have taken and leave. Their work is finished. The declarations are then given to the inspectors, who do the work for which the law created them—the examining of the baggage. This new arrangement provides many ounces of prevention; and, besides, it greatly facilitates the examination. Generally one inspector is assigned to every five passengers, and the first time they meet is at the head of the opposing lines that are formed on the dock—inspectors on one side, passengers on the other. There is an end here of the possibility of having the one inspector year after year examine the same person's baggage.

It has been charged that the practice of roping off a section of the dock for the examination, and not permitting other than passengers behind these ropes, is a great hardship to persons whose friends have come to the ship to meet them—that it savors of keeping a prisoner in a pen. This regulation has been made for the benefit of the passengers themselves, and it is satisfactory to most of them. Among other things, it prevents a morbidly curious crowd from inspecting at close range the contents of a lady's trunk, and by keeping the outsiders away, pushing and confusion is prevented, so that baggage can be examined in less than half the time formerly consumed.

The complaint is made in some of the newspapers that a passenger is first asked to swear in his declaration to the contents of his baggage, and then, in despite of his oath, he is searched like a criminal when he is on the dock. The passenger is simply re-

quired to do what every importer of merchandise must do under the law. There is no difference between the Custom House on the dock and the regular Custom House through which merchandise is passed. In the eyes of the law they are identical. It is rather absurd, therefore, to question the procedure of examination as regards the baggage of incoming passengers, when no one has ever dreamed of questioning the same regulation when applied to the goods of an importer.

It is true that the law, so far as the baggage is concerned, is permissive and not mandatory; and if the experience of the Department had not been such as to make it necessary to enforce a search, there would not to-day be the stringent enforcement that is found at the steamship docks.

Some of the newspapers have been utterly unreasonable in their comments on this matter. For years the press has voiced complaints against the system of bribery and extortion on the docks. Now that the Department has taken hold of the system complained of and has broken it up, its course is impugned in the same quarters, and it is attacked more violently than it was before. The Department is entirely satisfied with the justice of its course and more than pleased with the knowledge that, for the first time in many years, the Government is getting at least a portion of its dues on this account. That it is getting all is too much to expect. Despite the vigilance of the authorities, there is undoubtedly some wrong-doing still. Instead of being systematic, however, it is now sporadic. The great body of inspectors is made up of honorable men. The few dishonest members who may exist know that there is a strict system of surveillance, and they are restrained in the extent of their operations by fear of discovery. As for the passengers, the declarations of incoming steamers prove very clearly the improvement that has been wrought in their moral sense. For the first time many citizens realize that they have bought things abroad. Formerly, such purchases as they made were entirely forgotten until after the dock had been left well behind. The declarations as now filed by the passengers show of late about the same relative increase as the duties collected—that is to say, where one dollar was declared before, four dollars are declared now on the average. It is clear, therefore, that there has been improvement all around.

LYMAN J. GAGE.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION.

BY MARRION WILCOX.

We must try to realize the form and pressure of the time, not as distinct from its central figure, but as influencing and influenced by the President: otherwise, our discussion will have little practical value. Though we may choose for particular mention, in a brief survey like the present, only a few among a thousand plans and tendencies shaped or converging at the national capital, still we must be conscious of all. These are not merely conditions surrounding a new President; so far as the plans have been wisely conceived and well laid, so far as the tendencies may be shown to be of "the very age and body of the time," they are themselves part of the new impulse, the new force that Mr. Roosevelt typifies.

I. The Paradox.

Lest a single element of interest should be wanting in the political situation at Washington, fate has decreed that, when we have analyzed the components of the situation, seeking its essence and intending to state that most plainly, we find that we have arrived at a paradox. For the policy of the late President is to continue absolutely unbroken, while a programme identified with the new President is being carried into effect. Differently expressed, the interrupted plans of a man who was essentially a follower of public opinion are to be carried out by a man who is essentially a leader of public opinion. One must say, taking into consideration Mr. Roosevelt's very distinct personality, that the facts of history have seldom lent themselves, in a matter of the highest consequence, to a proposition which at first view seems more self-contradictory and at variance with common sense.

Mr. Roosevelt's declaration at Buffalo to the effect that he

would continue the McKinley policies had one consequence which was promptly noted. Said an influential newspaper in October:

"He is now hearing on all sides that his lamented predecessor had 'promised' to do this or that, had 'promised' to appoint Smith, Jones, or Robinson to such and such an office, had agreed to recommend Thingumbob or Whatdyecallem for promotion. No matter what vacancy turns up, eminent gentlemen are always ready to remember that Mr. McKinley had slated—say, Joskins—for the place. No matter what policy or demonstration may come under controversy, we can be sure that some one will bear witness to the late President's pledge—made to him personally—that so and so was his solemn and immutable purpose."

The editor goes on to say that this country has never had a Chief Executive who entered into office more absolutely untrammelled by special bargains and obligations, and concludes with this extraordinary advice:

"Whether he will repudiate at once or by degrees the absurd effort to influence him by the protestations we have alluded to remains to be seen. It seems to us, however, that he can well afford to repudiate at once, and we know that in so doing he will serve himself and reassure his well-wishers."

Repudiation, such as that "well-wisher" lightly counsels, and so far as it relates to other than officious persons who offer frivolous advice, is out of the question. Mr. Roosevelt has once for all examined the obligation of promises much less solemn than his own—those made by political speakers when on the stump or the platform—and expressed his deliberate opinion in the essay entitled "Promise and Performance." He says there:

"No man should be held excusable if he does not perform what he promises, unless for the best and most sufficient reason. This should be especially true of every politician. It shows a thoroughly unhealthy state of mind when the public pardons with a laugh failure to keep a distinct pledge. * * * Of course, matters may so change that it may be impossible for him, or highly inadvisable for the country, that he should try to do what he in good faith said he was going to do. But the necessity for the change should be made very evident, and it should be well understood that such a case is the exception and not the rule. As a rule, and speaking with due regard to the exceptions, it should be taken as axiomatic that, when a man in public life pledges himself to a certain course of action, he shall, as a matter of course, do what he said he would do, and shall not be held to have acted honorably if he does otherwise."

Instead of saying that performance following promise is to be taken for granted, and protesting that the obligation need not be restated at this late day—an attitude toward such matters which always betrays self-consciousness, if not self-righteousness—Mr. Roosevelt, as we notice, simply considers certain external

facts objectively. All the more impressive is the quality that is held in reserve. If one's own personal acceptance of a duty is really beyond question, one is the more apt to leave it there. Why think of it, even, in an argument? In the same spirit of realism, we may add, though it is scarcely necessary, that these are the words of a man who at least never set higher standard or made harder rule for others than for himself.

The apparent contradiction that was first referred to will vanish when we investigate its terms.

All over the country, as we write, the probable fate of the reciprocity treaties is being discussed, and the unknown quantity appears to be Mr. Roosevelt's opinion of his duty in relation to Mr. McKinley's plans for the promotion of our foreign commerce. Strictly speaking, the treaties in question are merely the McKinley version of the policy of the Republican party, declared in the platform of 1896; they represent his compliance with the demand made in that platform for the "renewal and extension" of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by President Harrison's Administration, "on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests and factories." But, by his advocacy of these measures in the last days of his life, Mr. McKinley had made them peculiarly his own.

It is apparently taken for granted that a continuation of the McKinley policy in this regard by Mr. Roosevelt will bring on a collision with the Senate. A veteran observer, after mentioning the circumstance that the Senate has treated these arguments, and therefore the policy for which they stand, not merely with hostility, but with studied contempt, such as is rarely bestowed upon any President's policy by a legislative body of his own party, concludes that Mr. Roosevelt will attempt to convince the Senate that this policy should be accepted, and that in spite of their obduracy he will prevail. "In the end, the new President's frankness, courage, tenacity and singleness of purpose must win, no matter who the contestants. In a very short time he will have the people at his back, as no President since Washington has had them."

Mr. Roosevelt is sure to win in the long run. Is it, then, absolutely certain that astute Senators will, in the long run, fail to see a foregone conclusion, or that they will deliberately contrive their

own humiliation? The President will have the people at his back in this matter, because the people believe in reciprocity as well as in him. Is it absolutely certain that the last refuge of unbelief is the Senate; that the Senate will make no concessions whatever to right and might combined, if given a little time?

And, on the other hand, if it appears that nothing will be lost and so much may be gained by a little delay, does any one really believe that Mr. Roosevelt should make haste to fight for these treaties, without satisfying himself that their provisions are all above criticism?

Those who insist upon the greatest haste may not be the best friends either of the measures or of the President. Furthermore, an excellent reason for not making this the first of all questions to be decided will be mentioned presently.

We are, however, at liberty to anticipate on the President's part no unnecessary concession in any matter—no surrender of the principle involved for the sake of harmony; and most unwise are the suggestions now current that a resort to indirect methods may be advisable when dealing with Senatorial opposition. For example, the author of an article in one of the November magazines says truly that:

> "Men who achieve greatly are always men of primitive instincts, who do their work in the most direct way. There is no legerdemain about the best success; no conjuring, no devious and mysterious machinations. Roosevelt has succeeded in life because by the plainest method he has done in a thoroughly human, unflinching and often humorous way what he had conceived to be the right thing to do."

And yet the same writer, after diving to such a depth, disappoints us by bringing to the surface this conclusion with respect to the reciprocity conventions:

> "To adopt these treaties will require the masterful imperturbability and velvety adroitness which Mr. McKinley used so skillfully. Roosevelt may have to learn this art of fencing."

We cordially hope that he will not learn it, but, on the contray, will once more prove to any masters of political "legerdemain," of "devious and mysterious machinations," who may be concerned, that the rule of his life, great because simple, brings the larger success. Let *them* learn to conform, though late in life, because in the fullness of his strength and with his "primitive instincts," now altogether justified and more vigorous than ever before, he cannot.

Looking into such a situation steadily, we can have no doubts. There is no real choice of ways. Mr. Roosevelt must live up to his record in circumstances which are difficult enough to mislead some of his advisers—that is all. Looking steadily at the careers of the greatest Americans, as it is easier to do when the involved issues have long since passed into history, we can see what it is that makes a man great, in the sense in which Washington and Lincoln were great. It is just the carrying out, on a grand scale in the highest office, of what Mr. Roosevelt has exemplified and advocated in positions which schooled him for the highest.

Moreover, by cultivation during all the years of training, the instincts, or first nature, so to speak, of an untainted man may become second nature as well, establishing a control which is actually stronger than the unfriendly external pressure in any time of trial. In such case, the suggestion to adapt himself pliantly, to conform, to shift his ground craftily, comes too late. Let us thank God for a certain noble incapacity.

As for the suggestion that a President must have regard to expediency as well as principle, look steadily at that also.

A President must have regard for everything—for all his people, including the Senators. Shall we, therefore, admit that in the midst of his battle he will do well to throw away the weapons he has made his own, and which unquestionably fit in a strong man's hand, in order to learn tricks with the foils?

An important matter to consider in this immediate connection is the probable attitude of the South towards the measures of the new Administration.

Warmly sympathetic approval and support for Mr. Roosevelt personally, on the part of the Southern people and the Southern Senators and Representatives, promised, until the middle of October, to make decidedly easier his daily conquest of freedom and the right to enjoy life.

It became known in the Southern States that Democrats would be selected for federal offices when good Republicans were not to be found, and this liberal disposition had already been happily shown in the appointment of ex-Governor Jones as United States District Judge of the Middle and Northern District of Alabama, when a single unrelated act, which certainly was not intended to have any public significance, either social or political, was resented to a degree which would have been appropriate if a pub-

lic affront to the high-minded Southerners had been deliberately offered by the President.

In the nature of things, this misunderstanding is temporary. The South is not always to be misled; its strong feeling is not always to be played upon by those whose self-interest prompts them to keep sectionalism alive. At least this particular theme is likely to be soon worn out, for the good feeling manifested by the most warm-hearted people in America when the President first took office was plainly based upon essential sympathy and good understanding, the most substantial grounds of friendship. Southern Democrats are not quite the natural allies of Northern Democrats, the party meaning a different thing socially in the two sections: thus some of the Democrats first mentioned had begun to reason before the incident occurred, and they will certainly resume that train of thought if we are right in believing the basis of friendship to be permanent.

And after the misunderstanding shall have been cleared away, the good results of an earnest discussion of the race question will remain.

If we have had the good fortune to suggest the right word, enough has been said. In dealing with people of the finest temperament, it is certain that our suggestion will strike in the more, the less we bear on.

II. The New Impulse.

A force which could be fully appreciated nowhere but at the city of Washington was perceptible in all of the executive departments of the Government during the first weeks of the new Administration.

While the flags were still at half-mast there was the stir of new life; one who went about among the Government officials became conscious of this everywhere. Everywhere there was, to put it bluntly, a sense of being able to do—to secure appreciative consideration for new plans, and quick recognition of the needs and requirements that surely grow together with the growth of national resources and over-sea enterprises, as though side by side.

An important part of the new President's task would be to carry out, as nearly as possible, the plans and purposes of his predecessor? Granted. But more importance and incomparably more zest attached to the enterprises which would be undertaken upon his own initiative. This conviction was not expressed in

words, but rather in the hopefulness with which cherished designs were unfolded.

It is not enough to refer, in explanation of this, to the contagion of the new Executive's energy. In the past most of us have been obliged to learn that uncommon energy may co-exist with a repellent egotism. We have already seen, too, how Mr. Roosevelt is prepared to resist external pressure of a certain sort.

Here we come upon a distinction which cannot be drawn too carefully; for we are dealing with an exceptional man, whose training on one side makes it no easier or more in accordance with second nature to resist unworthy influences than on the other side it is characteristic of his second nature to welcome friendly and useful suggestions.

As a literary man, Mr. Roosevelt has for years made a practice of taking the public into his confidence. He has done in this way more than the novelist, who makes his personal disclosure warily, through fictitious characters placed in feigned situations. Mr. Roosevelt has written without disguise, manifestly from his heart, about actual situations and the issues that seemed to him most real. And to the approachableness which this implies one readily adds all that is needed for further encouragement—that an author is by disposition and cultivation skilled in putting himself in the other man's place, provided the other man deserves respect and confidence; in understanding his motives, too, or at least not shirking the analysis required to penetrate them.

Say, further, that at the moment in our history which we are trying to realize there is the exhilaration of national prosperity. More gold is in the Treasury than it has ever held before; the Secretary is about to announce that the condition of the national finances is strong and satisfactory, despite our neglect to make the most of that fraction of our vast potential wealth which is actually in hand. On the whole, it is a condition of affairs which, to say the least, does not call for immediate and radical measures of relief. Currency and tariff legislation (including the reciprocity feature) may, therefore, be made for a time less prominent than usual, and all the more attention may be bestowed upon the newer problems and those which enter a new phase with the arrival of a new Executive.

As usual, streams from more than one source form the noteworthy current and give it power.

Taking up first the important subject which lies nearest to our hand, we may speak of the accession of the most famous civil service reformer to the Presidency of the United States.

In 1895 Mr. Roosevelt wrote that, from the beginning of the present system of civil service reform, each President of the United States has been its friend, but no President has been a radical civil service reformer. Presidents Arthur, Harrison and Cleveland have all desired to see the service extended, and to see the law well administered. No one of them has felt willing or able to do all that the reformers asked, or to pay much heed to their wishes save as regards that portion of the service to which the law actually applied.

It is still true, as it was then, that there is need of further legislation to perfect and extend the law and the system, but "the opposition to the reform is generally well led by skilled parliamentarians, and they fight with all the vindictiveness natural to men who see a chance of striking at the institution which has baffled their ferocious greed."*

There was, at the time just mentioned, "in American public life no one other cause so fruitful of harm to the body-politic as the spoils system," he said; adding that, in order to find out who were the friends and who the foes of the law at Washington:

"Departmental officers, the heads of bureaus, and, above all, the commissioners themselves, should be carefully watched by all friends of the reform. They should be supported when they do well, and condemned when they do ill; and attention should be called not only to what they do, but what they fail to do. To an even greater extent, of course, this applies to the President."

Again, he has written:

"Civil service reform is not merely a movement to better the public service. It achieves that end, too; but its main purpose is to raise the tone of public life, and it is in this direction that its effects have been of incalculable good to the whole community."

A thorough, all-embracing improvement of the civil service—an improvement which has sometimes been referred to as the greatest of all possible administrative reforms—may certainly be worked for more hopefully during the Presidency of the man who, out of the fullness of his knowledge as Civil Service Commissioner, made the statements of fact and opinion which we have quoted. An unprompted zeal in the execution of the law even as it stands is for the first time assured; the enactment by Congress

* "Administration—Civil Service." By Theodore Roosevelt. Page 33.

of a more comprehensive and rigorous measure is less improbable than at any time within half a century.

Only one circumstance need be mentioned to show the imperative need of extending the operation of the law so that it shall protect all Government employees. Experience proves that, as the number of positions subject to competitive examination has increased, the spoilsmen have fallen upon those positions still undefended or "unclassified" with a greed in very truth ferocious. Thus, the consular branch has gone from bad to worse; the efforts of politicians seeking places for their favorites, dependents or political creditors have been so concentrated upon a part of our foreign service that its posts, but a few hundred in all, are actually exposed to the attacks which were formerly dispersed among many thousands of domestic offices. This deplorable indirect consequence of splendid work is like a public challenge to all those who now have the same work in hand. The pendency of measures for extending our foreign trade is another challenge.

We turn again to the essay from which we have been quoting, and read President Roosevelt's words:

> "There is a chance of putting through the bill to reform the consular service. * * * Instead of wasting efforts by a diffuse support of eight or ten bills, it would be well to bend every energy to securing the passage of the consular bill; and to do this it is necessary to arouse not only the Civil Service Reform Associations, but the Boards of Trade throughout the country, and to make the Congressmen and Senators feel individually the pressure from those of their constituents who are resolved no longer to tolerate the peculiarly gross manifestation of the spoils system which now obtains in the consular service, with its attendant discredit to the national honor abroad."

Such a heartening view of the situation, as it relates to the prospect of improvement in all branches of the public service, may be fairly regarded as representative of the general view of the situation as a whole. We do not mean by singling out this particular feature that it seems likely to be made more prominent than others in the new policy; but one who requires the true outlook upon the newer problems and phases could scarcely make better beginning than precisely here, by closer study than we can offer at present of these factors which, even though mentioned briefly and without emphasis, stand out so distinctly.

And we do require the true outlook. With reference to the Philippines, for instance, at the moment, we have to think of an active insurrection in our island of Samar, involving much loss of

life and the infliction of misery. Again, the terms employed may be so unfamiliar that our imagination will fail to respond with a perfect picture when we are told of the work of the United States Signal Corps, now extending the cable system from island to island, connecting headquarters at Manila with Mindoro, Marinduque, Masbate, blockaded Samar and Leyte, Cebú, Negros, Mindanao, Joló and Siasi. We probably have a sense of contrasts not fully realized while considering, in the same connection, a discussion about the number of troops to be kept in the islands, and an appreciation of the Civil Commission's work; the circumstance that the amended act passed by Congress last March makes revocable all franchises in the Philippines granted under its authority, forbids the sale or lease of the public lands, the timber, or the mining rights, and otherwise places obstacles in the way of investors, and the further circumstance that for some time very well-considered steps have been taken to give confidence to the same indispensable class of persons.

We must hear also an occasional voice of protest, as in the platform of one of the political parties in Massachusetts, which declares, "In place of colonial imperialism abroad, we offer to the people progressive democracy at home;" to which the more numerous voices make reply, offering progressive democracy at home, not in place of, but in addition to, whatever may be accomplished abroad.

Now the voice that is heard most clearly of all says:

"The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the over-civilized man, who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man, and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills 'stern men with empires in their brains'—all these, of course, shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag."

And again:

"It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform, and can leave to their fates the islands we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work, and we would have shown ourselves weaklings, unable to carry to successful completion the labors that great and high-spirited nations are eager to undertake. The work must be done; we cannot escape our responsibility."*

* "The Strenuous Life." By Theodore Roosevelt. New York, 1900.

And the extent of our responsibility is defined in Mr. Roosevelt's essay entitled "Expansion and Peace" (December 21, 1899):

"This country will keep the islands and will establish therein a stable and orderly government, so that one more fair spot of the world's surface shall have been snatched from the forces of darkness."

There has been the same ring of sincere conviction in that voice since the Philippine question was broached. There has been no sign of wavering or waiting on the trend of events.

III. A Distinctive Policy.

The advantage of beginning with absolute conviction of right and duty, and of the outcome, is at once apparent.

To the hand that but touches the Philippines they are a nettle; in the hand that holds them tentatively, uncertain whether to keep or let them go, they are a problem, and such they will remain. But this hand grasps them firmly.

Looking steadily at the actual conditions with this inflexible purpose, we shall become aware that some of the difficulties have been of our own making. At the very centre of the Insular Government there existed a state of things which was certain to cause more or less embarrassment; and even a slight, unnoted disturbance of that centre may spread until it becomes at the circumference a widely heralded disaster. We refer to the friction incidental to the transfer of the government from the military to the civil authorities.

The friction was perfectly natural. It would be rather a puzzle to point out any position of honor the incumbent of which does not in reality somewhat resent the coming of his successor. Anywhere we are apt to feel the difference between perfunctory and spontaneous association, however short and easy the joint undertaking; in the Philippines, during many anxious months, American civil commissioners and army officers were side by side, with novel tasks set to them jointly, but without knowing exactly what share fell to each in work that was always hard and often exasperating.

For our present purpose, it is unnecessary to inquire whether the transfer was or was not made as expeditiously as possible. It was a kind of partnership that might easily have become unendurable. The high character of both civil and military officials was proven as by fire, and their perception of the still more serious

consequences to the cause that would come from an open rupture deserves grateful praise. So, at least, it appears to those of us who have only been able to look on from a great distance, realizing that thousands of miles are still a serious matter and that the earth is still opaque. We must humbly decline to put half-known rights and wrongs into this balance, as though such weighing of them would determine whether loyal civilian or loyal soldier in the Far East showed the greater generosity or devotion to American interests.

But if we blink last year's facts we shall lose, and deserve to lose, much present comfort. We have to consider for the present and the future the probable achievements of the Civil Government, with the army in such relation to it, or little by little coming to sustain such relation to it, as the army sustains to the civil authorities in other portions of the territory of the United States. This estimate we cannot even begin to make without taking into account the Commission's past troubles.

That the difficulties of the Civil Commission, then, were much increased by the attitude of General MacArthur and the coterie surrounding him is the fact for our present use which is patent to students of Philippine matters; and all unbiased students will probably agree that the happiest results are to be expected from the strengthening of the hands of Governor Taft and his associates. The ground of such confidence is no longer merely the general reputation of the stronger members of the Commission; it is demonstrated ability of a special sort; it is the successful work that has been done under Governor Taft's leadership in this new field of endeavor. More particularly we would mention the Taft measures which were designed to detach from the opposition large elements of the native population and to supply a counterpoise for the hostile Filipino societies.

A very practical question which is certain to be considered in the near future relates to the expenditures and receipts of the Philippine Government. After three years of debate on the ethical principles involved in taking, come the years of debate on the cost of governing what we have taken. It will seem wholly a question of expense or revenue; so war passes into peace. The common opinion is, accordingly, that a development of the Division of Insular Affairs at Washington is likely to occur, since this Division is expected to advise in matters of ways and means,

and to take care of business connected with the new possessions. It is also looked to for co-operation with the Philippine Government in all merciful designs for securing the good will of the natives. The latter function alone would be enough to make this Division interesting; but it has still another claim upon our attention, for here the pressure of the time may set free a vigorous young organization (at present subject to the Secretary of War), to assume, perhaps, a separate existence as a distinct Executive Department.

Conflicting rumors are current in regard to the size of the army to be maintained for service in the Philippines, and yet there would seem to be no reasonable doubt as to the broad general principle which should govern in the decision. We may take a hint from patriotic financiers, who, in time of panic, of real or fancied insecurity of the money market, restore confidence by letting the public know that there are inexhaustible funds on hand, which will be used as required. It is high time to stop the foolish talk about not replacing the troops whose terms of enlistment expire—inviting the panic called insurrection by withdrawing too many of the visible securities called regiments. We should rather be disposed to err on the side of safety; for a resolute show of military force will gradually make its actual employment less and less necessary.

The new impulse is all away from that uncertainty which would make of the Philippines a problem and nothing more.

Of all the plans under discussion, none seems more certain to lead its advocates into a perplexing maze than the plans for making the military strength of the countary available in a great emergency.

"Our army has never been built up as it should be built up. * * * There is no body from which the country has less to fear, and none of which it should be prouder, none which it should be more anxious to upbuild. Our army needs complete reorganization—not merely enlarging."

Thus Mr. Roosevelt expressed himself in 1899. Last year Secretary Root clearly drew the limits within which the discussion must be confined when he stated that the country must rely for its main strength upon the Volunteers, since the armaments of other powers are so great that almost any conflict in which we may become involved will require a much larger force than any standing army which we are willing to maintain.

As for the regular army, the Secretary of War has advised in his last published report that provision should be made for a minimum force of 60,000 men, with an authorized maximum of 100,000, while the Lieutenant-General Commanding, in substantial agreement, suggests the proportion of one soldier "to every thousand of population." A very modest estimate this seems, too, when we reflect that to man the Endicott system of defences for our seacoast would require about 100,000 artillerymen and officers, were all the fortifications, by any strange chance, to be called upon for full proof of their serviceableness at the same time.

But how may any sufficient portion of the ten or twelve millions of possible soldiers in the United States be so organized that the combined army of regulars and volunteers will constitute that surest safeguard against war, a reasonable preparation for the use of the great powers of which this nation is possessed?

Many plans have been suggested to the War Department with reference to the organization of an adequate reserve, and the objections thereto, chiefly based upon the strong preference which is so often shown for local control of State troops, are spoken of as often as the plans themselves. The Secretary's great ability may be taxed to keep the doctrine of States' Rights out of the discussion that will ensue if a definite scheme is put forward by the Department. All the plans hitherto suggested involve the status of the National Guard. Is it to be considered as a portion of the fighting force and as a portion of the training school for officers and men? In some parts of the West the desire is felt to make the National Guard a reserve of the army, but in many places in the East the tendency is to treat it merely as a force which shall receive a certain amount of soldierly training.

One plan which has been entertained by some of the very influential officials of the War Department is to give the army its own reserve by increasing the term of enlistment, while making the period of active service no longer than it is at present. According to this arrangement, the men would be held in reserve after the termination of the active period, to be called back to their colors whenever a war should break out. The Department holds that when hostilities begin a volunteer force should be called out, the National Guard being liable to the service of the country for limited periods, say, of six months only, and arrangements being made for the selection of officers for the volunteer forces and

the transfer of a certain number of officers and men from the National Guard to the Volunteers. Adequate opportunity for training officers and men should be provided at the service schools.

Claiming and deserving attention at this time are such diverse, interesting themes as these: The advantage of establishing agricultural experiment stations in Porto Rico; the universal extension of the Postmaster-General's pet measure, the rural free delivery system; and our too liberal immigration laws, which fail to keep out laborers of a class tending to depress the labor market, races not readily assimilating with our own, or the most objectionable individuals—even anarchists. But these we can only mention in passing; for we pass naturally from the great subject of the development of the army to the still more important subject of the navy's development. The latter is joined and fastened to a new policy in relation to South and Central America, which may ultimately become the distinctive feature of the policy of the Roosevelt Administration.

A few years ago Mr. Roosevelt wrote of our nation as that one among all the nations of the earth which holds in its hands the fate of the coming years. On the 20th of last May he spoke of it in its relation to the other American republics; spoke of the American republics as having already a joint foreign policy.

At Buffalo (the occasion being the opening exercises of the exposition), in his official character of Vice-President, he extended a greeting on behalf of the United States to the Spanish-American delegates who were present, and assured them as representative persons that the Government of the United States was equally opposed to territorial aggrandizement on this continent by any Old World power and to the invoking of the Monroe Doctrine for the aggrandizement of any one of the American nations at the expense of any other.

That explains the expression, "joint foreign policy." The United States will neither commit acts of aggression nor permit them, at the expense of her weaker neighbors, at the pleasure of the great Powers. She stakes on the issue that splendid destiny which the speaker foresaw:

"We, of the two Americas, must be left to work out our own salvation along our own lines; and * * * among ourselves each nation must scrupulously regard the rights and interests of the others, so that, instead of any one of us committing the criminal folly of trying

to rise at the expense of our neighbors, we shall all strive upwards in honest and manly brotherhood, shoulder to shoulder, together."

The Monroe Doctrine "should be regarded simply as a great international Pan-American policy, vital to the interests of all of us."

The idea is caught up, the offer of a guaranty of protection is accepted, let us understand. Some of the South American Presidents are using the phrases "American unity," "union and harmony between all the countries of the Americas," "solidarity." The phrases echo along the Andes, along the months; the echo comes back now in November from the City of Mexico, where the Pan-American Conference is sitting: "We should be neither North, Central nor South Americans, but Americans."

Now let us hear other things, which are quite different from these superb words: rumors, persistent rumors, of a possible clash with Germany about control of American destinies in the republics where a kind of Spanish is spoken: rumors denied—always reappearing.

Let us also speak of them, since others continue to say such indefinite things. Just in an ordinary way we may comment on Germany's course in China: how careful investigations were made secretly and long ago to find suitable territory and a port for her purposes; how elaborate plans were secretly worked out long before even Rumor began to say a word; how preparations were all completed when the opportunity to gain a foothold arrived.

But this is not an idle story; is it history?

Yes, it is history. We really must take care what we say, for here comes the gravest of evening editors, who tells us that "high officers on the Naval Board of Construction have not hesitated to state that the United States navy should exceed that of Germany if the country is to be safe;" he adds that he is tempted to hope for "an international society to prevent naval officers from opening their mouths about questions" of this kind; he ends: "As for a practical method of carrying on a war between the United States and Germany, except in an extremely limited way in the Baltic or the English Channel, there is none."

For the very reason that there could be no attempt to invade the territory of Germany or that of the United States, both nations might feel the freer to try conclusions at sea.

The war that the high officers meant, would be carried on to

decide the question of naval supremacy; its theatre would be the Atlantic Ocean. It may not be true that Germany or any other European power has or is likely to have the design to secure new colonies in this hemisphere. But it certainly is a fact that high officers in our navy speak of a possible design to colonize, and its possible result, war. In a very sincere way they have been known to speak of these possibilities, with an air of well-grounded conviction. They hold, first, that some portions of South America offer the most tempting field for colonization to be found anywhere in the world; second, that by a comparison of the naval programmes of Germany and the United States it becomes clear that the German sea-power will be superior to ours in the year 1906; third, that if Germany or any other European nation seeking colonial expansion has a stronger fleet than ours, such country can plant a colony wherever she likes in South America.

"Far better submit to interference by foreign powers with the affairs of this continent," Mr. Roosevelt has written, "than announce that we will not tolerate such interference, and yet refuse to make ready the means by which alone we can prevent it." Long ago he said that we need a fleet of great battleships, if we intend to live up to the Monroe Doctrine. And this from the same source:

"We ask for a great navy, partly because we think that the possession of such a navy is the surest guarantee of peace, and partly because we feel that no national life is worth having if the nation is not willing, when the need shall arise, to stake everything on the supreme arbitrament of war, and to pour out its blood, its treasure, and its tears like water, rather than submit to the loss of honor and renown. * * * We cannot sit huddled. * * * We must build the isthmian canal. * * *"

The naval inferiority referred to related merely to the warships, but the lack of preparation in another respect is equally marked, as our readers may see from the following memorandum, prepared at our request by one of the "high officers" of the navy, and endorsed as to its main points by the leading authorities in that service:

"By far the most important need of the navy at the present time is an increased supply of properly trained and educated young officers. A very large proportion of the officers now in the service are men of ripe experience, and the existing list of admirals and captains is amply sufficient for the needs of the navy for some time to come. But it is in grades below that of command rank, that is, in the grades of lieutenant-commander and below, that the deficiency is noticeable. In these grades, 820 commissioned officers are now allowed by law, but

the navy list shows about 130 short of this number, the deficiency existing in the junior grade, that of ensign.

"The vessels now building and contracted for should all be completed by about 1904. It would require, should there be war at that time, nearly 1,000 officers, below the grade of commander, to properly commission for war service all the battle-ships, cruisers, torpedo-boats and armed auxiliaries then on the navy list, and this would leave no officers on the active list available for colliers, supply vessels, such new auxiliaries as might be purchased, or for the various stations on shore duty, where their presence would be absolutely necessary for successful administration; in fact, the navy would find itself, in time of emergency, five or six hundred officers short of the requisite number, and would be obliged to take in volunteers from the merchant service or from civil life, without military (naval) experience, to fill these vacancies.

"The present annual output of the Naval School is only slightly more than sufficient to fill current vacancies, and under existing laws the increase in the body of officers will be small.

"This state of things can be remedied only by increasing the number of appointments to the Naval Academy. The subject is of greater importance than the building of new ships, since the increase of material in the navy has recently gone forward rapidly, while the personnel has been practically at a standstill. Officers cannot be improvised. Volunteers cannot be brought in and trained to do efficient work in a short time. The various technical demands of the service—knowledge of ordnance, of engineering, of navigation, international law and military jurisprudence—all demand thorough training for their successful mastery. It takes about the same length of time to train the young naval officer at the Naval Academy that it does to build a battle-ship in a well-equipped yard."

Finally, there is an opportunity to develop the navy, so that we ourselves may be able to live up to the doctrine which we invite Spanish-America to accept. There is an opportunity, also, to cultivate the friendship of the Spanish-American Republics in the unselfish, noble spirit which makes the Pan-American speech so memorable; and in every proper way to encourage them to prepare for doing their part as well in support of the Monroe Doctrine, now proclaimed as the great policy of all American nations.

But these two opportunities are one.

The magnitude of this opportunity is appreciated when we remember that the reciprocity treaties find in Spanish-America their special field. In a field so vast, their place is seen to be subordinate. They become part of a larger plan, and our paradox is explained. Thus, the most effective method of continuing the late President's plans which looked to reciprocity agreements might be to prosecute the most distinctive of the newer policies.

MARRION WILCOX.

THE ENGINEER AND THE PROBLEM OF AËRIAL NAVIGATION.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL GEORGE W. MELVILLE, ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

"I talk of dreams
Which are the children of an idle brain,
Begot of nothing but vain fantasy,
Which is as thin of substance as the air;
And more inconstant than the wind."
—SHAKESPEARE, "Romeo and Juliet."

IN earlier times many thoughtful men have given unqualified recognition to the uses and delights of the imagination. But could they see now, in the light of history, with what folly human nature has pushed a noble truth to the extreme, they would realize that much of its wisdom and grandeur has been obscured by the abuse of the imagination and undue revelling in its pleasures.

This folly has been always peculiarly manifest in natural science, whence it penetrates to the field of applied mechanics.

Outside of the proven impossible, there probably can be found no better example of the speculative tendency carrying man to the verge of the chimerical than in his attempts to imitate the birds, or no field where so much inventive seed has been sown with so little return as in the attempts of man to fly successfully through the air. Never, it would seem, has the human mind so persistently evaded the issue, begged the question and, "wrangling resolutely with the facts," insisted upon dreams being accepted as actual performance, as when there has been proclaimed time and again the proximate and perfect utility of the balloon or of the flying machine.

Notwithstanding the amount of accurate physical knowledge now possessed by man, and the unremitting efforts on the part of many earnest investigators, pursuing methods of observation and

experiment, who have within recent years placed the study of the problem of Aërial Navigation upon a thoroughly scientific basis, it may be truly said that, so far as the hope of a commercial solution of the problem is concerned, man is to-day no nearer fulfillment than he was ages ago when he first dreamed of flying through the air.

Some of the investigators pursue truth for its sake alone, but most of them are spurred on by the hope of some practical application of the principles when they shall have been fully established. Any basis for a hope of practical application must rest in a careful analysis of the possibilities and limitations of both nature and man and the relations involved.

The problem of Aërial Navigation may be regarded in at least three aspects—from the viewpoint of physical science, from that of social science, and from that of purely speculative philosophy. Of these three, we know physical science to be the most exact; we know social science to be to a certain degree exact; and we know that purely speculative philosophy, from its great unreliability, has long since lost much of its caste and standing. From this it follows that, in a consideration of the problem, great importance would attach to the conclusions reached through an investigation of physical phenomena; that, in connection with such conclusions, some results of a study of social conditions would have to be noted; and that any opinion based merely on *a priori* argument would be entitled to slight attention.

The modern engineer, and especially the American engineer of to-day, may be regarded in at least two aspects: first, with regard to his qualifications for solving physical problems by his mathematical and mechanical knowledge and training, and, second, with regard to his position as a business man. In the first aspect, the engineer has been long generally recognized; but commercial necessities now so thoroughly shape and direct his labors that his business abilities should be particularly appreciated.

The engineer, as an important working force in a centre of intense activity, is to-day connected and identified with the manufacturer, with the organization and management of vast business enterprises, and with the solving of problems of capital and labor in the industrial world; and, generally speaking, he is an economist and a "social engineer." He is in close touch with the financier and business man, and knows much of their hopes and

fears, their past efforts, present interests, and future prospects. The fully equipped engineer of to-day must be versed in the established facts and laws of physics, especially along mechanical lines, and in their industrial application; and he must possess a wide acquaintance with business principles and methods. He is the connecting link between the business world and the worlds of invention and science. Many engineers are scientists, inventors, business men, and engineers all in one; but the essential meaning of the word "engineer" to-day, in the United States, is that of a technical business man.

It may be readily inferred from what has been said that the engineer is peculiarly qualified to consider the problem of Aërial Navigation in its two most important bearings, physical and social; and the imaginative power which he must possess in order to be a successful designer of machinery and a commercial organizer, should be sufficient guarantee of his ability to conjecture as well as any man of intelligence the possibilities of commercial transportation through the air.

A calm survey of certain natural phenomena leads the engineer to pronounce all confident prophecies at this time for future success as wholly unwarranted, if not absurd.

M. Santos-Dumont can without doubt round the Eiffel tower and return to St. Cloud on a calm day, but no actual trial is needed to show that such a journey is impossible on many days, is always extremely dangerous, and of little or no practical use. The difficulty and danger are due, as has been often shown, to the inability of the balloon to maintain its shape.

In any balloon open at the bottom, as originally constructed, the resistance to collapse at the bottom is practically nothing, being no more than is offered by the weight of the fabric, as in the case of a simple curtain. At the top of a hydrogen-filled balloon twenty feet in diameter the resistance is only one and a half pounds per square foot. This will give way under the normal impact of an air current of only eighteen miles per hour; and as soon as collapse begins the case is aggravated by the concave surface presented to the wind. Metal frame-work within a balloon must seem of doubtful advantage when we consider the increase in weight, the fragile nature of the frame-work, and the large areas of unsupported fabric. The danger of rupture of the latter would be even increased by the presence of the framing.

Closing a balloon at the bottom and maintaining a slight pressure within it, is more promising. Hydrogen, which is the most buoyant gas available for inflation, under a pressure of ten pounds per square foot loses only about one-half of one per cent. of its buoyancy, and the balloon could resist the normal pressure of wind blowing at the rate of twenty-five miles per hour. The fabric of such a balloon twenty feet in diameter would, however, have to sustain a tension of not less than seventeen pounds per running inch. And here we meet a new difficulty; for, unless the pressure within the balloon is limited by means of a safety valve, the tension of the fabric will be increased nearly fourteen pounds for each hundred feet of ascent. The heavier fabric required by the closed balloon becomes still heavier as we increase the size of the balloon, and places it at a disadvantage as compared with the open balloon, which, in turn, even with its lighter weight and consequent greater carrying capacity, must be made of enormous size in order to carry sufficient propelling power to enable it to remain stationary in a wind blowing thirty-five miles an hour.

In a storm at sea, spars, masts, and even sailors are often carried away by the wind. Let there be pictured a craft one hundred times more fragile than a ship, and so circumstanced that the failure of any one of many of its parts will result in almost certain death to all on board. Such a craft may be fairly entitled "The Dirigible Balloon."

Relations that depend on mere size, important in all natural phenomena, are particularly so in the problem of aërial navigation. Such relations are so numerous and intricate that there is no easy way of bunching them all together and drawing correct inferences regarding them, as is so frequently done from the performance of balloons or of flying machines when they are constructed on a small scale for experiment. To say that the dirigible balloon becomes a matter of less difficulty as its size is increased is but a partial statement of the real case. Each phenomenon in its relation to the size must be considered by itself. It will be found that certain difficulties are lessened and others are increased by a change of size. Ways and means having been decided upon, it will be then manifest that one particular size has an advantage over all others. In the problem of navigating the air, there is imposed a minimum limit by the weight of the man

to be carried. Certain phenomena, such as the frictional resistance of the air, make for a larger size, but the simpler and more important relations of mass and energy call for a small size.

One may even venture the general statement that, except when the controlling factor is skin resistance, as in swimming, the known relations of mass and energy are such that the problem of self-transportation increases in difficulty with size. There are many illustrations of this to be found in the animal kingdom. That the conditions are easier the smaller the size, is shown in a general way by the great varieties of insect life, there being more of these than of all other animals and plants combined. The very small insects appear to feel the attraction of gravitation no more than a floating particle of dust, which in turn may be said to passively navigate the air without the aid of any mechanism whatever—all of which tends to show how simple the problem may be to nature when relations permit. It is even doubtful whether the largest insects could fall from a sufficient height or project themselves against an obstacle with sufficient velocity to cause actual injury.

It may appear a rather bold statement to say that nature has gone as far as she can in evolving animals of large size, owing to the limitations imposed by gravitation and the materials at her command. Nevertheless this would seem to be borne out by certain facts. Thus, where weight is lessened or neutralized by the buoyancy of water, as in the case of crabs, nature uses the insect structure on a much larger scale than elsewhere. The same is true of animals having bony skeletons, though here the largest wading varieties have been long extinct.

All animals have special endowments of one kind or another; some are fleet of foot, others are fitted for climbing trees, and still others are great burrowers. Nature, in making these special endowments, is confined within comparatively narrow limits. She must work with such materials as phosphate of lime and muscular and other tissues, and depend for the special endowments on mere proportion and such devices as horns, claws and hoofs. Since nature is clearly impartial in the matter of these special endowments, let us suppose them to be eliminated. Not dwelling upon the point that the large animals, in this supposed case, will have an advantage in swimming, since this advantage has no relation to the problem being discussed, all animals will be then on an

equal footing as regards their ability to get about, whether by running, jumping, or climbing. The flea, the rabbit, the man, the horse, and the elephant could, in a running high jump, just clear the same fence. In the matter of flight, it is fair to assume that each of these animals would need a free space of, say, one hundred times its own dimensions in order to practice the art. The flea would be able to jump clear across its space or fall through its height and scarcely feel a jar. He could, therefore, fly to his heart's content without the possibility of being hurt. The sparrow could hop at most through a twentieth of its field, and a fall from the height allotted to it would make it an easy prey for the actual cat. The sparrow's flight would be, therefore, not wholly free from danger. A fall through a fifth part of the space allotted to the man would certainly kill him; and yet his flights would be relatively of no greater length than those of the flea.

Coming now to the works of man, a careful analysis and comparison will show them to be limited precisely as are the works of nature. They may be larger, because he can use steel, where nature must be satisfied with phosphate of lime. Also, man has an advantage in being able to use rotating parts, such as the wheel. But the wheel and all other similar devices give him only a minor advantage. His principal advantage lies in his ability to use stronger materials, and this, if anything, will enable him to outstrip nature in the *size* of a flying machine; for we may be permitted to believe that nature has evolved as large a flying creature as is possible with the means at her command. Should man succeed in building a machine small enough to fly and large enough to carry himself, then in attempting to build a still larger machine he will find himself limited by the strength of his materials in the same manner and for the same reasons that nature has. The brain alone of the man-carrying artificial bird may be said to weigh one hundred and fifty pounds. The step from the largest flying creature evolved by nature to the smallest flying machine that will meet the wants of man is, therefore, a very long one. To span that step man has, to help him, only a few mechanical contrivances and the superior strength of steel. Almost every other condition is set against him.

From these considerations, it would seem difficult to name anything that may be possible, and yet upon analysis is found to

be more circumscribed by limiting conditions, than is a flying machine capable of carrying a man. That the limitations as to size are being felt by experimenters is shown by the general tendency toward the adoption of the smallest possible size that will carry a human being.

If the foregoing are some of the important physical facts to be considered, it is needless to say that the engineer can see in them no confirmation of the predictions that frequently have been made of a commercial solution of the problem.

If the past is the best prophet, an unbiased review of what mechanical invention has done toward success, by the substitution of one form of aërial machine for another, would lead the engineer to say, also, that, far from supporting a hopeful view, it fills the mind with doubt. But no such review is needed here, since the possibilities of invention depend upon existing physical relations, and these do not seem to point to ultimate success, as we have seen.

Existing modes of transportation are the result of the development and perfection of crafts and vehicles known to prehistoric man. The dug-out and the two-wheeled cart are the historical germs from which have grown the steamship and the automobile; but where, even to this hour, are we to look for the germ of the successful flying machine? The kite is attached to the earth; the balloon and soaring machine, although they may not be said to be attached to the air, must yet obey its whim, and, in the long run, goes where it goes, if not dashed to the ground.

If the safe and speedy dirigible balloon and the successful flying machine are to be realities to-morrow, where is the preparation to-day? The dirigible balloon has reached a point where it seems that its future limits can be marked, and these limits would not be of sufficient range to include anything like success. The successful flying machine, to spring full-fledged from the ashes of present failure, would have to be a Phoenix.

The most logical interpretation of the present development of both the dirigible balloon and the flying machine would seem to be that "Aërial Navigation" is merging into an heroic sport.

Coupled with the prophecies for the commercial utility of the dirigible balloon and the flying machine, we hear predictions as to their extensive use in war.

It may be said, generally, as true of military science, that

every great point of offence is met by a great point of defence, though a temporary advantage of one over the other has often occurred. A marked advantage on the side of either offence or defence in the future would have to grow out of scientific discovery and invention of a rare order; and it would partly revolutionize warfare. Since such an advantage would have to be developed gradually, it could not be kept secret, and when it reached the point of practical application in war, it would be possessed, in one form or another, by all the principal powers. They could be, therefore, upon an equal footing as regards their ability to use that advantage.

Applying these general truths to possible Aërial Warfare, for the sake of argument,—and remembering that wind and weather could not be counted on as being permanently favorable or adverse by either of two opposing forces,—we have as the most probable prediction:

The successful dirigible balloon, or the successful flying machine for war purposes, capable of carrying a man or men in addition to ammunition and ordnance, would be such epoch-making inventions as to be possessed by all the principal Powers. When fighting each other, the chances of such machines would be equal. In the case of their attacking land or sea forces, the chances would be exactly even for two great nations battling with each other. At least, we have no rightful reason to give, in advance, the preference to either nation, if they be equally matched; and when one is strong and the other weak, it matters not what the weapons may be, the chances are decidedly in favor of the strong.

The drifting and unmanned balloon, and the unmanned flying machine, would be possessed by all the principal Powers, who would be thus upon an equal footing as regards the use of such weapons. The balloon would be subject to the whim of the wind, and the flying machine would behave like an aimed but unguided rocket of greatly lengthened flight and increased carrying power, and as such both would be wholly unreliable and would be considered of secondary importance as aërial weapons. Their use would be exceedingly costly as compared to the damage they might possibly do to an enemy, and by reason of an unexpected change in wind and weather they might prove, in individual cases, a terrible boomerang to the army or navy using them.

What unmitigated evil to any great nation can be seen in these

future weapons, admitting their possibility, it is very hard to discern, though such an idea seems to be entertained by those who love to speculate about the weird and morbid, who would make a vision of to-day the actual terror of to-morrow.

But while we may, for the sake of argument, consider what might happen if aërial warfare were possible, the existing physical relations that already have been considered seem to show that we have no right to expect such warfare, and that, so far as radical departures in military methods are concerned, "prophets whisper fearful change" all to no purpose.

It may be said, however, that in war heroic hazard is at a discount, and that the slightest success with aërial navigation in peace times may serve as a sufficient incentive for individual deeds of daring in the air, such as require the bravest hearts and the most courageous spirits.

Much is often claimed for the promotion of peace in the event of a successful aërial war-machine being perfected in the future, on account of added horrors of warfare and other considerations that will not so well bear investigation, but it is not easy to see how a new weapon of war, possessed by all the principal Powers, could bring about peace.

In his relation to the industrial world, the engineer may be said to be a vital link between the known and the unknown. He helps in the establishment of the knowledge of what is possible and impossible, of what is practicable and impracticable, in their physical, mechanical and commercial relations. His duty in connection with the encouragement of pure science and the application of its most general laws is to level the business world up to that high plane; and his duty in connection with the business world is to level the scientist or high-minded inventor down to an appreciation of the value of practical thought and action.

The engineer may be thus said to be the mediator and adjuster of differences, the interpreter of aims and ambitions, between the worlds of scientific theory and industrial pursuit. So necessary is the engineer to the true welfare and progress of a nation that the day shall soon come, if it is not already here, when his obligations to society will be so universally appreciated and understood that much lack of feeling and sympathy on his part for all classes of men will write "failure" across his name as a "social engineer," as surely as it is now written when he

makes a mistake of any consequence in the purely technical work of his profession.

That his duties are most important and delicate, and that his responsibilities may be hardly measured, need not be said; and it is not to be expected that his judgment is unerring. But when he does err, it is rarely on the side of rashness, and all in all he may be considered as the safest guide that the business man may follow.

It need not be fully pictured what the engineer sees to-day in the social aspect of the undecided problem of Aërial Navigation—what he sees of the possibilities for pretension to infallible prophecy, for scientific error, for the pervading of the business world with false hopes, mechanical moonshine, and downright charlatanism.

The engineer lays no claim to final judgment upon physical possibility or impossibility—for no man has a right to such a claim; and though he does not relinquish his right to an approximately fixed opinion in the present which gives him the basis for positive action, he yet may hold a liberal attitude toward what, through further scientific experiment and correct deduction therefrom, Nature may reveal in the future.

But the worst thing that could happen would be a partial success for Aërial Navigation, in which case it would have all the insidious evil of a half-truth and be a commercial counterfeit susceptible of endless circulation. Companies would spring up like mushrooms, and thousands of people would lose the hoarded savings of years. The officers of a few of these companies would be self-deluded; but in the vast number of cases they would consist either of unprincipled promoters who take no personal risk, or else of veritable charlatans intent upon fleecing the public. In one or two instances, the treasuries of unwary Governments might be raided. All this without consideration of frequent and appalling catastrophe.

The engineer takes himself seriously, realizes the importance of his mission, and dwells upon his duty toward society. Accustomed to deal with facts and figures, he sees things in an exact and forceful way. Accustomed to deal with inexorable physical law, he has a keen perception of the dire consequence of error, and from this gets a strong realization of the wrong that a violation of moral or social law would create.

He tries to approximate the evil and total up the injury that an engineering sham will bring to the nation. He denounces, in unmeasured terms, any so-called mechanical device or unscientific pretension whose existence is a menace to the people's welfare—from the Keely motor to the claims for the great commercial utility of liquid air.

The engineer lives in an atmosphere of accomplishment and *control,* and has an abiding faith in the power of mankind to achieve fair results or to *check* vicious tendencies. The engineer in no way countenances nor has any sympathy with *laissez faire* when applied to mechanical shams. He sees in the worldly spirit of indifference that lets ignorance run its course, the deluded quickly come to grief, or intelligent men be tricked and snared, without any interference, a selfishness and moral turpitude that seem inhuman. So far as it is possible, he believes in checkmating the charlatan, in advising the ignorant, in opening the eyes of the deluded, and in warning the business man when likely to be imposed upon by unprincipled shrewdness.

Bearing in mind the possible formation of stock companies for meretricious ends, the wide-awake engineer notes at all times the agitation of the problem of Aërial Navigation, and persistent public exploitation of experiments whose value is doubtful and of prophecy whose basis is insufficient; and he feels that in such exaggeration there is great danger to the best interests and immediate pursuits of the people.

The engineer hopes that the earnest investigators of the problem, whether they be scientists, inventors, or brother engineers, or, in some cases, all three in one, to whose keeping this problem is to be confided, may so follow the scientific method that in the day to come, when the actual results of their combined labor are seen in full, the solution may be so satisfactory that there can be no doubt as to actual success, or actual failure, or actual limited practicability,—whichever may prove eventually to be the case.

There is one engineer whose opinion at the present hour, after a consideration of some of the more important physical and mechanical facts involved, and after noting, in connection with the conclusion to which such consideration has led, certain social conditions, is that there is no basis for the ardent hopes and positive statements made as to the safe and successful use of the dirigible balloon or flying machine, or both, for commercial transportation

or as weapons of war, and that, therefore, it would be a wrong, whether wilful or unknowing, to lead the people and perhaps governments at this time to believe the contrary; and he, therefore, asked to be permitted to put his opinion thus before the readers of this REVIEW.

It has been always the function of science to clip the wings of fancy; and, as it did so, it has revealed a "fairy land" more wonderful than man could conceive, and has enabled him to attain a material comfort and happiness undreamt of. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that, if in the future physical discoveries actually show this now undetermined art to possess no commercial utility or military value, and to involve too much difficulty and danger as a sport to be universally indulged in, science will have revealed a glimpse of practical possibilities which, in their realization, shall surpass all present dreams.

GEO. W. MELVILLE.

SHALL THE MONROE DOCTRINE BE MODIFIED?

BY WALTER WELLMAN.

HAS not the time come to modify and modernize the Monroe Doctrine? Not by any means to abandon it, but to preserve and strengthen it by a more rational application of its vital principle? Not to confess this principle unsound, but to reaffirm and establish its validity by confining its operation to a region where it is morally defensible and practically important? Not to yield anything that is valuable to the United States, but to take that which is now only an unaccepted and unacceptable fiat, and therefore a standing invitation to trouble, and make it over into a principle which through world-recognition of its justice and soundness shall perpetually and peacefully protect the intrinsic interests of the United States?

In the field of international relations, no more important question now presses for the consideration of American statesmanship. It is vitally and urgently important because world movements are slowly but surely creating a need for such revision. These movements trend inevitably to a clash with the Monroe Doctrine. We may now take up revision and dispose of it of our own free will and motion. If we wait much longer there is serious danger that we shall be compelled to take it up in that awkward and uncomfortable hour when the pressure comes not from within but from without. The Doctrine contains a principle of the highest value to the United States. But the form in which that principle is stated is not in harmony with modern conditions. Monroeism served well the justified purposes for which is was devised, but in its original form it has outlived its usefulness. Since it was promulgated, many and vast changes have come to the relations of nations. A comparatively weak

state then, the United States has become one of the first Powers of the earth. The republican form of government is no longer an experiment. Instead of maintaining a deliberate policy of isolation, we have been drawn forth into the world field. Instead of standing apart from the family of nations, we have become one of them and have entered into all their inter-related activities. We have aided in changing the underlying spirit of international relationship from the armed and suspicious rivalry of the last century to the modern policy of enlightened self-interest—the policy of toleration, forbearance, respect for the superior rights of others, adjustment of differences along well-understood lines of accommodation—the modern policy which is founded in selfishness, but which nevertheless naturally operates to create a practical international morality.

It is wholly from the standpoint of this enlightened self-interest that the United States should regard the question of a revision of the Monroe Doctrine. As a member of the world family, the United States has not only gathered new power, but assumed new responsibilities; and it must play the game according to the rules which control all alike. But in its Monroe Doctrine the United States has attempted to set up a rule all by itself. The Monroe Doctrine is a fiat which says what may or may not be done outside the sovereignty of the United States and within the sovereignty of certain other Powers which do not accept the fiat, the prescribed field being one in which certain other Powers enjoy equal rights and privileges with the United States, and in which some of them have interests superior to those of the United States. When one member of the family of nations thus attempts to set limitations upon the natural activities of its fellow-members, it must be very sure of having right on its side; and, as to this rule, which has come down to us from the early years of the past century, it is high time the United States were pausing to ascertain the precise relations between our rights and interests and the rights and interests of other Powers in the premises. The world now has its community of nations, and this community, like any other, has its public opinion. To this world-opinion the actions and the policies of all nations which affect other nations must in the end be submitted. The Monroe Doctrine cannot be regarded as an exception. There is no nation so powerful that it can maintain by force a fiat affecting the world

but not founded in right and reason, judged by the world's standard. Why have not other Powers accepted the Monroe Doctrine? Is it because the principle is false, or because the scope of its application is too broad? Nothing could be of greater importance to the United States than a correct answer to these questions; for if we do not ourselves find the answer, world opinion will some day find it for us.

The vital principle underlying the Monroe Doctrine is a sound one, and it has been employed by many nations in one way or another. This principle is, simply, the right of a nation to set up prescriptive reservation of a special field of interest and influence. The correctness of the principle is not open to question; the propriety of its application must in every case be judged by the circumstances. Any nation is justified in a declaration of special or superior interest in a given region, but the declaration must be limited to an actual, intrinsic interest. If it goes beyond this, and covers a region in which other nations have equal or superior interest, and they do not withdraw their claims, it cannot be recognized, and thus, in attempting to do too much, it does nothing at all. By spreading too far, it leaves the proper field of self-protection and invades the rights of others. Instead of establishing the principle over the region where it is quite proper that it be established, there is failure to establish it anywhere. The only effective justification of a prescriptive rule is agreement among the Powers of lesser interest to respect the rights of the Power of superior interest and the consequent harmony and peace; but agreement failing, the rule becomes simply a disputed claim and, therefore, a source of irritation and friction. If a given territory is to be taken over by a new sovereign through conquest, treaty or purchase, all nations possess some right to be consulted; and their right is measured according to their interest. If England and France were to declare that Belgium or the Netherlands should not be absorbed by any European Power, they would be within their rights. But neither England nor France would be justified in asserting a permanent broad rule that no European Power should ever be permitted to take territory to the west of its original boundaries. Similarly, the United States would be justified, as it was justified for three-quarters of a century, in the declaration that it would never permit the island of Cuba to pass into the control of another foreign Power than

Spain, for there the United States had an obvious special interest which the whole world, in that spirit of mutual accommodation which is the base of all international relations, was willing enough to recognize. So, also, would the United States be justified, now that it is about to invest hundreds of millions in a canal piercing the American Isthmus, undertaking a vast responsibility and acquiring a very great and peculiar interest there, in declaring to the world that it reserves the entire isthmus as its special field of influence and activity.

The weakness and falseness of the Monroe Doctrine is that it applies not only to the islands and seas near our shores and to the isthmus, where we have a large and unmistakable special interest, but broadly to the whole hemisphere, in a considerable part of which we have almost no actual interest at all, and where the interest of other Powers is in many cases equal to ours and in some cases far greater than ours. What is the evidence that the United States possesses an interest in middle and lower South America sufficiently greater than that of the remainder of the world to give the United States a reasonable right to exclusive privilege? Not in the preservation of a republican form of government, for as a general principle no nation has a right to dictate what the form of government of any of its neighbors shall be; besides, the Monroe Doctrine applied to Brazil when it was under a monarchy as well as now, when Brazil is a republic; further, the chief countries of Europe, whose possible activities in South America we seek to limit, are better democracies than the best of the governments we seek to perpetuate. Evidence is not found in trade, investment of capital, or colonization, for in all these respects several European nations have vastly greater interests in South America than the United States. It is not found in the danger of greater proximity of European Powers, for proximity is not of itself a danger, except in special circumstances or when accompanied by the menace of enmity. No one will assert that any European power is the enemy of the United States. We have friendly relations with them in all other parts of the world; the assumption that our friendship would be endangered by having them nearer to us is of itself a false and unfriendly note. You may say that you will not have your friend as a dweller in your own house, but you may not with decency or consistency forbid him to live in your neighborhood.

Besides, when the Monroe Doctrine was born proximity counted for much more than it does in this day of electricity, cables, steam and sea power. Now it counts only under special circumstances. We should be justified in saying we did not want Germany in Cuba, or Russia in Mexico, or France in the Isthmus. But what has the political control of Argentina, or Patagonia, or Brazil, or Chili, to do with the security of the United States? The proximity excuse, even if valid, would not hold as to South America. New York is farther from Rio Janeiro than from Hamburg, Bremen, Cherbourg or Liverpool. It is much farther from New York to Buenos Ayres than from New York to any port of western Europe.

The one broad justification of United States exclusiveness in central and lower South America—superiority of interest—does not exist. Is there any particular justification? It might be found in two new declarations accompanying the Monroe Doctrine, as follows:

1. That the United States will at once assume a suzerain's relations to all South American nations, maintaining responsibility for them, standing between them and the remainder of the world, securing or offering redress for all wrongs committed by them, and disciplining such of them as may be rash enough to reject our control.

2. That wherever government fails and disorder or wrong follows in South America, the United States will take over such territory in its rôle of primate Power—as a trustee for civilization—and through annexation and its own superior administration bring about better conditions.

Declaration of such policies as these would be aggression and imperialism of the boldest stamp, and would doubtless involve us in no end of troubles with South American states. But they would afford a better basis for the Monroe Doctrine than none at all, and would at least possess the merit of candor and consistency of an unmistakable though selfish sort. If the United States is going to fence off all America and put up "no trespass" signs against all comers, we must on demand show at least a color of justification. But we cannot in decency put up the signs, forbidding all others to go in and improve, and at the same time declare that we have no intention of doing so. We cannot assume an attitude of responsibility for the selfish purpose of keeping

others out, and then repudiate that responsibility in order to save ourselves the trouble of meeting it.

The Monroe Doctrine, as applied to the whole hemisphere, is to-day the one example of a first-class Power setting its strength against progress. There is abroad to-day a world-movement which follows natural law, which is as irresistible as the march of time itself—a movement in which we are ourselves mightily participating in various parts of the globe. This movement is the centralization process, a political phase of the natural law of survival of the fittest. In the present state of international morality, it does not mean the passing of the small into the control of the great, for the doctrine of the absolute domination of the strong over the weak is happily becoming obsolete. The essence of the law and of the movement which springs from it is the passing of the inefficient and unfit and the coming of the efficient and worthy. Thus there is constantly going on the transfer of control from the incompetent to the competent, from the ineffective to the effective, from the inferior to the superior. The first and most important function of government is uplifting the people governed. As the world is now constituted, broadly speaking, all governments which do this are insured against overthrow from without, for it is one of the glories of civilization at the beginning of the Twentieth Century that the strong do not prey upon the weak, so the weak be only competent. But every government which is both weak and incompetent, which fails to meet its responsibilities to its people and to the world, is inevitably threatened both from within and from without. For object-lessons on the bright side of the picture, it is only necessary to cite Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway. For examples on the darker side, it is only necessary to cite Hawaii, the causes which led to our ousting of Spain from Cuba and the Philippines, European overrunning of semi-savage Africa, the concert of all the Powers in distressed China. This principle of the constantly increasing responsibility of the superior and competent nations, of the constantly lessening sway, influence and territory of the inferior and the incompetent, is the international law of gravity. It is the mightiest force in the progress of the world, the advancement of civilization, the preservation of peace. It is the practical application of the theory of trusteeship which has wrought great works in Africa, in Asia, in

the islands of the sea, and which, better than all, has brought with greater and more complex responsibility a higher morality to the chief nations of the world.

There is one exception to the universality of the application of this principle, and only one. This is found in the western hemisphere. The youngest and, all things considered, the greatest and most progressive of the Powers, seeks to put up the barrier and prevent the world-movement touching the shores of America. It recognizes the virtue of the principle everywhere else, and itself aids in its application to the islands of the Pacific and to China; but it has declared it will not have it here. The United States stands absolutely alone in its championship of the incompetent against the competent, in its purpose to perpetuate the rule of the inferior and to bar out that of the superior. If Central and South American governments were Switzerlands, Belgiums, Netherlands and Scandinavias there might be excuse for the United States setting up the dead-line of its imperious will for their protection. But if, like the Swiss, the Belgians, the Dutch and the Scandinavians, these American governments were fulfilling their proper mission, adequately meeting their responsibilities, the protection of the United States would not be needed. The enlightened opinion of the world would protect them, as it protects the minor states of Europe.

The United States would occupy a wholly correct and justifiable position if it assumed that its great power and commanding influence gave it leadership in the western world; that it intends to meet the responsibilities of its leadership; that it will not sit idly by whilst a competent American government, one which has shown its fitness to survive, is being subverted by the superior force of some outsider; that it must have an early and a loud voice in determining what is and what is not international morality on these continents. Such attitude would be irreproachable.

Were the United States to confine its South American declaration to that of a special interest, without any attempt to assert exclusiveness, it would have the free hand. It could meet every case that might arise upon the merits of that case. It could select the instances in which it would have nothing to say, and those in which it might have very much to say. It could protect the competent, but would not be bound to protect the incompetent. It could make sure that in every case to which it extended its

interposition it had right and reason on its side. But this is not the Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine sets up an arbitrary, immovable, unvariable rule of action. It declares that not only may we of right, but that we shall and must, interfere in any and every case whatsoever, regardless of the circumstances, where native control is threatened from without. It binds us to interference not only where interference would be a duty, but where it would be a crime. It ties us to the principle that all native control, no matter how wretched or unstable, must be perpetuated at any cost; that no European control, no matter how desirable or promising, can be permitted under any circumstances.

Conditions have greatly changed since the Doctrine declared that European presence in this hemisphere would be a menace to the United States. One European nation is already here, with an area greater than our own, but her presence is not a menace. If British rule in Canada were incompetent; if the people were oppressed; if disorder ensued; if our peace and prosperity were menaced; if our sensibilities were harassed year after year, then it is quite probable we should have to put an end to it. Spain's rule in Cuba and Porto Rico was inefficient and led to so many evils that we finally ousted her, and were well within our rights in doing so. But we did not oust her because she is of Europe; nor because she is a monarchy; nor because she, as a European Power, was a menace to us. We ousted her solely because she was incompetent. We have taken good care to hold in our hands a power over the new Cuba which gives us the right to oust or correct any native misrule that may follow. But as to South America we have declared over and over again that we will not ourselves apply this wholesome rule, and through the Monroe Doctrine we assert that we will not permit any one else to do so.

If a new Prussia or Bavaria were set up in Brazil, a new Italy in Argentina, another Holland in Patagonia, a new Brittany in Guiana, who can say that the result would constitute a menace to the United States? Would there not then be all the greater reason for perpetual peace between those mother countries and the first Power of the western world? Is it not true that the wider the great Powers spread their people and their trusteeship, the more complex and diffuse becomes their responsibility; that the farther they extend their commerce and their capital, the more sure a perpetual world peace? Would not such a European col-

onization and control in South America make for good to the United States in every way—in greater stability of government, in a higher civilization, in an uplifting of the people now there and great accretion to their numbers, in broadening markets?

The Monroe Doctrine had its origin more than three-quarters of a century ago. There was justification for it then, but the conditions have wholly changed. There is now no "Holy Alliance" trying to make absolutism and government by divine right dominate the earth. What the Monroe Doctrine was devised to meet has no longer to be met. The Doctrine was a move, and a good one, in the international game of that hour. If we could frighten off the absolutists with a "no trespass" placard, it was a clever thing to do. But why keep the placard up forever, after the rules and aim of the game have wholly changed?

No other nation has accepted the Monroe Doctrine. As yet, it has never been affirmed by any branch of our government save the executive. True, it is well supported by public opinion. But has that public opinion ever paused to analyze it in its modern application? Has it not, rather, placed the Doctrine upon a pedestal and made an idol and a fetich of it, without well comprehending what it signifies? Have not the people fallen down and worshipped it as a sanctified thing, without the slightest conception of whether it is a true or false god, a tower of strength or a sign of weakness? Foreign statesmen marvel that the United States should persist in attempting to force this rule of international relationship upon them. They have not as yet thought it wise to contest it, but they only await the coming of the hour—the occasion when the attitude of the United States is more than usually weak, because without a basis of natural right to stand upon—when the incentive to them is sufficiently important to make the contest worth while. It is as certain as fate that the world will not go on forever, mute and astonished at our dead-line, but crossing it not. And it is certain, too, that when it is crossed it will be crossed at its weakest point, and probably with two or three of the Powers moving side by side. What is the United States to do then? It is not pleasant to think of that emergency. If we are in the right, we shall have nothing to fear. But if we are in the wrong—and the other Powers will take care to select an instance in which we are in the wrong—it may not be so easy to retreat.

One justification for the Monroe Doctrine often urged is that it keeps European Powers out of America, and therefore minimizes the danger of friction with them. But it does not keep them out. They are there with their capital, their banks, their commerce, their colonists. Even the Monroe Doctrine does not pretend to reach that extreme of exclusiveness which would enable the United States to stop South American countries inviting European capital and European people into their territory. If we cannot stop Europeans going there, we cannot presume to control the perfectly natural consequences of their presence. Yet the validity of the Monroe Doctrine may be tested in precisely such an emergency. Suppose German colonists in large numbers settle in some South American country. They gain a numerical majority in a province. They own nine-tenths of the property, pay nine-tenths of the taxes and constitute the wholesome, intelligent part of the community. Yet they are denied suffrage; are denied participation in the local government; are ruled by corrupt, oppressive, arrogant natives; life and property are insecure; the colonists appeal to Fatherland for help, and help is sent them; there is trouble between Germany and the native government; and, when it is over, the Kaiser establishes a colony and gives it the protection of the German flag. The Monroe Doctrine requires the United States to interpose and say this shall not be; that we will not permit these German colonists to go under the wing of the Fatherland. What right have we to say anything of the sort, and what would be Germany's righteous answer to our interposition? What would be the opinion of the world as to the merits of such a controversy? Should we not be asked where are our interests, our colonists, our capital, the rights of our citizens, that give us license to interfere?

Let us suppose that Italian colonists are so badly treated in some South American country, and Italy herself so wantonly insulted when she attempts to secure redress, that war follows. Surely we have no divine right to prevent Italy exercising her sovereign prerogative of going to war when she has been wronged and flouted. After victory in a costly conflict, Italy may find territory the only available indemnity. We had no right to intervene to stop the war; but now the Monroe Doctrine requires us to intervene to deprive Italy of the natural and proper recompense for her sacrifices.

Let it be supposed, again, that Scandinavian colonists become the numerical majority in the citizenship of a South American country. On some account, such as threatened troubles with some powerful and warlike neighbors, through plebiscite a majority of the voters of that country elect to attach themselves to Sweden and Norway as a colony, hoping thereby to obtain national security. Sweden and Norway accept the responsibility. But the Monroe Doctrine requires the United States to interpose. There may be no Americans or American interests in the colony. The union may be a consummation devoutly to be wished by all friends of peace and progress. It is not aggression that is proposed, or seizure by force, but an amicable arrangement. Nevertheless, the Monroe Doctrine compels the United States, for consistency's sake, to interpose; to say to the colonists they shall not do as they wish with their own; to say to the Scandinavian governments that their activities, praiseworthy though they are admitted to be, are restrained by our will as expressed by Mr. James Monroe in the year 1823.

To such lengths are we led when we adopt as our guide a rule made a long time ago for an emergency then existing but now unknown; a rule which not only commits us to a prescribed line of conduct for ourselves, but to the attempt to prescribe the conduct of our co-equals. While in our pride and prosperity we go confidently along, following the traditional path marked out in 1823, problems are arising in South America. European emigration, European capital are going thither. Difficulties, friction, complications, exasperations will arise. We expect to have a powerful voice in any political rearrangement of that continent which may ensue; and it is a vital, a living question whether we are going to speak as of this day, as practical men at the beginning of the twentieth century, or whether our voice is to come out of the distant past; whether we are to permit ourselves to be involved in trouble by an effort to maintain an antiquated doctrine which requires that we treat all cases according to a hard and fast rule, or whether we shall put in its place the modern, workable policy of the free hand which may be expressed in three words, "Primacy, not exclusiveness."

No nation now presumes to stake off a large part of the world outside its own sovereignty as reserved for its exclusive activities. If it attempts activity beyond its own boundaries, and beyond the

field where circumstances give it special rights, it does so frankly upon the basis of open rivalry—that all have the right to compete, and competition must be adjusted on the principle of "give and take." Nearly all the nations have participated in the subdivision of Africa. Nearly all have taken a hand in Asia. The United States has as much right in China as Russia or England, if our policy is such as to send us thither. As Theodore Roosevelt so well said at Minneapolis last September: "The United States must not shrink from playing its part among the great nations. We cannot avoid hereafter having duties to do in the face of other nations." The United States is not shrinking. We have been in China. We are in the great Philippine archipelago with our sovereignty, and we shall build a new nation there, nearly twice as far from our shores as Brazil is from Germany or Italy. We are more or less a factor in what may be called all the world politics of the times. We could not keep out if we would, and we would not if we could. Wherever we go we encounter no arbitrary dead-lines, no trespassing placards. It is not wholly consistent for us to play the game with a free hand in Europe, in Asia, in the islands of the sea, wherever we wish, and at the same time sit as the dog in the manger in all the great region to the south of us.

The vital principle of the Monroe Doctrine should be preserved. To make sure of preserving it where its preservation is all-important to the United States, we should no longer seek to apply it where it is inapplicable, where we have nothing to gain by applying it, and where our enforcement of it may at any time be challenged, with the challenger in the right and us in the wrong. The Doctrine should be modified, so that hereafter it shall apply to a region where it shall be defensible in reason and right. Such a region is found in the West Indies, in the Caribbean Sea and the American Isthmus. Here the United States has the most important interests, everywhere recognized as vastly superior to those of other nations, due to God's arrangement of the lands and the waters, and to our determination to meet the world's need of a ship canal connecting the two great oceans. Through this region passes the great future line of east and west communication, with the canal in the centre, our West Indian possessions on one flank and Hawaii and the Philippines on the other. Were the United States to confine its policy of exclu-

siveness to this field, it would be within its obvious and natural rights. Not only would the Powers be willing to recognize our exclusive attitude as to this region, but they would be more prone to accept our general, though modified, claim to primacy throughout the hemisphere, and to make all proper concessions to the sensibilities and interests of their most powerful neighbor in whatever enterprise circumstances and the natural flux of conditions might involve them in the western world.

With one stroke the United States could extricate itself from a false position, relieve the present generation and posterity from the need of hazarding peace in a cause which is practically unimportant and ethically unworthy, and at the same time yield nothing of, but rather add to, its primacy, and greatly strengthen its arms for all the actual work it has to do.

Instead of the Monroe Doctrine, which outlived its usefulness in the century that is gone, let us have, as a practical, workable evolution from it, the Roosevelt Policy of the century that is opening upon us, as follows:

As the chief political and commercial Power of the Western Hemisphere the United States could not view in any other light than as indicating an unfriendly disposition toward the United States an attempt on the part of any European Power to control the destiny or seize the territory of any nation upon the two American continents, unless such attempt were justified by the circumstances surrounding it, judged by the rules of enlightened international morality; and the United States reserves the right to refuse its assent to any political changes upon these continents, weighing the conditions with due regard to its own interests, the rights of the European governments which may be involved, and the welfare and happiness of the American peoples most directly concerned. Inasmuch as the government of the United States is now proceeding to the construction of an isthmian canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, in that enterprise investing large sums of money and undertaking permanent responsibilities of importance not only to the people of the United States, but to the whole world, the United States cannot assent, under any circumstances whatever, to the acquisition by any European or Asiatic power of territory lying upon the isthmus of Darien or bordering the shores of the Caribbean Sea.

WALTER WELLMAN.

PUBLICITY AS A MEANS OF SOCIAL REFORM.*

BY W. H. BALDWIN, JR., CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN, NEW YORK.

How to prevent personal liberty from degenerating into unbridled license is a problem which is ever present alike in city, town and country; but it is in the great city that it presents itself in the most difficult form, since the social environment of a city is least favorable to the normal moral development of the individual.

In the attempt to solve this problem, all the organized forces of education, moral, religious and intellectual, on the one hand, are directed towards training the individual to a wiser use of his liberty; while, on the other, certain branches of the City Government are charged with the function of restraining the imperfectly developed individual from a misuse of his liberty which may be detrimental to the mass of his fellow-citizens. There is, however, in our great cities a tendency, resulting from many causes, but primarily from the indifference of the educated classes to their civic responsibilities, toward a state of affairs wherein the very governmental agencies which were designed to restrain the individual within proper bounds foster and encourage the evil use of his liberty for the sake of gain.

In such a situation there is only one effective means of preventing "the sale of law, the purchase of immunity by protected crime, the grinding of the face of poverty by the heel of brutality and authority,"† and that method is the educating of the public to a realizing sense of the true conditions. When the public fully understands any problem which affects seriously the civic life, the intelligent sentiment of the community is not slow to express itself, and better results are sure to follow. All attempts

* This article was written before the election of November 5th, which resulted in the victory of the forces allied against the party in power.
† Brooklyn Eagle.

to produce better conditions, however, must perforce move very slowly. Genuine, lasting reform is seldom the result of a period of sudden sentimental excitement.

Early in the year 1900 it became apparent to the body politic of the City of New York that the reasonable freedom of the individual had so degenerated through the fostering of vice by the authorities that extreme license in morals prevailed. The evil conditions existing appealed not only to the sympathies of every person who had any sense of justice, but even as well to the authorities who were largely responsible for these conditions.

A committee of men and women who had been studying the matter for some six months, and who had endeavored to eradicate certain of the worst forms of evil by co-operating privately with the authorities, found that their efforts were useless. It became evident that any attempt to bring about genuine results must have the support of the general public after full publicity of the facts. In the fall of 1900 the public was aroused to the horror of the conditions reported, and a mass meeting of citizens was called to decide upon a plan of action. The whole city was stirred with indignation against the existing evils, and the press and the pulpit gave full expression to their purpose to aid and forward the work of reform. A second public meeting was called, and a committee of fifteen citizens, representing various callings and every form of political and religious belief, was appointed and instructed to reform existing conditions.

The publicity given to the plans of the people rendered it difficult for the committee to act expeditiously, because it was a warning to the well organized enemies of decency to be on their guard and to render futile, by every method, any attack made against them.

The exposures already referred to, however, so shocked the community that it caused those in authority to appoint a committee of their own for the express purpose of proving the connection between the police and criminal vice, and also of repressing the flagrant abuses of prostitution. The results of the work of that committee were illuminating,* since after its investiga-

*"For some time I have been much displeased with the recent administration of police affairs. The gentlemen of the Democratic Club generally hold this view. I and they believe that New York should be a clean city.

"We think pool rooms should be closed, gambling suppressed, despicable resorts swept out of existence and vice so treated that it dare not flaunt itself in the faces of innocent persons."—Statement of John Fox, president of the Democratic Club, "New York Journal," December 19, 1900.

"Even the police are soliciting in your district, and the police do not do

tion had made clear the truth of all that had been charged, it stopped work as soon as it found that continuance would lead to the destruction of the organization by which it was appointed.

Meanwhile, the investigations of the Committee of Citizens were actively carried on, and an effective working force of expert agents was organized; offices were opened, competent legal counsel engaged, and a chief executive agent, who was formerly Chief of Police of the City of New York, was appointed. With the sympathy of an efficient and honorable District Attorney, whose aim was to co-operate with the reasonable plans of the committee, and with the exceptionally good working organization of experts whose integrity has never been questioned, active work was begun. The policy agreed upon by the committee was to study into the causes of the alarming increase in gambling and the social evil, and to establish the business connection between those engaged in the trade of vice and those whose duty it was to repress it; to inform the public from time to time of the facts; to promote legislation that would make it less difficult to reach offenders, and particularly to suggest means whereby the surroundings of the homes of the poor might be made more wholesome and the allurements and incentives to vice and crime be lessened. It was agreed that the work should be entirely free from any partisan motive; that, although it might be political in its effect, it was far and above any partisan consideration; that the period of its activity might extend to years, or at least until the public should be fully informed and enlightened sentiment should force any party in power to correct the evils.

Investigation soon proved that the gambling spirit had been artificially stimulated to such an extent as to become a distinct menace to the community; that gambling rooms were not only permitted by the authorities to remain open, but were undoubtedly protected in their operations by officers whose duty it was

anything to stop the soliciting. I can produce policemen who have been solicited in your district."—Statement by Richard Croker to Coroner Fitzpatrick at a meeting of Executive Committee of Tammany Hall, "New York Journal," November 16, 1900.

"This evidence could have been obtained by the police as readily as by this committee."—Statement of Lewis Nixon, Chairman "Committee of Five," appointed by Tammany, December 25, 1900.

"Tammany has lost control of the police—the gambling clique is in the saddle, insolent and arrogant.

"Devery's (Chief of Police) maintenance in office is the most eloquent commentary on the situation. He has been furnished lists of gambling places with the request that they be closed. They have not been closed. The situation is intolerable. It cannot endure much longer. I am unable to say why Chief Devery is not forced out."—Statement of Lewis Nixon in "New York Evening World," January 10, 1901.

to close them. In short, it was obviously a business profitable to the authorities to foster and encourage gambling.

It also appeared that the evil of prostitution in the tenement houses had spread; that it was advantageous to the landlord of the tenement house to rent part of his tenement to the prostitute, since he could thereby obtain larger profit than by renting to the family. And it became evident here also, as had been proved in the case of gambling, that under the prevailing system of protection of criminal vice most vicious results arose from the constantly increasing demands of those who levied the blackmail. Although the appeal for help from the tenement houses was most distressing, the difficulty of holding the landlord responsible was so great that it was found necessary to defer legal action until new laws should be passed through the Legislature. Meanwhile, careful investigation of tenement-house conditions was made.

Pending the introduction and passage of the Tenement House Law,* as recommended by the Tenement House Commission,† which took effect on July 1st, 1901, the attention of the committee was directed particularly to the protection given by the authorities to gambling in its various forms.

It was difficult for a committee of citizens, acting only by due process of law, to attack successfully a combination of gamblers so thoroughly intrenched through the protection and sympathy of the authorities. But never before had there been a combination of all the forces necessary to oppose effectively such a condition of moral anarchy. These forces comprised a competent counsel; an ex-Chief of Police with a corps of expert detectives; a fearless and honest magistrate; a sympathetic and efficient District Attorney, and an attorney in charge of the office of the committee who was thoroughly conversant with the problems under investigation.

The method employed to secure evidence was to send several detectives at different times to a specified gambling house, and to secure evidence against the persons who acted as proprietors or employees. On presentation of affidavits that gambling was carried on at particular times and places, warrants were issued by the magistrate and served by the agents of the committee in conjunction with, although against the wishes of, the police. The warrants having been served, arrest and a trial before the magis-

* Chapter 334 of the Laws of the State of New York for 1901.
† Appointed under Chapter 279 of the Laws of 1900.

trate followed. In no instance was any effort made to stop gambling as such, but only to demonstrate the fact that the gambling business was "protected" by the police. Only the proprietors or agents of the gambling and pool rooms were arrested, in order, through them, to secure evidence which might connect them with their protectors. In no case were any of the customers detained. The raids resulted in the arrest of ninety-six proprietors and agents of gambling houses, through warrants served by due process of law, after adequate legal evidence had previously been obtained in every case. Finally gambling became unprofitable as a business to those directly engaged in it, or to those who indirectly derived revenue from that source. It was conclusively shown that a committee of citizens could force the police to close gambling rooms which they would not close of their own volition, and that money paid to the police did not ensure protection.

Judge Jerome held ninety-six for the Grand Jury; all were indicted. Thirty-one were brought to trial, and either pleaded guilty or were convicted; seventeen forfeited bail, and the remainder are awaiting trial. No one tried was acquitted.

Meanwhile, evidence was being collected against the tenement house evil. The general conditions had been fully set forth in the admirable Report of the Tenement House Commission,* and the public was impatient for relief.

The recommendations of the Commission were duly enacted into law, taking effect on July 1st, 1901. A tenement house thereby became subject to a penalty of one thousand dollars if it, or any part of it, should be used as a house of prostitution or assignation of any description with the permission of the owner thereof, the penalty to be a lien upon the house and lot, and the owner to be deemed to have permitted prostitution to exist if proceedings for removal were not commenced within five days after a prescribed service of notice by the Department of Health. Since July 1st, when the law took effect, the committee has

*"The steady growth of vice in the tenement houses has come under the personal observation of members of the commission—prostitution has spread greatly among the tenement houses. This condition has recently grown worse, nor does it appear that there has been sufficient effort on the part of the public authorities to suppress it. We have ascertained that when dissolute women enter a tenement house their first effort is to make friends with the children. * * * The patronage which they can distribute is utilized to make friends and to purchase the silence of those who might otherwise object to their presence. The anxiety of reputable parents living in houses upon which these harlots have descended is most pitiful. * * * We have been led to believe that more girls have been started, in recent years, upon a life of immorality because of their associations in tenement houses, than by all other means combined that supply this traffic. * * *"

served notices through the Department of Health upon the owners, lessees and agents of two hundred and thirty-seven tenement houses in the Borough of Manhattan. The evidence submitted is of such a character as to have secured the conviction of persons when cases were brought before the criminal courts of New York County. Prostitution has been eliminated already from at least two hundred of the tenement houses reported. It is not to be understood that the number of houses already taken care of represent more than a fraction of the houses where such conditions exist. As the statements of a single agent of the committee were never taken as a foundation for any action, without the corroboration of at least four additional witnesses, the magnitude of the work may be understood.

The aim has been to do as much effective work as possible within the obvious limitations of any committee of citizens, to demonstrate that the evil conditions exist, and to show that, with a desire on the part of the authorities to act, the worst forms of vice can be eradicated. The work has been confined to those extreme conditions where the evil in human nature has run riot and where humanity has been outraged; to the evils which have been fostered by those whose duty it is to suppress them. Personal liberty has always been respected. Personal license has been attacked. The aim has been to reform conditions only, not to reform men. Such is the real function of any committee so constituted. The reform of the individual can be accomplished only through those moral and educational forces which are properly organized for that purpose, and the work of the committee has aimed at creating conditions under which those influences can work freely with the hope of securing lasting results. The public will not support any committee of citizens who undertake to do any work that does not appeal to the fair and reasonable judgment of a majority of men. The aim to be accomplished, and the methods to be adopted, must appeal to the average man. The imperative necessity is to avoid the demands of the politician and the extremist. Such methods the public will support.

Any effort to improve conditions is always met with criticism both favorable and unfavorable. Expressions of criticism are too often based on uninformed opinions. The individual has his own point of view regarding personal liberty and practical ethics, and he either takes for granted that any effort to change con-

ditions should be made according to his idea, or asumes that it is being done contrary to his idea without full knowledge of the facts. It has been the aim of the committee at all times to attempt to do only those things which appeal to any honorable man, and it has been most encouraging to find that, whenever a full statement of motives and methods has been made to any class of citizens, and the real contest between decency and indecency has been clearly defined, earnest sympathy has been shown.

An effort to improve the living surroundings of children cannot lead a reform movement far astray. It is the duty of the citizens as a corporation to protect the home of the poor man even more than the home of the rich; the one cannot help himself, the other is ever ready and able to protect his own. In dealing with prostitution in tenement houses it has been the constant aim not to persecute the sinners, but simply to remove them and to leave the home pure for family life. There has been no desire to persecute the individual who has suffered perhaps by reason of unfair surroundings, but solely to improve the environment for the children, so that they may have reasonable opportunity to grow up into pure manhood and womanhood. The evildoers have been treated in a spirit of charity and with a feeling of sympathy, in that they may have suffered through the neglect of the city to provide reasonable living conditions.

Nothing is more apparent in any reform work than the importance of keeping up a constant public interest. But interest cannot be sustained long under excitement. Actual results, quietly accomplished and made public from time to time, furnish the most effective method of educating public opinion. There is need for persistent, tireless energy. The hope of the evildoer is always that the opposition will cease, that the opponents of evil will soon be discouraged and tire of their work, and he bides his time, knowing from past experience that time will probably relieve him from attack. It is also necessary to have the most expert assistants, well organized and suitably paid for their services. A single serious mistake may be fatal, or cause enough hostile criticism to undo a large amount of good work already done.

It is most encouraging in undertaking such work to know—for it has been demonstrated—that the whole press can be counted on as strong supporters of any effort to reform conditions on sensible lines, so long as the work does not take on a partisan

color. All reform movements become necessarily educational in their character. If started on the right basis, and continued long enough, the public will become educated as to the real facts and will see to it finally that better conditions prevail.

The necessity for continued publicity is shown by the fact that, after twelve months of public statements in the press, public reports, public advertising, etc., prominent men who are supposed to be fully posted in regard to all matters pertaining to the city, have not yet realized the exact conditions which exist. When fully informed, however, they express themselves as profoundly shocked to learn the conditions that are actually known and proven. Persistent, untiring work will finally educate the people to a realizing sense of their civic responsibility.

After years of agitation the streets were cleaned and a higher standard of cleanliness was established, and the city can never fall back completely to old conditions. Who would have said five years ago that a free American citizen would ever be prohibited from spitting in public places? Enlightened public opinion finally demanded such a prohibition, and a printed warning that fine and imprisonment would be imposed upon offenders was placed in every public place with most beneficial results. Until recently who listened to the cry of mothers in their complaint against prostitution in tenement houses? Since the true facts have been brought to light, public opinion simply insists that the prostitute must leave the tenement where children live, no matter where she may go.

One of the important results of the year's work is the closer attention of the courts to cases which affect the poor. The sympathy of the whole people has been touched, and no power or influence is now sufficient to protect the owner of a tenement house where children live, if it is used for immoral purposes. It has not been a case of persecution of those who suffer by evil conditions, but the prosecution of those who protect and encourage evil conditions for pecuniary profit.

Allusion has been made only to the most prominent work undertaken and to the methods adopted by this Committee. Many special investigations, however, have been made of collateral subjects bearing on the main problems, which will be of value in framing legislation in the future.

All great cities have much the same problems to meet, and

reforms can be made only through the pressure of enlightened public opinion. When the people realize the true conditions, it is safe to predict that their sense of justice will demand a reasonable repression of vice. Public opinion, therefore, must be informed through investigation and report by committees or commissions of reasonable men, who have the confidence of the community. The remarkable growth of public sentiment against the prevailing conditions is the most encouraging illustration of the value of such methods. It is evident that it will not pay, in the long run, for any political party to countenance any evil conditions which affect seriously the surroundings of the home. The opportunity for purity in home life is the most sacred right of the citizen. Under the abnormal conditions which are created by the protection of vice by the authorities, the great moral, religious and educational forces are almost helpless; and it is plainly the principal function of a Citizens' Committee to produce such results that the authorities will be forced to do their duty in order that the moral forces may have a fair opportunity. Given a moral issue, with the truth clearly understood by the public, and no authorities responsible for evil conditions can remain long in power. To permit criminal vice is inexpedient, because it is unjust. The motives which should control such a reform committee have been expressed by the Committee of Citizens who gave the assurance from the beginning "that its work is not and cannot be made partisan or political in purpose; that its object is to improve conditions, not to reform men; that it will not approve of any measures which may result in interference with the liberty of the individual, except where the interest of the public is plainly jeopardized, and that it approaches the entire problem in a spirit of sympathy and pity for those who suffer from an improper and unfair environment, and in a spirit of relentless war against those who foster or who profit from these conditions."

W. H. Baldwin, Jr.

HOW TO SECURE AN ELASTIC PAPER CURRENCY.

BY H. C. M'LEOD, GENERAL MANAGER OF THE BANK OF NOVA SCOTIA.

ADDRESSES delivered at the recent Bankers' Convention at Milwaukee have infused fresh life into the currency question, especially into that branch of it which relates to the issue of notes by banks.

The notes issued by the Government and those issued at present by the National Banks, being of practically unchangeable volume, are insufficient to perform the exchanges during the seasons of activity, and the result is a periodical condition of stringency in the money market. At other times of the year these notes accumulate at the financial centres, inflating deposits, reducing rates of interest and fostering speculation. The establishment of an elastic currency would remove one important cause of this annual stringency and redundance, as such a currency would accommodate itself to the requirements of commerce, expanding and contracting without exercising any disturbing influence upon business. This assertion is based on the experience of other countries that enjoy the economic advantages of an elastic paper currency.

Elasticity can be obtained only through granting to banks the privilege of issuing notes on conditions which will ensure to them a fair profit. Without profit, the incentive to an issuing bank to keep its notes in circulation is wanting. Given the incentive, profit, each bank will send in for daily redemption all other notes held, paying out only its own. Competition and profit are the only effective incentives to daily redemption, the result being that just enough money will be kept in circulation to supply the needs of trade.

Any system falling short of perfect elasticity and adaptability is defective and must prove unsatisfactory. Under the branch banking system a safe and elastic currency is easily developed, but the American public are not ready to discuss branch banking, being in favor of so-called free banking.

The people rightly demand that all the money of the country shall be good everywhere throughout the country, and that notes that by any chance may become worth less than par shall not be authorized by the Government.

As there are some eight thousand banks operating under the National and State banking systems it is plainly impracticable to empower each bank to issue notes unless control of the engraving and printing is retained by the Government, and the notes guaranteed by or the control given to an association comprising all issuing banks, whose guarantee would be so strong as to ensure absolute protection to every note holder. With such a guarantee, the holder would be indifferent as to the name of the bank actually issuing the paper, just as a holder of a National Bank note now is, feeling that it would not matter even if the bank should fail.

It would seem that this might be accomplished by a plan of co-operation and association between such banks in the national system as would elect to come into, and place themselves under the regulation and supervision of, an Association which might be termed the National Bank of Issue, the Association being subject to the supervision of the Government. The powers of this Association should be strictly limited to the issue and redemption of circulating notes, and to the establishment of branches in central reserve cities solely for purposes of redemption. The notes should be issued in a form and manner similar to those now issued by the United States Treasury to National Banks, each note being redeemable on demand in gold by the Association at any of its branches, or by the bank issuing it to the public on presentation at its place of business. Each bank should be required to keep a cash reserve, say twenty-five per cent. of its outstanding notes, deposited with the Association for the redemption of its issues, and should also deposit with the Association a guarantee fund of say five per cent. to be available for the retirement of issues of insolvent banks. The Governing Committee of the Association should be appointed by the banks of the Association. An

efficient staff of bank examiners should be employed, with headquarters at the chief office of the Association. The expenses of the National Bank of Issue, including governmental taxes, should be assessed on the members of the Association in proportion to the average issue of each, and the losses should be apportioned according to the limit of issue of each.

Only the prominent features of the scheme are herein dealt with; the details may be readily worked out should the principle of co-operation receive approval. Such a system as above outlined, if not too heavily taxed, would give a paper currency strikingly similar to and as safe as that of the Government now in use, with as much elasticity as is afforded by any currency in the world.

In adopting it the Government would be making use of the material at hand, and the desired results would be secured without danger of financial disturbance. With the existing facilities for establishing National Banks, and with freedom for each National Bank to join the Association, the scheme conserves all the cherished freedom of the present banking system.

H. C. McLeod.

THE TIDINGS TO OLAF.

BY BLISS CARMAN.

This is a question arose in the Norse land long ago,
About the time of Yule, the season of joy and snow.
To-morrow, our Christmas Day, can you answer straight and true,
After these thousand years, when the question comes to you?

Olaf sat on his throne, and the priest of Thor stood by;
And the King's eyes were gray as the December sky.

"Whom shall we serve, O King—the god of thy fathers, Thor,
Who made us lords of the sea, and gave us our land in war,

"Who follows our battle flag over the barren brine,
Who braces the bursting heart when the rowers bend in line,

"Who hath made us the fear of the world and the envy of the earth,
Whose splendor sustains us in death, who hath given us plenty for dearth—

"Or this poor, thought-ridden Jew, an outcast whose head was priced
At thirty pieces of silver, this friendless anarchist, Christ?

"Is not thine empire spread over the Western Isles?
Are not thy people sown wherever the sun-path smiles?

"Do there not come to thee iron and gems and corn?
Does not thy glory blaze wherever our trade is borne?

"Over the red sea-rim thy galleys go down with the sun;
Beyond the gates of the storm thy written mandates run.

"Behold, new lands arise to the lift of thy daring prows,
And health and riches and joy prosper thy fir-built house.

"Is there lack to thee of aught the strength of thy folk can give,
When the will and the longing come to stretch out thy hand and live?

"Honey and fruit and wine, are they not piled on the board?
Do not a hundred tribes pay tribute to our Lord?

"Olaf, beloved of the gods! Is there an outland tongue,
Is there an isle of the sea where thy praise has not been sung?

"Scarlet and silk and gold gleam on thy breast and brow.
Had the Kings of the earth of old such honor and freedom as thou?

"Might and dominion and power and majesty, are they not thine?
Will the seed of warrior Kings dishonor the war-god's shrine?

"O King, do I speak this day in thy name, or forevermore
Let perish the ancient creed? By thy grace, is it Christ or Thor?"

Olaf sat on his throne. And the Priest of Thor gave place
To a pale, dark monk. All eyes were bent on the stranger's face.

"O King, how shall I speak and answer this wisdom of eld?
Yet new trees of the forest spring up where the old are felled.

"When the sombre and ancient firs are laid in the dust, in your North,
The tender, young green of the birch and the delicate aspen put forth.

"Is the land left naked and bare, because the brush-fires have run?
Ye have seen the soft carpet of fern spread down where the blackening was done.

"With beauty God covers the ground, no acre too poor to befriend,
That thou and I and all men may perceive and comprehend.

"He carries the sea in His hand, He lights the stars in the sky,
And whispers over thy soul as the shadows move on the rye.

"The King has his kingly state, but his heart is the heart of man,
Swept over by clouds of grief, then sunlit with joy for a span.

"And every living spirit that is clothed with flesh and bone
Is just so much of God's being, His presence revealed and known.

"We are part of God's breath, as the gust, whereby thy hearth-fire is fanned,
Is part of the wild north-wind that rolls the breakers to land.

"We are part of His life, as the waves are a part of the sea,
A moment uplift in the sun, then merged in eternity.

"What is it, O man and King, that stretches between us twain,
Like the living tides that girdle the isles of the main?

"What lifts thy name, Olaf, aloft on the shout of thy folk in war?
What keeps it warm by the hearth? Is it the favor of Thor?

"No! 'Tis the love of thy people, the great common love of thy kind,
The thing that is old as the sun and stronger than the wind.

"And, Olaf, all these things, these goods which thy priest proclaims,
That make thee a lord among men, and give thee a name above names,

"Are gifts of the spirit of love. Take away love, and thy throne
Melts like a word on the air, thou art a name unknown.

"Is the King heavy at heart, and no man can tell him why,
What does his glory avail to put the heaviness by?

"But, like any poor nameless man among men, the mighty King
Is heartened among his folk by the simple love they bring.

"Is the King weary in mind, and none can lighten his mood;
What cheers him to power anew but thought of his people's good?

"To love, to know, and to do! So we grow perfect apace,
The human made more divine, as the old to the new gives place.

"But who will show us the way, be lantern and staff and girth?
Where is the Light of the World and the Sweetness of the Earth?

"The King has a thousand men, yet one more brave than the rest;
The King has a hundred bards, yet one the wisest and best;

"The King has a score of friends, yet one most accounted of.
And now, if these three were one, in courage, in wisdom and love,

"There were the matchless friend, whose cause should enlist all lands,
Gentle, intrepid, and true. And there, O King, Christ stands.

"Freedom and knowledge and joy, not mine nor any man's,
But open to all the earth, without prescription or bans,

"Where is the bringer of these? His hand is upon thy door:
And He who knocks, O King, is a greater God than Thor.

"Olaf, 'tis Yule in the world; the old creeds groan and fall,
The ice of doubt at their heart, the snows of fear over all.

"But now, even now, O friends, deep down in the kindly earth,
Are not the marvellous seeds awaiting the hour of birth?

"Even now in the sunlit places, do not the saplings prepare
To unfold their new growth to the light, unsheathe their rich
buds on the air?

"And so, from the dark, sweet mold of the human heart will arise,
To enmorning the world with light and this life emparadise,

"The deathless, young glory of love. And valley and hill and
plain
And fields and cities of men, they shall not sorrow again.

"For there shall be freedom and peace and beauty in that far
spring,
And folk shall go forth without fear, and be glad at their work
and sing.

"And men will hallow this day with His name who died on the
tree,
For the cause of eternal love, in the service of liberty.

"O King, shall the feet of Truth come in through thy open door,
Or alone out of all the world be debarred? Is it Christ or Thor?"

The King sat on his throne, and the two priests stood by;
And Olaf's eyes grew mild as a blue April sky.

Thus were the tidings to Olaf brought in the early days,
To be a lamp in his house, and a sign-post in the ways.
And you, O men and women, does it concern you at all,
That Truth still cries at the cross-roads, and you do not heed his
call?

BLISS CARMAN.

THE SPANISH DEBT.

BY ARTHUR HOUGHTON.

THE origin of the foreign debt of Spain is traced to royal bills placed in the hands of London and Amsterdam bankers, with a lien on the proceeds of Mexican mines and other colonial revenue. The debt of Spain had by degrees increased to $350,000,000 at the close of the eighteenth century, and some idea can be formed of the rate at which the borrowing went on after 1800 from the figures of the loans between June 17th, 1801, and July 21st, 1848—namely, forty-four interior operations of credit in Spain of which the nominal value was $182,937,500, and seventeen exterior operations of credit, chiefly in London, Amsterdam and Paris, for $366,578,500. A few of these served to reimburse in part some favored previous loans, but in the end the creditors of Spain, native and foreign, were not better treated by the parliamentary and constitutional governments of our century than they had been in the days of absolute monarchies, and for the same reason, lack of means to face past engagements and present necessities. As early as 1833 Count Toreno tampered with the exterior or foreign debt, thereby beginning the struggle between Spain and her foreign creditors that terminated in 1882, after nearly fifty years of protests, of negotiations, that wrecked the credit of the country and long excluded its stock from European money markets. Two of Spain's ablest finance ministers, Mon in 1843-45 and Bravo Murillo in 1851, proposed so-called consolidations and conversions that were virtually bankruptcy imposed, *nolens volens*, as a composition upon the long-suffering creditors, who had not been paid a coupon for fifteen years. The foreigners would have nothing to do with these arrangements, and the credit of Spain dropped so low that between 1851 and 1872 she had to issue $881,000,000, nominal, of three per cent. stock to get $205,-

000,000 effective cash, to cover mostly her constantly increasing floating debts that simply represented her annual deficits. Spanish finance continued much in the same state until the fall of Isabella II. in 1868, though one of her last ministers, Don Pedro Salaverria, who remained in office several years, did his utmost to reduce deficits and satisfy the creditors of the country. Matters did not mend as regards the debts and deficits during the Spanish Revolution from 1868 to the end of 1874, nor could it have been otherwise in the generally disturbed state of the peninsula, when the governments of Marshal Prim, of King Amadeo, of the Spanish Federal Republic of 1873, and of Marshal Serrano in 1874 were confronted with a formidable rising in Cuba, and a no less troublesome Carlist civil war in fifteen Spanish provinces at home, let alone very serious Federal Republican insurrections in Southern Spain and a permanent Alphonsist conspiracy in the army, navy, civil service and the upper classes of Spanish society. These causes led to an expenditure and a decline of revenue that obliged the governments of the Revolution to stop the payment of the little that was still being paid of the interest of the debts, and to resort to very costly operations of credit that increased considerably the floating and treasury debts. In consequence, after the military pronunciamientos that restored the Bourbons in December, 1874, the governments of Alphonso XII. had much trouble in putting Spanish finance in order, though at first they confined their efforts to the payment of the coupons of the treasury debts and to the payment of about a third of the interest of the exterior and interior debts. Seven years passed before the governments of the Restoration were in a position to undertake a settlement of the then existing debts, which put them on a footing that has lasted eighteen years and been really a new and promising stage in Spanish finance.

It was a Liberal cabinet, at the head of which was Señor Sagasta, the chief of the dynastic Liberals during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and his finance minister, Don Juan Camacho, that mooted the idea of a consolidation and conversion of the treasury debts and of the exterior and perpetual debts of Spain in 1882. First of all, $345,700,000 of four per cent. stock redeemable in forty years was created, to replace various treasury issues and to wipe off the floating debt. The debts thus converted had cost Spain annually $38,642,000, and the new redeem-

able fours only required $19,078,025 a year. Then, after comparatively short negotiations, the native and foreign bondholders of three per cent. consols assented to a conversion into a new four per cent. perpetual debt whereby they agreed to sacrifice a large proportion of their capital and one and a quarter per cent. of their nominal interest. Thus $1,909,753,000 of the old exterior and interior three per cent. consols and railway state-guaranteed bonds were converted into $1,064,799,000 of new four per cent. consols or perpetual debt, of which $394,230,200 were exterior debt and the remainder interior. The Finance Minister made an agreement on June 28th, 1882, with the London council of foreign bondholders by which Spain promised never to put taxes on the exterior debt and to pay the coupons thereon in gold. All these engagements have so far been kept.

The next and last evolution of the reorganization of the Spanish debts took place after the close of the war with the United States. It was no easy task that the Spanish Government had then to undertake. Spain had not only to face the cost of her struggle with Cuba from February, 1895, to April, 1898, the cost of her struggle with the Philippine insurgents from August, 1896, to April, 1898, the cost of the war with the United States, about $300,000,000, but she had to add to her own consolidated debts the debts of Cuba and the Philippines, for which she had given the guarantee of the Imperial Exchequer, $231,050,300. These burdens were added to Spanish budgets at a time when the imperial floating debt had reappeared and accumulated at such a pace between 1882 and 1900 out of annual deficits that it amounted on June 1st, 1900, to $121,216,500, though fifty million dollars of four per cent. redeemable stock, similar to that of 1882, had been issued in 1891 to consolidate $45,000,000 of floating debt.

The Madrid government set to work with decision to put before the country a complete statement of the situation thus created, and of the necessary sacrifices that have been manfully accepted by all concerned. An able and determined Finance Minister, Señor Villaverde, showed the Cortes that if Spain was to keep all her engagements to the letter he must ask them for sixty million dollars more of "ways and means" annually than his predecessors had, which it would be simply impossible to get from taxation alone or from retrenchment in the budget on the old

lines. Therefore, he proposed to get from the ratepayers about eighteen million dollars more annually through new taxes and old taxes much recast to produce more revenue, eight million dollars of reductions in expenditure of every kind, and at least thirty-four million dollars from native Spanish bondholders, his intention not being to demand of foreign bondholders any sacrifice at first, and until he had time to submit to them the expediency of assisting a country that was endeavoring to fulfill its engagements as far as possible under very great difficulties. Señor Villaverde was authorized by the Cortes to draw the above $34,000,000 from a suspension of all amortization of the colonial debts and of the Spanish four per cent. redeemable debts of 1882 and 1891, and from a tax of twenty per cent. annually upon the coupons of all the interior debts of Spain, of all the colonial debts and of the part of the exterior debt even that is held by Spaniards. An affidavit had been established by Señor Villaverde's predecessor, Puigcerver, to clearly determine who were the *bona fide* foreign holders of four per cent. exterior debt. The Finance Minister, who had "undertaken the reorganization of the finances of the budget, and of the taxation of Spain," to use his own words, further obtained from the Cortes legislative authorization to reorganize the debts. A law of March 29th, 1900, enacted that the Cuban debts of 1886 and 1890, the Philippine debt of 1896, the Spanish redeemable four per cent., should be converted into Spanish four per cent. consols in such wise as to make no increase in the annual amount that the State would have to pay for interest on these $531,778,000 of stock under the law of August 2d, 1899, which suppressed their amortization and inflicted twenty per cent. income tax on their coupons. By another law, the Spanish holders of about $146,333,720 of exterior debt were offered a bonus of ten per cent. to convert their stock into interior four per cent. consols. Señor Villaverde had been also authorized by the Cortes to convert the floating debt and the war debts and outstanding arrears of the colonial treasuries under the same law of August 2d, 1899, but Parliament had put a limitation to the amount of money that was to be raised for these purposes, fixing the maximum at $260,000,000, effective, which was utterly insufficient to cover in all $440,000,00 of floating debt, treasury debts, war pagares and colonial arrears. So Señor Villaverde elected to make use of the Cortes' authorization to raise only the $198,356,500

required to convert or pay off at par the Spanish imperial floating debt of $121,216,500, the customs guaranteed war bonds of $58,320,000, and $18,140,000 of war pagares held by Spanish bankers. This operation was successfully carried out on June 4th, 1900, at Madrid, as the bondholders so readily accepted the proffered conversion that, out of $240,000,000, nominal, of five per cent. redeemable stock, issued with a lien on the revenue of the State tobacco monopoly, to raise the $198,356,500, effective, wanted, only $38,000,000 were not taken up by the bondholders, and were covered twenty-five times in two days by public subscription at the Bank of Spain. When the conversions of debt are completed, the reorganized debt of Spain will consist in the exterior debt bearing four per cent. interest, payable in gold, exempt from income tax, and held by foreigners, to the amount of $208,120,000; the interior four per cent. perpetual debt, with coupons payable in pesetas, and liable to twenty per cent. annual income tax and amounting to $1,276,200,000; the new five per cent. redeemable stock, $240,000,000; the war pagares still held by the Bank of Spain, amounting to $188,965,528, and the credits opened by the Bank of Spain to pay the arrears of colonial treasuries, amounting to $30,000,000.

In the Budget for 1900, which the Cortes voted last winter, the credits asked to meet the requirements of the debt amounted in all to $80,711,427. This sum represents four-ninths of the total annual expenditure of the country, which was fixed in the Budget at $181,090,365. Spaniards are wont to say that four-ninths of their estimates of expenditure are the consequences of the errors and mistakes of the past, at present represented still by nearly two billions of dollars of consolidated and floating debt, whilst other four-ninths are taken up chiefly by unproductive expenditure, and about one-ninth only reserved for such things as public works, education, arts and the home and financial departments of public administration. When the government of Señor Silvela framed what his fellow-countrymen styled the first budget of the reorganization of Spanish finance, public opinion, and especially the Chambers of Commerce, the industrial and commercial classes, the trades and guilds, and the agricultural interests found fault with it because they could not discover in the estimates anything like sufficient or sincere retrenchment, the reform of abuses and sinecures, the reorganization of services to

prepare further retrenchment, which the majority of the nation expected as the natural consequences of the lessons of adversity. In fact, one of the most striking symptoms of the change that is coming over the spirit of the nation is this disposition to tell its rulers and politicians that the aim of governments must be in future to cut down unsparingly the unproductive chapters of the budget.

The efforts of the government and of the Cortes did not succeed in realizing on paper in the budget more than $177,199,543 of ways and means to face the $181,090,365 of probable expenditure. The reorganization of Spanish finance thus started with a deficit of $3,890,822. The ways and means of the Spanish budget were drawn from the following sources: Donations and direct taxes, $75,204,158; indirect taxation, $65,128,000; monopolies and services managed by the administration itself, $31,330,004; revenue of state property and royalties, $3,915,650; sales of state property, $404,000; treasury resources, $1,001,000; revenue from Fernando Poo, $16,229. Under the head of donations and direct taxation are interesting items like $200,000 of the civil list volunteered by Queen Christina; $867,400 volunteered by the clergy and nuns with the permission of the Pope; $32,133,408 from real property and taxes on live-stock rearing; $8,566,080 from the industrial and commercial rates; $21,440,000 from the income tax created this year with a view to make all revenues, whether from capital or profits of business, art, intellectual pursuits and labor, contribute to the budget. Under the same head we see that the numerous and productive mines of Spain only pay $1,120,000 of taxes, and that the death rates, succession duties and transfers of property produce $7,200,000 out of the new and considerably increased scales established this year. Carriages produce $156,000, gambling cards $100,000, casinos and clubs $120,000. It is curious to see that four Spanish provinces, Alava, Guipuzcoa, Biscay and Navarre, have still the right to pay their taxes in a lump sum of only $1,341,198, which they assess and raise according to their own local customs and statutes styled "fueros."

Under the head of indirect taxation there are some interesting features. Foremost are the results of the ultra-protectionist policy adopted in 1891-92 by the late Señor Canovas, which had reversed the mild free-trade policy which had prevailed from the days of the Spanish Revolution down to 1891 almost uninterrupt-

edly. Under the present protectionist tariff the import duties are expected to produce $24,000,000, the export duties $600,000. Transport duties, collected at the ports and frontiers, and levied on passengers and merchandise inland on railways and rivers, produce $4,700,000. Duties on sugar are expected to give $3,500,000. Duties on alcohol are now virtually prohibitive on foreign alcohols, and tend to encourage the distillation of native alcohols now practiced on a large scale all over Spain. Telegraph and postage stamps produce $4,300,000, and stamped paper and duties $7,100,000. New taxes on gas, electricity and carburo of calcium are reckoned at $900,000. The most unpopular of Spanish taxes "Los Consumos," or rather the share of the State in these octrois or excise duties levied upon articles indispensable for the daily consumption of all classes, entering every Spanish town and most rural parishes, produces $18,920,000.

Under the head of monopolies and services conducted by the administration are the tobacco monopoly, which has been in the hands of a company and is expected to give $24,600,000; matches, also managed by a company, pay $1,000,000; the explosives monopoly that is to furnish a hundred thousand dollars, the state lottery which produces $4,600,000 a year on an average. The properties and rights of the State are ways and means representing the little that has not been used up by past governments of the vast national resources, a miserable remnant indeed, in which the unfinished liquidation of Church and State property is expected to give $400,000; canals and rivers, $240,000; the mines of Linares, $240,000; the famous quicksilver mines of Almaden, managed by the Paris and London Rothschilds, $1,200,000; the salt mines of Torravieja, $126,000. Under the fifth and last section of ways and means we find *"Recursos del Tesoro,"* Treasury resources of insignificant items, except the money that is paid by young men liable to military service under the system of conscription which calls out about 70,000 to 90,000 lads reaching their twenty-first year during the budgetary twelvemonth. Hitherto, three hundred dollars sufficed to buy a man off from service at home, and four hundred dollars to avoid the colonial service, which inspired the families of the quintos with such dread, during the Cuban and Philippine wars from 1895 to 1898, that the revenue derived from the redemption money rose from the old peace average of $1,800,000 a year to over $8,000,000.

One last trait of the financial policy of the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century must be placed on record, as it has seriously affected the credit of Spain. From 1875 to 1900, all the governments of the restored monarchy have gone on developing the relations of the Treasury with the Bank of Spain. That establishment had been at first founded with a view to be, as it is at present, the only bank of issue in the peninsula. The maximum of the note issue of the Bank of Spain was at first fixed at $150,000,000 and then increased in 1891, when its charter was renewed for thirty years, to $300,000,000, on condition that the Bank should keep cash in hand, half in gold, half in silver, equal to a third of its note issue. The Bank had pushed its issue of notes first to $150,000,000 and then to $300,000,000, not on account of the calls of the public, not to further trade, agriculture, or mining interests, but exclusively on account of the growth of its connection with the Treasury. In 1882, when the Treasury debts were converted by Camacho, among the creditors of the Treasury who accepted four per cent. redeemable stock, the Bank of Spain stood for such an amount that eighteen years' amortization has only reduced the stock still held by the Bank to about $74,000,000. In 1891, when more floating debts were converted, the Bank received and has kept $757,000 of four per cent. redeemable stock. Then again, in the floating debt that existed on June 1st, 1900, the Bank of Spain held $29,780,225. Nor is this all, as the Bank of Spain was the principal source from which the Treasury drew resources for the Colonial and American wars —so much so that, at the present moment, that Bank holds $188,965,528 of war pagares guaranteed by the Imperial Treasury and is creditor of the State for $30,000,000, being the amount of credits opened with the said guarantee for the liquidation of arrears of the late colonial treasuries. The consequence of all this has been, in the first place, that the note issue of the Bank of Spain, during the war with the United States, in May, 1898, grew so close to the $300,000,000 limit fixed by the charter of 1891, that the Cortes had to empower the Bank to push its note issue over that limit, on condition that all notes issued above the 1891 figures should be guaranteed by cash in hand, half in gold, half in silver, equal to the value of half the notes thus issued over the original $300,000,000. Fortunately, the Bank has succeeded in keeping its note issue very little over $300,000,000, and

when the Treasury debts were converted on June 4th, 1900, a step in the proper direction was taken by reimbursing the Bank $29,780,225 of five per cent. Treasury floating debt bonds. The note issue of the Bank on August 10th, 1901, was $328,207,555, against cash in hand to the amount of $70,061,746 in gold and $84,948,851 in silver. The balance sheets of the Bank also reckon as cash $5,605,986 in the hands of its foreign correspondents. It must be borne in mind that bank notes are practically the chief currency of a country where silver is only used for small business transactions and where gold and foreign exchanges still average thirty-nine per cent. premium. Nevertheless, the Spanish Premier, Silvela, and the Minister of Finance, Villaverde, were sanguine that they would be more fortunate than their predecessors. They argued that the proceeds of taxation must soon be improved by what is visible in every direction in the country barely eighteen months after several years of colonial and foreign wars, a disastrous peace and an enormous increase of taxation. They pointed to the extraordinary rebound of trade, especially imports of raw materials, combustibles, machinery, chemicals for native industries, and to the exports of the natural products of the soil and of the mines of the peninsula, which have caused an unprecedented recovery in the traffic of all the railway lines of the kingdom so long on the verge of bankruptcy. They insisted upon the really remarkable confidence shown by purely native savings and native capital being invested in State, provincial and municipal loans, and, what is a far more healthy symptom, in local enterprises, public works, railways, mines, industries, banks, syndicates, credit companies, in fact now competing successfully with the Belgians, French, Germans and British for Spanish business. They were even nearer the truth when they asserted that there is much assessable property which is never made to contribute its proper and fair share to taxation, owing to the well-known and traditional frauds in declarations that were revealed by the last survey in four southern provinces alone when military engineers conducted the said survey, or owing to the equally notorious complicity of public officials trembling before political and electoral magnates. In regard to this state of things, it must be borne in mind that the exchequer and the custom-house in Spain suffer the consequences of the exaggeration of the tariff duties and of the taxes. The tariff duties range from a fiscal minimum in the

minority of cases of fifteen per cent. *ad valorem* to three hundred per cent. The taxes on real property, agriculture, live stock, vary from a minimum of eighteen to twenty-three per cent., exclusive of municipal and provincial rates.

Spain is, like all European nations, even if at a slower pace than some, passing into a stage of her financial reorganization in which the politicians will sooner or later have to give precedence to the moral, intellectual and material interests of the nation that have been and are yet so constantly sacrificed to monarchical, dynastic, religious, political, caste and military considerations, or, as a great Spaniard said a very few years ago, to the unfortunate habit of putting what is accidental and transitory above what is permanent and essential. The new spirit is abroad, and stirring all the better and nobler instincts in the ranks of that very middle class which is the principal factor in the widespread demonstrations of the recuperative force of the people of the country. The question is, how soon this awakening will find an echo in the governing classes, and how soon those classes will understand that it is wiser to take the lead of legitimate currents of public opinion than to resist the logical sequence of historic progress in the life of nations. The grandiloquent words of regeneration and reorganization have been very prominent in the speeches and programmes of Spanish statesmen since the close of the war with the United States, but so far very little has been attempted to accomplish either. It stands to reason that neither reorganization nor regeneration can be carried out, at any rate in Spanish finance, without touching very delicate reforms affecting so-called vested interests, traditions, habits in church and state, in the administration and all public services, in the army and navy, which would array against reformers and against progress the still numerous and powerful reactionary elements of the present state of things.

ARTHUR HOUGHTON.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNTER-CURRENT IN RECENT FICTION.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

It is consoling as often as dismaying to find in what seems a cataclysmal tide of a certain direction a strong drift to the opposite quarter. It is so divinable, if not so perceptible, that its presence may usually be recognized as a beginning of the turn in every tide which is sure, sooner or later, to come. In reform, it is the menace of reaction; in reaction, it is the promise of reform; we may take heart as we must lose heart from it. A few years ago, when a movement which carried fiction to the highest place in literature was apparently of such onward and upward sweep that there could be no return or descent, there was a counter-current in it which stayed it at last, and pulled it back to that lamentable level where fiction is now sunk, and the word "novel" is again the synonym of all that is morally false and mentally despicable. Yet that this, too, is partly apparent, I think can be shown from some phases of actual fiction which happen to be its very latest phases, and which are of a significance as hopeful as it is interesting. Quite as surely as romanticism lurked at the heart of realism, something that we may call "psychologism" has been present in the romanticism of the last four or five years, and

*"The Right of Way." A Novel. By Gilbert Parker. Harper & Brothers.
"The Ruling Passion. Tales of nature and human nature." By Henry Van Dyke. Charles Scribner's Sons.
"Spoils and Stratagems. Stories of love and politics." By Wm. Allen White. Charles Scribner's Sons.
"Fomá Gordyéeff." By Maxim Gorky. Translated from the Russian by Isabel F. Hapgood. Charles Scribner's Sons.
"Circumstances." By S. Weir Mitchell, M. D. The Century Company.
"A Japanese Nightingale." By Onoto Watana. Harper & Brothers.
"The Marrow of Tradition." By Charles W. Chesnutt. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
"Lay Down Your Arms. The autobiography of Martha von Tilling." By Bertha von Süttner. Authorized Translation. By T. Holmes. Longmans, Green & Co.
"Let Not Man Put Asunder." By Basil King. Harper & Brothers.

has now begun to evolve itself in examples which it is the pleasure as well as the duty of criticism to deal with.

I.

No one in his day has done more to popularize the romanticism, now decadent, than Mr. Gilbert Parker; and he made way for it at its worst just because he was so much better than it was at its worst, because he was a poet of undeniable quality, and because he could bring to its intellectual squalor the graces and the powers which charm, though they could not avail to save it from final contempt. He saves himself in his latest novel, because, though still so largely romanticistic, its prevalent effect is psychologistic, which is the finer analogue of realistic, and which gave realism whatever was vital in it, as now it gives romanticism whatever will survive it. In "The Right of Way" Mr. Parker is not in a world where mere determinism rules, where there is nothing but the happening of things, and where this one or that one is important or unimportant according as things are happening to him or not, but has in himself no claim upon the reader's attention. Once more the novel begins to rise to its higher function, and to teach that men are somehow masters of their fate. His Charley Steele is, indeed, as unpromising material for the experiment, in certain ways, as could well be chosen. One of the few memorable things that Bulwer said, who said so many quotable things, was that pure intellectuality is the devil, and on his plane Charley Steele comes near being purely intellectual. He apprehends all things from the mind, and does the effects even of goodness from the pride of mental strength. Add to these conditions of his personality that pathologically he is from time to time a drunkard, with always the danger of remaining a drunkard, and you have a figure of which so much may be despaired that it might almost be called hopeless. I confess that in the beginning this brilliant, pitiless lawyer, this conscienceless powerful advocate, at once mocker and *poseur,* all but failed to interest me. A little of him and his monocle went such a great way with me that I thought I had enough of him by the end of the trial, where he gets off a man charged with murder, and then cruelly snubs the homicide in his gratitude; and I do not quite know how I kept on to the point where Steele in his drunkenness first dazzles and then insults the gang of drunken lumbermen, and begins his second life in the river where they have thrown

him, and where his former client finds him. From that point I could not forsake him to the end, though I found myself more than once in the world where things happen of themselves and do not happen from the temperaments of its inhabitants. In a better and wiser world, the homicide would not perhaps be at hand so opportunely to save the life of the advocate who had saved his; but one consents to this, as one consents to a great deal besides in the story, which is imaginably the survival of a former method. The artist's affair is to report the appearance, the effect; and in the real world, the appearance, the effect, is that of law and not of miracle. Nature employs the miracle so very sparingly that most of us go through life without seeing one, and some of us contract such a prejudice against miracles that when they are performed for us we suspect a trick. When I suffered from this suspicion in "The Right of Way" I was the more vexed because I felt that I was in the hands of a connoisseur of character who had no need of miracles.

I have liked Mr. Parker's treatment of French-Canadian life, as far as I have known it; and in this novel it is one of the principal pleasures for me. He may not have his *habitant* his *seigneur* or his *curé* down cold, but he makes me believe that he has, and I can ask no more than that of him. In like manner, he makes the ambient, physical as well as social, sensible around me: the cold rivers, the hard, clear skies, the snowy woods and fields, the little frozen villages of Canada. In this book, which is historical of the present rather than the past, he gives one a realizing sense of the Canadians, not only in the country but in the city, at least so far as they affect each other psychologically in society, and makes one feel their interesting temperamental difference from Americans. His Montrealers are still Englishmen in their strenuous individuality; but in the frank expression of character, of eccentricity, Charley Steele is like a type of lawyer in our West, of an epoch when people were not yet content to witness ideals of themselves, but when they wished to be their poetry rather than to read it. In his second life he has the charm for the imagination that a disembodied spirit might have, if it could be made known to us in the circumstance of another world. He has, indeed, made almost as clean a break with his past as if he had really been drowned in the river. When, after the term of oblivion, in which he knows nothing of his past self,

he is restored to his identity by a famous surgeon too opportunely out from Paris, on a visit to his brother, the curé, the problem is how he shall expiate the errors of his past, work out his redemption in his new life; and the author solves it for him by appointing him to a life of unselfish labor, illumined by actions of positive beneficence. It is something like the solution which Goethe imagines for Faust, and perhaps no other is imaginable. In contriving it, Mr. Parker indulges the weaker brethren with an abundance of accident and a luxury of catastrophe, which the reader interested in the psychology of the story may take as little account of as he likes. Without so much of them he might have made a sculpturesque romance as clearly and nobly definite as "The Scarlet Letter"; with them he has made a most picturesque romantic novel. His work, as I began by saying, or hinting, is the work of a poet, in conception, and I wish that in some details of diction it were as elect as the author's verse is. But one must not expect everything; and in what it is, "The Right of Way" satisfies a reasonable demand on the side of literature, while it more than meets a reasonable expectation on the side of psychological interest. Distinctly it marks an epoch in contemporary noveling, and mounts far above the average best toward the day of better things which I hope it is not rash to imagine dawning.

II.

I am sure I do not merely fancy the auroral light in a group of stories by another poet. "The Ruling Passion," Dr. Henry Van Dyke calls his book, which relates itself by a double tie to Mr. Parker's novel through kinship of Canadian landscape and character, and through the prevalence of psychologism over determinism in it. In the situations and incidents studied with sentiment that saves itself from sentimentality sometimes with greater and sometimes with less ease, but saves itself, the appeal is from the soul in the character to the soul in the reader, and not from brute event to his sensation. I believe that I like best among these charming things the two sketches—they are hardly stories—"A Year of Nobility" and "The Keeper of the Dight," though if I were asked to say why, I should be puzzled. Perhaps it is because I find in the two pieces named a greater detachment than I find in some others of Dr. Van Dyke's delightful volume, and greater evidence that he has himself so thoroughly and finally mastered his material that he is no longer in danger

of being unduly affected by it. That is a danger which in his very quality of lyrical poet he is most liable to, for he is above all a lyrical poet, and such drama as the chorus usually comments is the drama next his heart. The pieces, in fact, are so many idyls, and their realism is an effect which he has felt rather than reasoned his way to. It is implicational rather than intentional. It is none the worse but all the better on that account, and I cannot say that the psychologism is the worse for being frankly, however uninsistently, moralized. A humor, delicate and genuine as the poetry of the stories, plays through them, and the *milde macht* of sympathy with everything human transfers to the pleasant pages the foresters and fishermen from their native woods and waters. Canada seems the home of primitive character; the seventeenth century survives there among the habitants, with their steadfast faith, their picturesque superstitions, their old world traditions and their new world customs. It is the land not only of the habitant, but of his oversoul, the good *curé*, and his overlord the *seigneur*, now faded economically, but still lingering socially in the scene of his large possessions. Their personality imparts a charm to the many books about them which at present there seems to be no end to the making of; and such a fine touch as Dr. Van Dyke's gives us a likeness of them, which if it is idealized is idealized by reservation, not by attribution.

III.

Mr. William Allen White's method is the reverse of Dr. Van Dyke's. If he has held his hand anywhere the reader does not suspect it, for it seems, with its relentless power of realization, to be laid upon the whole political life of Kansas, which it keeps in a clutch so penetrating, so comprehensive, that the reader does not quite feel his own vitals free from it. Very likely, it does not grasp the whole situation; after all, it is a picture, not a map, that Mr. White has been making, and the photograph itself, though it may include, does not represent everything. Some years ago there was a silly attempt to reproach the true painters of manners by calling them photographic, but I doubt if even then Mr. White would have minded any such censure of his conscientious work, and I am sure that now he would count it honor. He cannot be the admirable artist he is without knowing that it is the inwardness as well as the outwardness of men that he photographs, and if the reader does not know it, the worse for the

reader. He is not the sort of reader who will rise from this book humiliated and fortified, as any reader worthy of it will.

The author has put his best foot forward in the opening story, "The Man on Horseback," which, when I read it a few years ago in the magazine where it first appeared, seemed to me so perfect in its way that I should not have known how to better it. Of course, this is a good deal for a critic to say; it is something like abdicating his office; but I repeat it. It takes rather more courage for a man to be honest in fiction than out of it, for people do not much expect it of him, or altogether like it in him; but in "The Man on Horseback" Mr. White is at every moment honest. He is honest, if not so impressively honest, in the other stories, "A Victory for the People," "A Triumph's Evidence," "The Mercy of Death," and "A Most Lamentable Comedy;" and where he fails of perfect justice to his material, I think it is because of his unconscious political bias, rather than anything wilfuller. In the story last named this betrays itself in his treatment of a type of man who could not be faithful to any sort of movement, and whose unfaithfulness does not necessarily censure the movement Mr. White dislikes. Wonderfully good as the portrait of Dan Gregg is, it wants the final touch which could have come only from a little kindness. His story might have been called "The Man on Foot," by the sort of antithesis which I should not blame Mr. White for scorning, and I should not say anything of it worse than that it is pitilessly hard, which the story of "The Man on Horseback" is not, or any of the other stories. Sentimentality of any kind is alien to the author's nature, but not tenderness, especially that sparing sort which gives his life to the man who is down.

Most of the men whom Mr. White deals with are down, as most men in the struggle of life are. Few of us can be on top morally, almost as few as can be on top materially; and probably nothing will more surprise the saints at the judgment day than to find themselves in such a small minority. But probably not the saints alone will be saved, and it is some such hope that Mr. White has constantly in mind when making his constant appeal to conscience. It is, of course, a dramatic, not a didactic appeal. He preaches so little and is so effectively reticent that I could almost wish he had left out the preface of his book, good as it is. Yes, just because it is so good I could wish he had left

it out. It is a perfect justification of his purpose and methods, but they are their own justification with all who can think about them, and the others are themselves not worth thinking about. The stories are so bravely faithful to human nature in that political aspect which is but one phase of our whole average life that they are magnificently above all need of excusing or defending. They form a substantial body of political fiction, such as we have so long sighed for, and such as some of us will still go on sighing for quite as if it had not been supplied. Some others will be aware that it has been supplied in a form as artistically fine as the material itself is coarse and common, if indeed any sort of humanity is coarse and common except to those who themselves are so.

The meaning that animates the stories is that our political opportunity is trammelled only so far as we have trammelled it by our greed and falsehood; and in this aspect the psychology of Mr. White offers the strongest contrast to that of the latest Russian master in fiction. Maxim Gorky's wholly hopeless study of degeneracy in the life of "Fomá Gordyéeff" accuses conditions which we can only imagine with difficulty. As one advances through the moral waste of that strange book one slowly perceives that he is in a land of No Use, in an ambient of such iron fixity and inexorable bounds that perhaps Fomá's willingness to rot through vice into imbecility is as wise as anything else there. It is a book that saturates the soul with despair, and blights it with the negation which seems the only possible truth in the circumstances; so that one questions whether the Russia in which Turgenieff and Tolstoy, and even Dostoyevsky, could animate the volition and the expectation of better things has not sunk to depths beyond any counsel of amelioration. To come up out of that Bottomless Pit into the measureless air of Mr. White's Kansas plains is like waking from death to life. We are still among dreadfully fallible human beings, but we are no longer among the damned; with the worst there is a purgatorial possibility of Paradise. Even the perdition of Dan Gregg then seems not the worst that could befall him; he might again have been governor.

IV.

If the human beings in Dr. Weir Mitchell's very interesting novel of "Circumstance" do not seem so human as those Russians

of Gorky and those Kansans of Mr. White, it is because people in society are always human with difficulty, and his Philadelphians are mostly in society. They are almost reproachfully exemplary, in some instances; and it is when they give way to the natural man, and especially the natural woman, that they are consoling and edifying. When Mary Fairthorne begins to scold her cousin, Kitty Morrow, at the party where she finds Kitty wearing her dead mother's pearls, and even takes hold of her in a way that makes the reader hope she is going to shake her, she is delightful; and when Kitty complains that Mary has "pinched" her, she is adorable. One is really in love with her for the moment; and in that moment of nature the thick air of good society seems to blow away and let one breathe freely. The bad people in the book are better than the good people, and the good people are best in their worst tempers. They are so exclusively well born and well bred that the fitness of the medical student, Blount, for their society can be ascertained only by his reference to a New England ancestry of the high antiquity that can excuse even dubious cuffs and finger-nails in a descendant of good principles and generous instincts.

The psychological problem studied in the book with such artistic fineness and scientific thoroughness is personally a certain Mrs. Hunter, who manages through the weak-minded and selfish Kitty Morrow to work her way to authority in the household of Kitty's uncle, where she displaces Mary Fairthorne, and makes the place odious to all the kith and kin of Kitty. Intellectually, she is a clever woman, or rather, she is a woman of great cunning that rises at times to sagacity; but she is limited by a bad heart and an absence of conscience. She is bold up to a point, and then she is timid; she will go to lengths, but not to all lengths; and when it comes to poisoning Fairthorne to keep him from changing his mind about the bequest he has made her, she has not quite the courage of her convictions. She hesitates and does not do it, and it is in this point she becomes so æsthetically successful. The guilt of the uncommitted crimes is more important than the guilt of those which have been committed; and the author does a good thing morally as well as artistically in leaving Mrs. Hunter still something of a problem to his reader. In most things she is almost too plain a case; she is sly, and vulgar, and depraved and cruel; she is all that a murderess

should be; but, in hesitating at murder, she becomes and remains a mystery, and the reader does not get rid of her as he would if she had really done the deed. In the inferior exigencies she strikes fearlessly; and when the man who has divorced her looms up in her horizon with doom in his presence, she goes and makes love to him. She is not the less successful because she disgusts him; he agrees to let her alone so long as she does no mischief; she has, at least, made him unwilling to feel himself her persecutor, and that is enough for her.

Mrs. Hunter is a study of extreme interest in degeneracy, but I am not sure that Kitty Morrow is not a rarer contribution to knowledge. Of course, that sort of selfish girl has always been known, but she has not met the open recognition which constitutes knowledge, and so she has the preciousness of a find. She is at once tiresome and vivacious; she is cold-hearted but not cold-blooded, and when she lets herself go in an outburst of passion for the celibate young ritualist, Knellwood, she becomes fascinating. She does not let herself go without having assured herself that he loves her, and somehow one is not shocked at her making love to him; one even wishes that she had won him. I am not sure but the case would have been a little truer if she had won him, but as it is I am richly content with it. Perhaps I am the more content because in the case of Kitty Morrow I find a concession to reality more entire than the case of Mrs. Hunter. She is of the heredity from which you would expect her depravity; but Kitty Morrow, who lets herself go so recklessly, is, for all one knows, as well born and as well bred as those other Philadelphians. In my admiration of her, as a work of art, however, I must not fail of justice to the higher beauty of Mary Fairthorne's character. She is really a good girl, and saved from the unreality which always threatens goodness in fiction by those limitations of temper which I have already hinted.

V.

It is far from the ambient of any of these imaginary lives to that of the half-caste heroine of "A Japanese Nightingale" and the young American whom she marries in one of those marriages which neither the Oriental nor the Occidental expects to last till death parts them. It is far, and all is very strange under that remote sky; but what is true to humanity anywhere is true everywhere; and the story of Yuki and Bigelow, as the Japanese

author tells it in very choice English, is of as palpitant actuality as any which should treat of lovers next door. If I have ever read any record of young married love that was so frank, so sweet, so pure, I do not remember it. Yet, Yuki, though she loves Bigelow, does not marry him because she loves him, but because she wishes with the money he gives her to help her brother through college in America. When this brother comes back to Japan—he is the touch of melodrama in the pretty idyl—he is maddened by an acquired Occidental sense of his sister's disgrace in her marriage, and falls into a fever and dies out of the story, which closes with the lasting happiness of the young wife and husband. There is enough incident, but of the kind that is characterized and does not characterize. The charm, the delight, the supreme interest is in the personality of Yuki. Her father was an Englishman who had married her mother in the same sort of marriage she makes herself; but he is true to his wife till he dies, and possibly something of the English constancy which is not always so evident as in his case qualifies the daughter's nature. Her mother was, of course, constant, and Yuki, though an outcast from her own people—the conventions seem to be as imperative in Tokyo as in Philadelphia—because of her half-caste origin, is justly Japanese in what makes her loveliest. There is a quite indescribable freshness in the art of this pretty novelette—it is hardly of the dimensions of a novel—which is like no other art except in the simplicity which is native to the best art everywhere. Yuki herself is of a surpassing lovableness. Nothing but the irresistible charm of the American girl could, I should think, keep the young men who read Mrs. Watana's book from going out and marrying Japanese girls. They are safe from this, however, for the reason suggested, and therefore it can be safely commended at least to young men intending fiction, as such a lesson in the art of imitating nature as has not come under my hand for a long while. It has its little defects, but its directness, and sincerity, and its felicity through the sparing touch make me unwilling to note them. In fact, I have forgotten them.

VI.

I wish that I could at all times praise as much the literature of an author who speaks for another colored race, not so far from us as the Japenese, but of as much claim upon our conscience,

if not our interest. Mr. Chesnutt, it seems to me, has lost literary quality in acquiring literary quantity, and though his book, "The Marrow of Tradition," is of the same strong material as his earlier books, it is less simple throughout, and therefore less excellent in manner. At his worst, he is no worse than the higher average of the ordinary novelist, but he ought always to be very much better, for he began better, and he is of that race which has, first of all, to get rid of the cakewalk, if it will not suffer from a smile far more blighting than any frown. He is fighting a battle, and it is not for him to pick up the cheap graces and poses of the jouster. He does, indeed, cast them all from him when he gets down to his work, and in the dramatic climaxes and closes of his story he shortens his weapons and deals his blows so absolutely without flourish that I have nothing but admiration for him. "The Marrow of Tradition," like everything else he has written, has to do with the relations of the blacks and whites, and in that republic of letters where all men are free and equal he stands up for his own people with a courage which has more justice than mercy in it. The book is, in fact, bitter, bitter. There is no reason in history why it should not be so, if wrong is to be repaid with hate, and yet it would be better if it was not so bitter. I am not saying that he is so inartistic as to play the advocate; whatever his minor foibles may be, he is an artist whom his stepbrother Americans may well be proud of; but while he recognizes pretty well all the facts in the case, he is too clearly of a judgment that is made up. One cannot blame him for that; what would one be one's self? If the tables could once be turned, and it could be that it was the black race which violently and lastingly triumphed in the bloody revolution at Wilmington, North Carolina, a few years ago, what would not we excuse to the white man who made the atrocity the argument of his fiction?

Mr. Chesnutt goes far back of the historic event in his novel, and shows us the sources of the cataclysm which swept away a legal government and perpetuated an insurrection, but he does not paint the blacks all good, or the whites all bad. He paints them as slavery made them on both sides, and if in the very end he gives the moral victory to the blacks—if he suffers the daughter of the black wife to have pity on her father's daughter by his white wife, and while her own child lies dead from a shot fired

in the revolt, gives her husband's skill to save the life of her sister's child—it cannot be said that either his æsthetics or ethics are false. Those who would question either must allow, at least, that the negroes have had the greater practice in forgiveness, and that there are many probabilities to favor his interpretation of the fact. No one who reads the book can deny that the case is presented with great power, or fail to recognize in the writer a portent of the sort of negro equality against which no series of hangings and burnings will finally avail.

VII.

In Mr. Chesnutt's novel the psychologism is of that universal implication which will distinguish itself to the observer from the psychologism of that more personal sort—the words are not as apt as I should like—evident in some of the interesting books under notice here. I have tried to say that it is none the less a work of art for that reason, and I can praise the art of another novel, in which the same sort of psychologism prevails, though I must confess it a fiction of the rankest tendenciousness. "Lay Down Your Arms" is the name of the English version of the Baroness von Süttner's story, "Die Waffen Nieder," which has become a watchword with the peacemakers on the continent of Europe. Its success there has been very great, and I wish its success on the continent of America could be so great that it might replace in the hands of our millions the baleful books which have lately been glorifying bloodshed in the private and public wars of the past, if not the present. The wars which "Lay Down Your Arms" deals with are not quite immediate, and yet they are not so far off historically, either. They are the Franco-Austrian war of 1859, the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, and the Franco-German war of 1870; and the heroine whose personal relation makes them live so cruelly again is a young Austrian lady of high birth. She is the daughter and the sister of soldiers, and when the handsome young officer, of equal rank with her own, whom she first marries, makes love to her just before the outbreak of the war first named, she is as much in love with his soldiership as with himself. But when the call to arms comes, it strikes to her heart such a sense of war as she has never known before. He is killed in one of the battles of Italy, and after a time she marries another soldier, not such a *beau sabreur* as the first, but a mature and thoughtful man, who fights through

that second war from a sense of duty rather than from love of fighting, and comes out of it with such abhorrence that he quits the army and goes with his family to live in Paris. There the third war overtakes him, and in the siege, this Austrian, who has fought the Prussians to the death, is arrested by the communards as a Prussian spy and shot.

The bare outline of the story gives, of course, no just notion of the intense passion of grief which fills it. Neither does it convey a due impression of the character in the different persons which, amidst the heartbreak, is ascertained with some such truth and impartiality as pervade the effects of "War and Peace." I do not rank it with that work, but in its sincerity and veracity it easily ranks above any other novel treating of war which I know, and it ought to do for the German peoples what the novels of Erckmann-Chatrian did for the French, in at least one generation. Will it do anything for the Anglo-Saxon peoples? Probably not till we have pacified the Philippines and South Africa. We Americans are still apparently in love with fighting, though the English are apparently not so much so; and as it is always well to face the facts, I will transfer to my page some facts of fighting from this graphic book, which the reader may apply to the actualities in the Philippines, with a little imagination. They are taken from a letter written to the heroine by her second husband after one of the Austrian defeats. "The people poured boiling water and oil on the Prussians from the windows of the houses at ———. . . The village is ours—no, it is the enemy's, now ours again—and yet once more the enemy's; but it is no longer a village, but a smoking mass of ruins of houses. . . . One family has remained behind . . . an old married couple and their daughter, the latter in childbed. The husband is serving in our regiment. . . . Poor devil! he got there just in time to see the mother and child die; a shell had exploded under their bed. . . . I saw a breastwork there which was formed of corpses. The defenders had heaped all the slain who were lying near, in order, from that rampart, to fire over at their assailants. I shall surely never forget that wall in my life. A man who formed one of its bricks was still alive, and was waving his arm. . . . What is happening there? The execution party is drawn out. Has a spy been caught? Seventeen this time. There they come, in four ranks, each

one of four men, surrounded by a square of soldiers. The condemned men step out, with their heads down. Behind comes a cart with a corpse in it, and bound to the corpse the dead man's son, a boy of twelve, also condemned. . . . Steep, rocky heights; Jaegers, nimble as cats, climbing up them. . . . Some of them, who are hit by the enemy's shot, suddenly stretch out both their arms, let their muskets fall, and, with their heads falling backwards, drop off the height, step by step, from one rocky point to another, smashing their limbs to pieces. I saw a horseman at some distance, obliquely behind me, at whose side a shell burst. His horse swerved aside and came against the tail of mine, then shot past me. The man sat still in the saddle, but a fragment of the shell had ripped his belly open and torn out all the intestines. The upper part of his body was held to the lower only by the spine. From the ribs to the thighs nothing but one great, bleeding cavity. A short distance farther he fell to the ground, one foot still clinging in the stirrup, and the galloping horse dragging him on over the stony soil. . . . Another street fight in the little town of Saar. . . . In the middle of the square stands a high pillar of the Virgin. The mother of God holds her child in one arm, and stretches the other out in blessing. . . . Here the fight was prolonged, man to man. They were hacking at me, I laying about me on all sides. . . . A Prussian dragoon, strong as Goliath, tore one of our officers (a pretty, dandified lieutenant—how many girls are, perhaps, mad after him?) out of his saddle and split his skull at the feet of the Virgin's pillar. The gentle saint looked on unmoved. Another of the enemy's dragoons—a Goliath, too—seized, just before me almost, my right-hand man, and bent him backwards in his saddle so powerfully that he broke his back—I myself heard it crack. To this the Madonna gave her blessing also."

VIII.

It can be said that these incidents of battle are imagined, like the facts of Vereschagin's pictures, but like these they are imagined rather below than above the real horror of war, and represent them inadequately. The incidents of another book, the last on my list, are of the warfare which goes on in times of peace, and which will go on as long as there are human passions, and mankind are divided into men and women, and saints and

sinners. Of all the books on my list, "Let Not Man Put Asunder" is, narrowing the word to the recognition of the author's intellectual alertness and vividness, the cleverest. The story is of people who constantly talk so wonderfully well beyond the wont even of society people that the utmost skill of the author, who cannot subdue their brilliancy, is needed to make us feel their reality. But he does make us feel this in most cases, the important cases, and in the other cases his power of interesting us is so great that we do not stop to examine the grounds of our sensation, or to question the validity of our emotions. The action, which is positively of to-day, or yesterday at the furthest, passes in Boston and England, among people of such great fortune and high rank and transcendent fashion that the proudest reader cannot complain of their social quality. As to their moral quality, one might have thought the less said the better, if the author had not said so much that is pertinent and impressive. It is from first to last a book with a conscience in it, and its highest appeal is to the conscience. It is so very nearly a great book, so very nearly a true book, that it is with a kind of grief one recognizes its limitations, a kind of surprise at its shortcomings, which, nevertheless, are not shortcomings that impair its supreme effect. This, I take it, is the intimation of a mystical authority in marriage against which divorce sins in vain, which no recreancy can subvert, and by virtue of which it claims eternally its own the lovers united in it; though they seem to become haters, it cannot release them to happiness in a new union through any human law.

If the author had done dramatically (and his doing is mainly dramatic) no more than this, he would have established his right to be taken seriously, but he has done very much more, and has made us acquainted with types and characters which we do not readily forget, and with characters much more real than their ambient. For instance, the Old Cambridge in which the Vassalls live is not the Old Cambridge of fact, but the Vassalls are the Vassalls of fact, though the ancestral halls in which they dwell are of a baroniality difficult of verification. Their honor, their righteousness, their purity are veracious, though their social state is magnified beyond any post-revolutionary experience. The social Boston of the novel is more like; its difference from an older Boston is sensitively felt, and finely suggested, especially on

the side of that greater lawlessness in which it is not the greater Boston. Petrina Faneuil, the heroine, is derivatively of the older Boston which has passed away, and actually of the newer Boston which will not be so much regretted when it passes, the fast Boston, the almost rowdy Boston, the decadent Boston. It is, of course, a Boston much worse in the report than in the fact, but it is not unimaginably bad to the student who notes that the lapse from any high ideals is to a level lower than that of people who have never had them. As for Petrina herself, who was in this Boston more than of it, she is so admirably analyzed in the chapter devoted to the task that I am tempted to instance it as the best piece of work in the book, though it does not make one hold one's breath like some of the dramatic episodes: "Whatever religious instinct had been in the family had spent itself at least two generations before her time. She was a pagan—a tolerant, indifferent, slightly scornful pagan. . . . But she was none the less a Puritan. Certain of her ways of thought and habits of life, had survived the beliefs which had given them birth, as an effect will often outlive its cause. If she was a pagan, she was a serious one, a pagan with a New England conscience."

This is mighty well said, and the like things that are said of Petrina's sister-in-law, who has married an English title, are mighty well, too. "She had inherited a countenance whose expression was like the light which lingers in the sky long after sunset—the light of some ancestral fire gone out. If in her face there were prayers, they had been said by Pepperells and Vassalls now sleeping in Massachusetts churchyards. If in her voice there were tears, they had been shed by those who would weep no more. She mirrored the emotions she had never felt; and all that was left of joys and sorrows and spiritual aspirations which had once thrilled human hearts was in that plantive echo they had given to this woman's tone, and the light of petition they had left burning in her eyes."

No one who reads such passages can deny that the author of "Let Not Man Put Asunder" can think subtly as well as say clearly, and the book abounds in proofs of his ability to portray human nature in its lighter aspects. Lady de Bohun, with her pathetic face, is a most amusing creature, with all her tragedy, and she is on the whole the most perfectly characterized personality in the story. The author gives you a real sense of her beauty,

her grace, her being always charmingly in a hurry and always late. The greatest scene is hers: the scene in which she meets her divorced husband with his second wife. One may suspect some of the other scenes, but one must accept that scene as one of genuine dramatic worth. Too much of the drama in the book is theatre rather than drama, and yet the author's gift is essentially dramatic. He knows how to tell a story on his stage that holds you to the fall of the curtain, and makes you almost patient of the muted violins and the limelight of the closing scene. Such things, you say, do not happen in Brookline, Mass., whatever happens in London or in English country houses; and yet the people have at one time or other convinced you of their verity. Of the things that are not natural, you feel like saying that they are supernatural rather than unnatural, and you own that at its worst the book is worth while in a time when most novels are not worth while.

W. D. HOWELLS.

WHERE CALIFORNIA FRUIT COMES FROM.

THE SANTA CLARA VALLEY AND SAN JOSÉ

SANTA CLARA County is one of the most richly productive, naturally resourceful, and healthful sections of the "Golden State" (California). The valley extends some sixty miles from north to south, twenty miles from east to west, and is shut in by the Coast Range on the east and the Santa Cruz Mountains on the west, with the broad bay of San Francisco for its northern boundary, and the Pajaro Valley at its narrow southern border. The area of the county is one million of acres, its assessed valuation fifty-two millions of dollars to a population of sixty-five thousand (the highest per capita in the State). The export products for the last year amounted to more than five millions of dollars.

MT. HAMILTON.

Among Santa Clara County's productions last year were: one hundred millions of pounds or one-third of the entire prune product of the United States, and an equally large amount of peaches, apricots, and other fruits. The output of farm and dairy was in like proportion, including a great part of the vineyard yield of the State and a share of the quicksilver produced in the world, only exceeded by that of Spain. This mineral comes from The New Almaden Mines, near San José. Santa Clara Valley boasts of the largest canneries, the largest driers, and the largest fruit packing houses to be found in the world.

This valley has thousands of delightful homes set in rich ten and twenty acre orchards. These homes have been paid for mainly from products of the land. The orchards yield an established in-

come, enough for the necessaries of life and many luxuries. The production figures here given are large, but they are facts, as statistics show. In 1870 this county produced only seventy thousand pounds of fruit. The present immense output has no more than kept pace with the demand.

No enervation results from the warmth of Santa Clara Valley's summer, nor does any season see long periods when the sun does not shine. The United States official reports for 1900 show that San José, the central city of the valley, has more clear days than any other city in the State, being 285 out of 365 for the year.

It was more than a century ago that the old Spanish padres established the Santa Clara Mission, and their wisdom in the location has never been questioned. Round about the site of the mission and the famous Santa Clara College are miles on miles of orchard, vineyard, and field, with here and there a pleasant hamlet or busy city. From the heights of Mt. Hamilton, where is one of the world's greatest astronomical observatories, the view entrances the beholder with richness, beauty, and magnificence. Far out on the horizon line lies the great bay of San Francisco, while on either side forest-clad foothills and mountains lend foliage color to the scene.

The points of interest in and around San José are sufficient to interest for many days. New scenes and experiences will make every hour profitable and pleasurable. San José has a very perfect system of parks ranging from two blocks in extent to one of several hundred acres. The Alum Rock Park, seven miles distant by electric railway, is a mineral-spring resort, with its cañons and hills as nature made them. There are just enough artificial additions, in the way of baths, gardens, and drives, to aid natural attractiveness. Besides the city park reservations, there are the Gilroy Hot Springs, easily reached by rail or carriage from this city. The Pacific Congress Springs, near Saratoga, are on one of the principal and most picturesque rides out of town.

The matchless drive of all is the stage trip to Mt. Hamilton, twenty-eight miles away, where is situated the Lick Observatory, with the second largest telescope in the world. It is 4,440 feet above sea-level, in an atmosphere unsurpassed for conditions favorable to astronomical work. The drive leads out through the pleasant residence portions of San José, over splendidly constructed roads, through bearing orchards and productive fields, up to the foot-hills and into the mountains.

Another trip of special attractiveness is to Palo Alto, the seat of the Leland Stanford, Jr., University, one of the most richly endowed educational institutions in the world. The doors are open to both sexes, and the splendid buildings, for architecture and general magnificence, are not rivalled by any in this country. These structures are built of yellow sand-stone from quarries in Santa Clara County. This trip may be made by rail or carriage, and is of great interest to every visitor.

The educational facilities of this valley are not surpassed by those of any section of the West, if by any in the Union. The standard of education is high and well maintained. Teachers are well paid, and a large amount is expended annually in the maintenance of schools and colleges. The school buildings throughout the valley are far superior to any found in Eastern rural districts.

All religious denominations are well represented, strong in wealth and membership, thoroughly metropolitan in the character of their edifices.

To the traveller this section presents beauties, peculiarities, and advantages which no one preparing a complete itinerary through California can afford to overlook, and which no health-seeker can in justice to himself avoid taking advantage of. For an all-the-year-round climate no locality presents better conditions, and in no place in this State can a few weeks or months be better spent.

To the investor and home-seeker demonstration can be made very quickly that this county is one of great natural resources. It requires no expensive irrigation systems. The virgin soil will produce; the annual rainfall comes when it benefits most. The productions of the valley are salable. This section is adjacent to one of the world's greatest markets, San Francisco and the Orient. The home-seeker has a diversity of enterprises at his disposal. Manufacturing industries can be established here successfully, as oil and electricity for power purposes are cheap and plentiful, and those institutions now in operation will show what can be done along this line. The cost of living here is no greater than in many parts of the East. Lands are reasonable in price, considering productiveness, and town and city property is not held at exorbitant figures.

In a word, this is a goodly valley, an established community, not an experiment, no uncertainty of production. Here are the people, the schools, the churches, the colleges, the hotels, the cities, the towns—all that pertains to modern civilization. The proverbial California hospitality has its best exemplification here. The latch-key is always held out. Santa Clara County welcomes the stranger within her gates.

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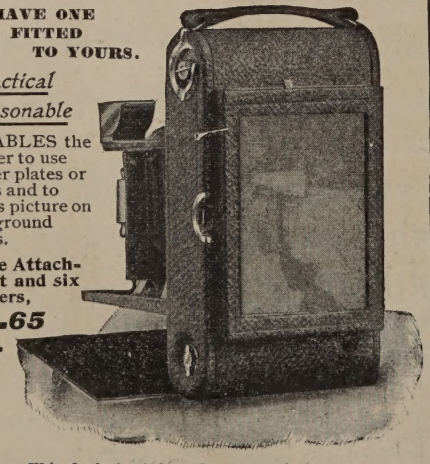

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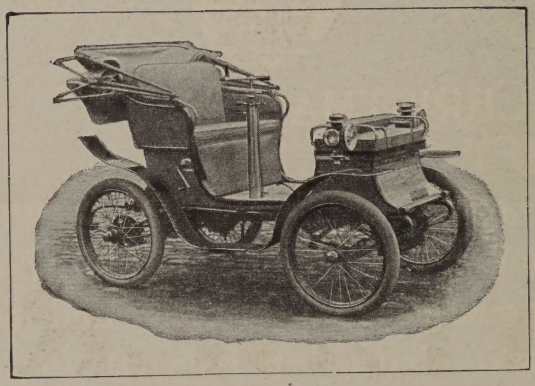

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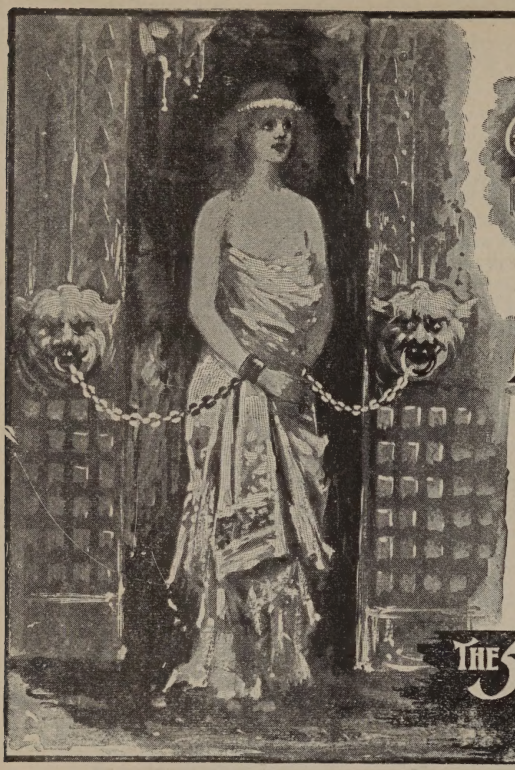

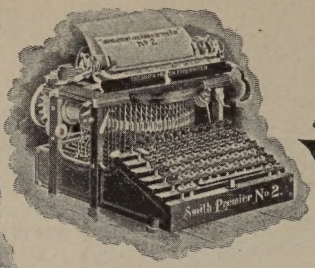

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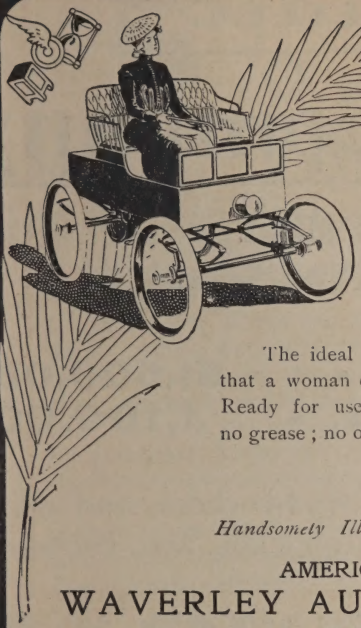

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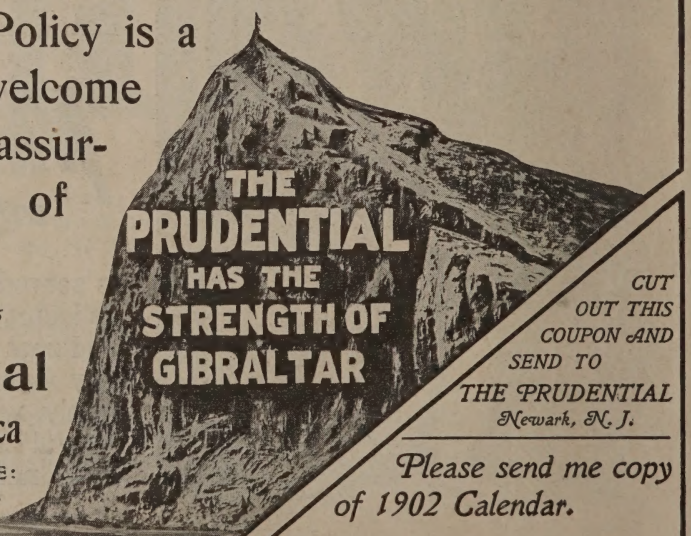

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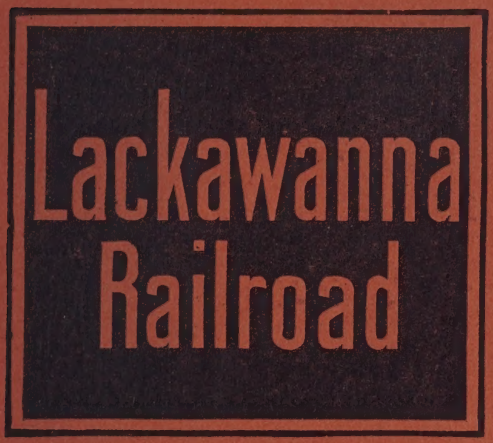

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